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**DOCUMENTS OF
THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT
IN INDIA**

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List of Abbreviations Used

CI	:	The Communist International
ECCI	:	The Executive Committee of the Communist International
CPI	:	Communist Party of India
LM	:	The Labour Monthly, published from London
CPGB	:	Communist Party of Great Britain
CPSU	:	Communist Party of Soviet Union
CPC	:	Communist Party of China
INPRECOR	:	International Press Correspondence of the Communist International
BCI	:	Bulletin of the Communist International
CC	:	Central Committee
PB	:	Political Bureau
INC	:	Indian National Congress
AITUC	:	All India Trade Union Congress
AIWPP	:	All India Workers' & Peasants' Party
INTUC	:	Indian National Trade Union Congress
AIKS	:	All India Kisan Sabha
CKC	:	Central Kisan Council of All India Kisan Sabha
WFTU	:	World Federation of Trade Unions
AISF	:	All India Students' Federation
CSP	:	Congress Socialist Party

Election Manifesto of the Communist Party of India : 1952 *

A few months hence, 18 crores of our people will be called upon to go to the polls. They will be called upon to record their verdict on the present government and the policies and methods it has pursued for the last five years. They will be called upon to declare whether they want the present regime to continue or be replaced by a new regime.

The leaders of the present Government have come out with their manifesto. They parade their great achievements—achievement of freedom, of merger and integration of states, of land reform, of Grow More Food campaign, of hydro-electric schemes. They declare they have done their best. And they promise to do still better if the people renew their trust in them.

What have they really done? What are their real achievements? What is the meaning of their promise to do still better?

Achievements of the Congress

The answer can be read not merely in figures given by the Government—figures that can be juggled with, nor in the voluminous reports giving details about the wells dug, trees planted and rupees spent on the various plans and schemes of the Government. The answer can be read in the sunken cheeks and emaciated bodies that meet one's eyes wherever one goes. The answer can be read in the tattered clothes with

* First published: 6th August 1951.

which men and women can barely cover their naked bodies. The answer can be read in the daily reports appearing in newspapers of men and women being driven to suicide because they could not feed themselves and their children.

The answer can be read also in the firings and tear-gas attacks, lathi-charges and mass arrests, bans and prohibition of meetings that take place in every part of the country where people fight against inhuman conditions of life imposed on them.

Five years of Congress rule—four of them after the attainment of 'freedom'—have brought our country and our people to the verge of disaster. The production of food, cloth, and every necessity of life has declined. Famine rages in Bihar with a crore of people facing slow death. The vast mass of peasants, the bulk of our people, continue to groan under the burden of rents, debts and taxes. The agricultural workers, their number ever swelling as a result of eviction drive of landlords, eke out a miserable existence unable to satisfy even their hunger. The condition of workers worsens every day—their wages lagging far behind the soaring prices. Teachers, clerks, office employees, and workers swell the ranks of the jobless and even those who retain their jobs find their real income constantly dwindling. Students, unable to pay the rising cost of education, leave schools and colleges. Artisans, small manufacturers and traders are compelled to join the ranks of paupers in face of the growing scarcity and rising price of raw materials and cornering of all available goods by profiteers and blackmarketeers. Millions of refugees from Pakistan, uprooted from their homes, roam in streets and lanes unable to find food, shelter and work.

All these are matters of common knowledge and need no narration. Everyone has begun to see that freedom has come to mean freedom for the common man to remain starved and naked, illiterate and backward, diseased and shelterless.

What lies at the root of these miseries?

Congress leaders claim they have ended foreign rule, they have stopped the looting of our people by the British impe-

realists. They admit there is misery and starvation but these, they say, are the inevitable birth pangs of a new order. In order that people may have more, they must produce more. They must work hard, they must sacrifice—above all, they must co-operate with the present Government. All classes and sections must suffer today in order that all may have more tomorrow. Such is the principle of Sarvodaya, the principle that guides the Congress.

Each one of these arguments is false, each one of these assertions is a lie.

The leaders of the Congress have not won freedom for our country. They have betrayed our freedom struggle. They have allowed the foreigners and the reactionary Indian vested interests to plunder and loot our people just as they did in the past. They have themselves joined in the loot.

A Government of National Betrayal

In violation of every pledge, in violation of every solemn declaration to implement which tens of thousands laid down their lives the Nehru Government made India a part of the British Commonwealth of which the British king is the head and in many areas of which Indians are treated worse than pariahs. Our Navy and Air Force are commanded by Britishers, our Army is controlled by their advisors and experts, our arms are modelled and manufactured by the British.

Britishers continue to own or control our mines, our plantations, our oil wells and refineries, our jute mills, many of our engineering works and other concerns. They control our foreign trade, our banking and finance. With their investments of 600 crores of rupees and through their managing agencies, they net millions of rupees as profits and hold our economy in their death-grip, throttling all development, keeping us backward and dependent, refusing to supply us with capital goods with which we could develop our industries. They looted our people of goods and services worth 1,600 crores in the war years promising to pay them back which they never did. They scaled down the sum to less than half and

refused to release even the balance in accordance with our own requirements.

They framed the Colombo Plan the avowed aim of which is to keep India backward and dependent—a market for British goods, a source of cheap raw materials and cheap labour.

To all this, to this continued hold of Britishers on our economy, to this colossal looting and swindling of our people, to this continued colonial status of India, the Nehru Government has been a willing party. Instead of confiscating British capital in India it has begged the Britishers and Americans to invest more capital and assured them that they can ship out the profits. It has refused to break the tie with the British and Americans or even establish close trade relations with the democratic countries who could supply us with the capital goods we need. It has accepted the plan of imperialists and called it the Nehru plan.

Tied to British and American imperialists, the Nehru Government has taken no steps whatsoever to develop the heavy industries of India—the mining industries, the machine tool industries, the iron, steel and engineering industries, the chemical industries—that alone could make the country strong and independent and create the basis for real advance. The so-called automobile and locomotive industries that have been established in India are merely plants for assembling parts imported from Britain and America. They ensure rich profits to the foreigners and their agents in India and can feed the war machine of imperialists but cannot help us to become industrialised. The Nehru Government is mortgaging the manganese mines of India, the richest in the world, to the American imperialists.

In view of these facts, who can call India a really free country and her government a government of national freedom?

The Nehru Government has not merely permitted the British imperialists to hold sway over our country's economy and loot its wealth. It has also permitted the princes, the landlords and the Indian monopolists and financiers to continue their plunder and loot. It has maintained the whole system

which the British created to perpetuate their own rule. What has come is not freedom. What has come is the replacement of a British Viceroy and his councillors by an Indian President and his ministers, of white bureaucrats by brown bureaucrats, and a bigger share in the loot of Indian people for the Indian monopolists collaborating with the imperialists.

Government of Landlords and Monopolists

The Nehru Government has not abolished the rule and exploitation of the princely autocrats but given them a new lease of life through its schemes of merger and integration. It has come to the aid of the princes and feudal autocrats where the people, as in Hyderabad, rose in revolt against them. It has intervened in the neighbouring state of Nepal in order to bolster up the corrupt regime of the Ranas with the aid of the treacherous leaders who posed as the champions of the people of Nepal. It has not confiscated the wealth and properties of princes but allowed them to retain them besides allowing them to draw privy purses running into crores of rupees. It has not broken up the States to form linguistic provinces. By its policies it has intensified national animosities instead of uniting the people.

The Nehru Government has preserved the system of feudal exploitation which pauperised our peasants, ruined our agriculture and caused catastrophic fall in our food production. In the name of zamindari abolition it has hatched plans to pay the feudal parasites, sworn enemies of our people and traditional agents of the British imperialists, the stupendous sum of four hundred crores of rupees as compensation while at the same time leaving in their hands millions of acres as private land. Instead of handing over land to the peasants, freeing them from feudal exploitation and the grip of the moneylenders and thus destroying the fetters that hamper the growth of our agriculture, it has squandered one hundred and fifty crores of rupees extracted from the people in the farcical "Grow More Food" campaign which has produced nothing and merely enriched the ministers, bureaucrats and a

few firms connected with them and with the foreign imperialists. It has spent the staggering sum of 538 crores of rupees to purchase food from foreign countries, especially from America, on terms which mortgage our sovereignty to the most aggressive imperialist power in the world. In all this, it has been guided not by the interests of the peasantry and the people, but by the interests of the landlords and their masters, the foreign imperialists.

The growing poverty of the peasantry, a direct result of imperialist-feudal loot, makes it impossible for them to buy even the barest necessities of life. Our industries are declining. The big industrialists who own our factories are reducing output of goods in order to create scarcity and make big profits in a shrinking market. While millions go naked, the textile magnates work their factories at far less than even the existing installed capacity and export 80 crores of yards of cloth abroad. Similar methods are followed by big monopolies in other branches of production, causing stagnation and decline of our industrial output, while at the same time increasing the bank balance of the monopolists who mint money out of people's misery and refuse to pay living wage to workers.

The situation comes as a boon to the profiteers and black-marketeers who corner all the available stock and pile up fortunes. Ministers of the Congress, their friends and relatives, high-placed bureaucrats all join in the mad hunt for money and still more money and quarrel about the share of the loot. Through the device of inflation, the rich grow ever richer by robbing the poor, by taking from their mouth their last morsel of food.

While millions go homeless, the extensive palaces and mansions of the princes, landlords and the rich are not requisitioned, housing accommodation is not rationed and landlords are permitted to fleece the people through exorbitant rents, "pugrees" and "salamies".

Corruption and bribery have become the hallmark of the Congress regime. The much-boosted government schemes have become schemes for plundering the state budget in the inter-

est of foreign firms and their Indian agents. The white cap has come to mean graft and profiteering. The events that led to the dismissal of the Punjab ministry have revealed to the whole world the real face of those who preach morals to the people. No less a sum than 5 crores of rupees, it is believed, was appropriated by the Congress ministers of Punjab and their relatives in their four years of rule. The squabbles in Bengal and Madras, the shameless swindling by Congress ministers of Bihar and U. P. are known to everyone no matter how much the Nehru Government tries to whitewash them with white lies. The Jeep scandal whose echoes have not died down to this day and the shady deals carried out by certain embassies throw revealing light on the doings of those who represent India abroad on behalf of the Swaraj Government.

It is not true therefore to assert that all are suffering in Nehru's India, that freedom has brought suffering to all. Even a glance at the income-tax figures, which too are faked, will give the lie to such assertions. The imperialists, the princes and the landlords, the big monopolists and financiers, the speculators and blackmarketeers—all of them are prospering. Freedom has meant freedom for them to rob and loot the people and freedom for the Congress ministers to join in the loot.

Government of Lathis and Bullets

In order to uphold this regime of colonial slavery and starvation, this joint loot of our people by the British and their allies and friends, the Nehru Government has established a reactionary regime as ferocious and ruthless as any that India had seen even in the days of the direct British rule. It has not only resurrected all the lawless laws of the British, it has enacted new and worse repressive laws, gagged the press and placed the life and liberty of the people at the tender mercy of the police. It has promulgated an ordinance to crush the railway workers who demanded that the Government should honour its pledge—the pledge to implement the recommendations of the Pay Commission appointed by the Government itself.

Streams of blood have flowed in every city, every town, every village whenever the starved and naked have demanded human conditions of life and dared to fight for them. The working class, which stood in the forefront of the battles of 1945-46 that enabled the Congress to come to power, has been sought to be chained by anti-labour laws and its struggle for wages drowned in blood. Even before the advent of 'full freedom' the Congress ministers shot down the heroic leaders of Amalner workers, unleashed terror to break the strikes of the South Indian Railway workers. The attack continued and intensified till every working class centre came to be placed under the iron heels of permanent police rule. In the great Bombay strike of 1950, thirteen workers fell before the bullets of the police and the home-guards. In 1951 the people of Cooch-Behar, asking for cheap rice, were greeted with murderous volleys whose echoes resounded in the whole land. The heroic youth of Calcutta, standard-bearers of hundreds of battles, were shot down scores of times to keep in power the corrupt ministry that rules West Bengal with the blessings of Pandit Nehru. Four women were killed by the police in Calcutta on a single day in 1949. The students of Cuttack whose only crime was that they protested against the raising of fees were attacked by armed forces of the police.

The peasant masses of Telengana who fought against the savage gangs of Razakars at a time when Congress leaders had entered into a stand-still agreement with the Nizam and were supplying him arms, were rewarded with mass murders and gallows, the dishonouring of their mothers and sisters and reimposition of the hated rule of the landlords, with the aid of Nehru's army which entered Hyderabad on the pretext of helping the people. In Andhra and Malabar, in Patiala and Ballia, in Tripura, Manipur and Kakdwip, in every area, the Nehru Government has come to the aid of landlords and suppressed the struggle of the peasantry. Scores of workers, peasants, students, teachers, office employees, men, women and even children have perished at the hands of the police, military and home-guards of the present Government, thou-

sands bear the marks of lathis and bullets as souvenirs of the non-violent regime that the Congress has established.

According to its own admission, the Government jailed 50,000 of its political opponents and shot down or wounded 13,000 in the first three years of its rule. And as all know these figures tell only a small part of the truth. The repeated attacks on political prisoners that culminated in the ghastly West Bengal and Salem massacres in which nearly thirty prisoners were killed in cold blood show the length to which the Government has gone in suppressing those who fight it.

No wonder therefore that police and military budgets go on mounting from year to year while the Government pleads lack of money where the needs of the people are concerned. Eighty per cent of the central budget goes to maintain the army and the bureaucracy. Far more are spent on the police than on education by the State Government in a country where ninety per cent of the people are illiterate.

Government's Foreign Policy —Not A Policy of Peace

A Government tied to imperialists, a Government that establishes a reactionary regiment at home cannot pursue an independent and progressive foreign policy, a genuine policy of peace.

The issue of war or peace dominates the whole world today. It is the key issue facing every country, every people.

The aggressive imperialists of America and their allies and satellites, the British, French and other imperialists are planning to plunge the whole world into war to destroy the freedom and independence of all countries and enslave them. Every success scored by them in any part of the world is a menace to the freedom and independence of all countries, a menace to the peace of the world.

Our people want to be free and independent. They want foreign troops to withdraw from all countries so that all countries may be free and independent. They want to establish close friendship and fraternal relations with their great neighbour China that after years of slavery and degradation

has freed herself and is building a new life for her people. They have been thrilled by the epic struggle of the Korean people who defied the might of the American imperialists and defended their country in face of overwhelming odds. They hate the British imperialists who ruled us for hundreds of years and sympathise with the people of Malaya who are fighting against the same enemy.

Our people love and respect the Soviet Union where the workers and peasants have freed themselves from all exploitation and showed to all peoples the path forward. They know that on every issue the Soviet Union has upheld the cause of the colonial people fighting for freedom.

Our people want to live in friendship with the people of Pakistan and settle the issue of Kashmir by peaceful and democratic means which will enable the people of Kashmir to decide their own destiny without interference from imperialist powers that dominate the U.N.O.

Above all, our people love peace and hate war. They remember the horrors of the man-made famine in Bengal which claimed thirty five lakh victims. They have seen how the war in Korea was utilised by big business in India to raise prices and worsen the already wretched conditions of the people. They have seen how every war imposes fresh burdens on them and enriches their enemies.

Can any one say that the Nehru Government has carried out a policy which is in conformity with those desires of our people? One cannot.

It has sided with the Anglo-American imperialists on most issues in the U.N.O. including the sanctioning of American aggression in Korea. It expressed its "humanitarianism" by sending an ambulance corps to the murderers of the Korean people. It has not condemned the indiscriminate bombing of Korean cities and villages. It has given the French transport facilities to wage war against the people of Vietnam. It has given direct support to the British imperialists in Malaya by permitting them to recruit Gurkha troops. It has shipped arms to the aid of the reactionary Thakin Nu Government against

the Burmese people. It has curtailed trade with China and has prohibited export of certain goods to China because of American objection. It has not developed extensive trade with democratic countries like the Soviet Union and People's Democracies preferring trade relations with the imperialists who want to keep us dependent on them. The recent wheat deal with America throws revealing light on the real nature of the "neutral" and "independent" foreign policy of the Nehru Government.

Sometimes, under the pressure of the people and due to its own weaknesses, the Nehru Government opposes those measures of the imperialists which may immediately plunge the whole world into war but its basic policy remains one of tie-up with the British imperialists, one of playing between peace and war.

The Nehru Government took the issue of Kashmir to the U.N.O. and paved the way for the machinations of the imperialists who have created a most dangerous situation of tension between India and Pakistan. Nehru rejected the U.N.O. proposal for arbitration in Kashnir but welcomed Graham who is now busy playing the imperialist game of provoking 'incidents'. The reactionary communalists, who hold power in Pakistan and who are faking conspiracy cases to murder the best sons of the Pakistani people, have utilised the situation, to pose as defenders of the sovereignty and independence of Pakistan and mislead the Pakistani people.

Instead of deposing the Maharajah of Kashmir, introducing genuine agrarian reform, giving land to the peasants, expelling the U.N.O. arbitrator, removing the issuse from U.N.O. and making concrete proposals to end the military partition of Kashmir to enable the entire people of Kashmir to decide their destiny freely and jointly, the Nehru Government has followed a policy of seeking aid from imperialists, who want India and Pakistan to remain at loggerheads so that both may be weakened and the strategic area of Kashmir may be used for war against the Soviet Union and China.

Thus both in its home and foreign policies, the Nehru

Government has proved to be a Government of the enemies of the people of India.

It has revealed itself to be a Government of landlords, princes and the most reactionary sections of the Indian capitalists who have betrayed their country to foreign imperialists for a mess of pottage.

Therefore, this Government must go. It has forfeited every right to remain in power. The people have to develop a mass movement which will shatter its power, shatter the very state system it has maintained and take all power into their own hands. They have to replace the present Government by a Government of People's Democracy.

The Communist Party warns the Indian people not to be cheated once again by the promises of the Congress leaders, their manifestoes, and plans of reconstruction. Those who broke every pledge for four long years will break them again.

What Would A People's Democratic Government Do?

The Government of People's Democracy will be a Government of all democratic parties, groups and individuals representing workers, peasants, middle classes and the national bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie that stands for genuine industrialisation of the country and for the freedom and independence of India.

In its Draft programme, the Communist Party has already outlined the tasks that such a Government will carry out.

It will break with the British Empire, expel British officers from our forces, confiscate and nationalise all British capital in India. It will take effective steps to crush the resistance of those who join the imperialists and feudals against the people.

It will cancel peasants' debts and transfer all lands and implements of landlords and princes, without payment to the landlords, without any price to the tillers of the soil, taking care to provide for the poorer sections of the landlords and without harming the interests of the rich peasant. Agricultural workers will be assured adequate wages besides land.

Freed from feudal exploitation and with their demand for land satisfied, the peasantry will be able to increase production of food and raw materials, build dams and irrigation works, stop flood with their vast manpower, feed the cities and towns and change the very face of the country as they are doing in China.

It will develop the industries of India with the aid of the nationalised capital and by enlisting the co-operation of the private industrialists who will be assured legitimate profits and protection of their interests. It will put an end to inflation by drastic reduction in the police and military budget, by effective price control and by currency reform. It will aid the artisans and small manufacturers with credit, implements and raw material. It will welcome the assistance of such private capitalists and foreign governments as are prepared to invest capital on terms that are in conformity with our national interests.

It will grant living wage to the workers, recognise their trade unions and the rights of collective bargaining, introduce social insurance at the expense of the State and capitalists against every form of disability, sickness and unemployment. Similar measures will be taken in relation to all employees, whether of the State or of private concerns. Profits will be controlled and joint production councils set up.

It will create a national army closely linked with the people, and create human conditions of life for the common soldiers who suffer today under brutal and soulless discipline, inadequate allowances, bad food and corrupt practices which cheat them even of their miserable earnings. Soldiers will be granted full rights as citizens and be allowed to participate in political activities.

It will abolish the police force, dismiss such of its personnel as have earned notoriety as oppressors of the people and form people's militia. It will establish full civil liberties and establish full freedom of speech, press, assembly, strike and combination.

It will form national states by the abolition of the princely

states and reconstruction of the present provinces, grant them wide powers including the right of self-determination and create a united India by the voluntary consent of the nationalities and tribal peoples. It will grant regional autonomy to tribal people and national minorities wherever possible.

It will protect the rights and interests of all minorities, penalise incitement to communal hatred and discrimination and help the oppressed and backward sections to register rapid advance. It will end caste oppression, penalise untouchability and all practices based on caste inequality.

It will eliminate all social and economic disabilities from which women suffer and help them to attain full freedom and equality. Working women will be paid equal wages with men for equal work, maternity leave with full wages and special measures will be taken to protect their health.

It will introduce free and compulsory primary education. It will also take steps to develop secondary and higher education on a wide scale and raise the cultural level of the people.

It will establish people's health services all over the country and medical centres to fight disease.

It will provide land, implements and employment to the refugee population and give them facilities to develop their life in their own national way.

It will establish trade and economic relations with all countries on a basis of full equality and for mutual benefit.

It will fight for a pact of peace between all the great powers of the world, for prohibition of the atom bomb, for progressive disarmament, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from all countries and the right of every nation to be free and independent. It will establish a pact of friendship and alliance with Pakistan, Ceylon and Nepal.

Basing itself on the power of the people and guided by their interests a People's Democratic Government will solve all the problems that face our country, harness its vast natural resources and manpower for the regeneration of India, for the transformation of India into a free and democratic, happy

and prosperous country, paving the way to a Socialist society—a society free from all exploitation of man by man.

People's Democracy—Organ of People's Power

What guarantee is there, many will ask, that the People's Democratic Government will do all these things? Did not the Congress also make many promises which it all broke?

The people will be justified in asking such questions.

The answer is that the People's Democratic Government will be, above all, a government of the common people and not a government of the rich few. Therefore, the very structure of the State will be such that it can ensure effective rule by the people themselves. Organs of struggles of the united people waging battle against the present regime and ending it will themselves become the basis of the new state power.

The Congress has maintained the rule of the bureaucrats and the police just as the British did because it wants to maintain the same system of plunder and exploitation which the British created. A People's Democratic Government will do away with the whole existing structure of the State and with it the rule of the bureaucrats and the police.

All organs of the People's Democratic State from the lowest to the highest will be elected by the people who will have the right to recall any representative who betrays their trust.

All the powers of the State will be vested in these elected organs. There will be no officials imposed from above, no police force standing above the people, irresponsible and irremovable. All officers from the highest to the lowest, will be elected by the people, be responsible to them and removable by them. Their salaries will be determined by the people themselves. The police force will be replaced by a people's militia, raised, guided and controlled by the people themselves through their organs of power.

These organs of power with the active co-operation of the mass of the people will raise taxes, mainly from the rich and spend them in a way that serves the interests of the people. They will ensure the carrying out of the programme to

distribute land equitably, increase production and effect proper distribution, ration housing accommodation, build new houses by requisitioning land and building material, resettle the refugees, root out disease and illiteracy, free women from economic and social thralldom, protect the minorities, suppress people's enemies and stamp out corruption and vice.

A government based on local organs of power will be a government for the people because it will be a government by the people. Such a government will not live in constant dread of the people. It will be able to cut down the vast expenditure on the military, the police and the bureaucracy and devote its resources mainly to improve the condition of the people.

The Communist Party does not come before the people with big promises of what it would do if it is put in power, with detailed plans and elaborate schemes that it would implement and carry out if people vote for it. It tells the people that in order to put an end to their misery and degradation, in order to build a happy life for themselves and their children, they must establish their own government, they must take power into their own hands.

Enemies of the people will shout that the passing of all power into the hands of the people's committees will mean the breakdown of society itself. They will say that no government can do away with the high salaried bureaucrats and the all-powerful police without destroying "law and order" and plunging the whole of society into chaos and anarchy.

It is with such talks that ruling classes always seek to keep the people away from revolution. The society they want to maintain is *their* society—a society based on plunder—the law and order that they want to preserve is law and order to perpetuate the rule of the propertied classes.

Such talks can no longer frighten the people.

We have before us the glorious example of China which under a Government of People's Democracy has registered an advance that has amazed the whole world. It has freed the peasants from feudal shackles and increased food production

by ten million tons. It is fast building its industries and roads, stamping out epidemics, spreading education in the remotest areas. It has liberated women from centuries of bondage, put an end to national animosities and united the people as they have never been united in their entire history. China, enslaved by foreign imperialists, robbed by her corrupt native rule, backward and dependent has given place to a new China—free and strong, a mighty world power, an inspiration to the entire people of Asia.

All this has been done in less than eighteen months.

And it should not be forgotten that China was more backward than India, had to support a far bigger population and its economy was shattered by decades of war and devastation.

Congress leaders lie when they say there is no alternative to Congress rule, that the lot of the people will be worse than it is even today if they overthrow this government. This is how Chiang Kai Shek also tried to frighten the Chinese people. What actually followed the end of Chiang's rule in China was not ruin but happiness and prosperity for the whole people.

What the people of China did we can also do. The ending of the present regime and the establishment of a People's Democratic Government of India would mean the beginning of a new era for our people.

The Communist Party will fight relentlessly for the fundamental democratic transformations outlined above. It will never cease to explain to the people that without such transformation there can be no real improvement in their conditions, no real advance for the country.

At the same time, the Communist Party declares that to begin with, it will strive for the realisation of those items in the above programme which will immediately relieve the distress of the people even to a limited extent and for such demands as the quitting of the Commonwealth and removal of all Britishers from the armed forces, the abolition of princely States, stoppage of all allowances to the princes, formation of linguistic provinces, repeal of all repressive laws and release

of all political prisoners, fifty per cent reduction of rent, moratorium on debts, a steeply graduated land tax, reduction of taxes whose burdens fall on the common people and increase in the taxes on the rich, living wages for workers and other employees and recognition of trade union rights, reduction in school and college fees, rationing of housing accommodation, effective measures to solve the food problem and to stabilise prices and enforce controls, prompt and effective steps against corruption, assistance to backward communities, protection to minorities, wider powers for local self-government institutions, a non-aggression pact with Pakistan, the removal of the issue of Kashmir from the U.N.O., expulsion of the U.N.O. arbitrator and settlement of the issue of Kashmir by peaceful and democratic means and a consistent policy of peace. It will co-operate with other democratic parties in building a powerful mass movement for the realisation of these demands. And if a government is formed by a united front of genuine democratic parties, the Communist Party will support the government in so far as it implements such a programme.

Unity—The Need of the Hour

Only the united struggle of the people can realise this objective. Only their united action can shatter the power of the present rulers and compel them to quit.

The coming days must see the forging of this unity—unity to break the hold of imperialists over our country, unity to give land to the peasants, unity to provide bread and work for all, unity to build a powerful peace movement, unity to establish a government of the people. The elections must become a mighty rally of the people behind these demands, a nation-wide mobilisation to realise them, a demonstration of the united will of our people to smash the shackles of slavery that hold us down.

Big steps towards the building of popular unity have been already taken. The textile workers of Bombay, by their historic decision to form one union, have set the example be-

fore the entire Indian working class. On the issue of civil liberties, on the issue of food, on the issue of peace and opposition to imperialist intervention in Korea, a vast number of people, following all parties, have campaigned and struggled together. The victory of the progressive forces in the election in Howrah, Rajnandgaon, Burdwan and Chandernagore indicate the developing strength and sweep of the unity movement. Through bitter experience of the last four years, the people's forces are uniting against the common enemies.

This process must be carried forward. United organisations of workers, peasants, students, youth and women must be forged everywhere and the broad masses drawn into them. The fight for adequate wages and dearness allowance, against landlord exploitation and police terror, for the right of education and for the release of all political prisoners must be intensified.

Millions of signatures must be collected to the Peace Appeal and the message of peace carried to every home. All the war-mongering propaganda against Pakistan must be combated and the people roused against the instigators of communal riots. Committees must be formed in every centre to bring about unity of action between democratic parties and individuals on all issues facing the people.

All these are essential to forge the fighting unity of the people—unity which alone can ensure victory of the democratic forces over their enemies. The unity thus built will be a powerful weapon in the electoral battle itself.

The Congress knows that it has lost support of the majority of our people. It knows that it is looked upon by them as a party of exploiters and betrayers. It knows that its appeal and exhortations no longer move them.

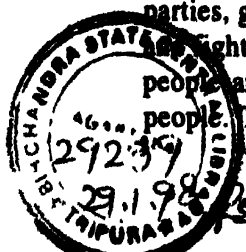
But it hopes that the democratic forces opposed to it will not be able to close their ranks, will fritter away their energy in mutual strifes and conflicts and will not be able to present a united opposition to its rule. This hope must not be allowed to materialise.

The Communist Party appeals to all democratic forces in the country to realise that the building of the democratic unity of the people is the supreme need of the hour. The task of each democratic party is not to paint before the people alluring pictures of what it would do if the people vote it to power but to develop a powerful united mass movement which alone can break the power of those who rule over us all. The electoral battle is not merely a battle of programmes which would all remain paper programmes, as long as the present government remains in power; it is a battle to mobilise the entire people, the entire mass, against the present government.

Under the present constitution, the people have the right to record their vote but not the right of recall if those whom they vote for turn to be traitors to the pledge they gave. Hence, the people must not be deceived by false promises but examine the record of those they are called upon to vote for. The people want not a change of masters; they want to be masters of their own fate.

The Communist Party calls upon the entire people of India to build a mighty movement and return the candidates of the progressive and democratic parties. It appeals to them not to be deceived by the pretensions of the reactionary vested interests and their parties like the Hindu Mahasabha which today are mouthing democratic phrases, nor by those who promise reforms without a radical change in the entire social system, without ending the very class rule which is responsible for the present misery. The people must judge each party and each candidate not only by their professions but by their actual record, the class they serve and their deeds on issues facing the people.

The task of the common people is not merely to record votes at the polls. The task is to see that all democratic parties, groups and individuals come together, stand together and fight together. Their task is to see that the enemies of the people are not able to use the divisions in the camp of the people. The people must enter the scene not as passive re-



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corders of votes but as active participants in the battle for freedom and unity.

Those in power today will use every device to prevent fair elections. They will use the weapon of terror, intimidation and demagoguery, they will use the power of money, they will use the pressure of landlords and big business. They will incite communal feelings, they will point to war tension between India and Pakistan as reason why people should support Congress. They will stop at nothing to prevent the people from recording their verdict. All this the people must be prepared to face and defeat.

Repeatedly during the last two years the government promised to hold elections on the basis of adult franchise and repeatedly they broke that promise. They pleaded technical difficulties, difficulties in the preparation of rolls. The real reason lay elsewhere. It lay in their growing apprehension of the outcome of elections. The results of the recent local board elections in several areas have increased that apprehension. They may try again to postpone the elections on the plea of "national emergency". That must not be allowed.

The Communist Party—The Party of Freedom and Democracy

The Communist Party enters the elections under serious handicaps. Thousands of its leaders and members are in prison and the Nehru Government refuses to release them even now. Thousands of its members, including most of the members of its Central Committee, cannot come in the open and have to remain underground. Many of the organisations of the Party are illegal to this day. Military and police terror rages unabated in the areas where the Party is strongest, making participation in elections virtually impossible. The names of most of those who could stand as candidates of the Party have been left out of the electoral rolls.

The Communist Party will fight the elections despite these handicaps. It is proud that it has earned the hatred and hostility of the present rulers of India as it earned the hatred and

hostility of the British. It is proud that it was the first to expose before the masses the real nature of the "freedom", that the Congress had won for India and lead the people in the battle against it which made the Party the first target of attack by the government. *Ever since its formation, the Party has stood by the people. It has proved by its deeds that it is the Party of the working class and the toiling peasants, the Party of the exploited masses. It was Communists who laid the foundation of the great working class movement, led numerous strikes, won the eight-hour day and compelled the ruling classes to accept the principle of living wage and social security. It was they who planted the Red Flag on Indian soil, brought Socialism to the working class and linked it with the international working class movement. It was they who brought the working class into battles for freedom from imperialist rule and democracy for the people. Tens of thousands of Communists have been thrown in jails and detention camps, thousands have been tortured and killed but the Red Flag has never been lowered before the oppressors.*

The Communists were the first to make the peasantry conscious of the need for their own organisation to wage the battle for land. In every part of India, they have led battles of the peasants and agricultural workers against the inhuman exploitation of landlords and capitalists. They have led the peasants in the great battle for "tebhaga" in Bengal, in the battle for paddy in Malabar, in the battle for land in Telangana. They have been with the students, with the teachers and employees, with the writers and journalists, with the refugee and the homeless in every struggle. The Party and its members have helped our people to realise the menace of a new world war and mobilised millions against it and against its instigators, the Anglo-American imperialists. They have waged an uncompromising battle against communalist reactionaries and defended the lives of the people threatened by communal frenzy at the risk of their own lives.

While waging all these fights, the Communists have not been free from errors and mistakes. But as serious fighters

they have ~~always~~ publicly admitted their mistakes and corrected themselves. Never have they left the masses to the mercies of the oppressors. They have always stood by the masses ever defending their interests, even at the cost of their lives and properties and in face of inhuman torture at the hands of the British imperialists and the present Congress rulers, their inheritors. They have ever demonstrated their readiness not merely to teach the people but also to learn from them.

The Communist Party comes before the people as a party of national freedom and people's democracy, as the party pledged to unite our people in the noble task to win freedom and independence, land and bread, democracy and peace—as a party born out of the most heroic and self-sacrificing struggle of the people themselves, as a party which has drawn into its fold the most militant sons and daughters of the workers, the peasants and the intelligentsia—all democratic sections and elements of our society. It calls upon the people to support its candidates and the candidates of democratic parties.

In millions the people of India rose in the years after the war to shake British rule to its very foundation. In millions they must rise again to end the rule of the Congress which has preserved the very order against which they, the people fought.

ALL TO THE POLLS

—TO ROUT THE CONGRESS

—TO MAKE THE PEOPLE'S CANDIDATES VICTORIOUS

—TO ESTABLISH A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

5th August, 1951

On the Results of the General Elections (1952) and the Tasks Before the Party*

The Central Committee in its meeting of March, 1952, discussed the General Elections and their lessons. This report was prepared after the Central Committee meeting was over on the basis of these discussions. It should be read along with the resolutions adopted by the Central Committee.

Ajoy Ghosh

General Secretary

April 5, 1952

The General Elections are over. As expected, the Congress has won the majority of seats in the Parliament and in the State Assemblies, but it has suffered heavily in prestige and influence and is facing a critical situation in the States of Madras and Travancore-Cochin. The high hopes entertained by the leaders of the Socialist Party have been dashed to the ground. Confounding its critics and enemies and belying the pessimism of friends who had thought that Government repression on the one hand and left-sectarian mistakes on the other had smashed it up, the Communist Party has emerged from the elections as a major force, as the most serious opposition to the Congress. Even in States where the Party has not done well, the prestige of the Party stands higher than ever before. There has been a big swing towards the Party in recent weeks, circulation of newspapers run by the Party has gone up, meetings organised by the Party are better

*Circulated as PARTY LETTER No 5 of April 1952

attended than those of any other party, thousands everywhere want to join the Party.

All these have given confidence and courage to our friends, sympathisers and supporters, created pride in our comrades, drawn millions of people towards the Party. Everyone wants to know how the Party succeeded in winning 41 seats in Andhra as against 40 won by the Congress, how the Congress was routed in military and police-occupied Telangana, how Travancore-Cochin gave quit orders to the Congress, how obscure Tripura shot into prominence by electing a majority of Communists to the Electoral College. People all over the country want to know all this not merely in order to satisfy their curiosity but because they too want to defeat the Congress and they have seen that the Congress has suffered its heaviest defeats precisely in areas where the Communist Party is strongest. Hence they want to know more about the party, about its Programme, about its views on all matters facing the country. They also want to know what the Party proposes to do now, how it intends to carry forward the struggle for the establishment of a real popular Government in place of the present Congress Government that has violated every pledge it gave to the people and has proved itself to be a Government of princes and landlords, of monopolists and blackmarketeers, a defender of the vested interests—Indian and foreign.

Background of the Elections

These elections were the first general elections on the basis of adult franchise and the first elections after the transfer of power. They were taking place in the background of worsening economic conditions of the people, growing disillusionment with the Congress and mounting opposition to its rule, in the background of heroic struggles of the people in many of which the Communist Party had played a leading role, in the background of suppression of civil liberties, police and military terror in many parts of the country, in the background of growing disintegration of the Congress and

desperate manoeuvres (like Nehru's becoming the President) to arrest this disintegration.

Disillusionment with the Congress was universal. Hatred against the Congress was mounting, especially in areas where big struggles had taken place and people had seen the real face of the Congress. More and more masses were ranging themselves against the Congress.

Further, the elections were taking place in the background of immense strengthening of the forces of socialism and democracy, freedom, independence and Peace led by the Soviet Union, in the background of epoch-making victories of the Chinese people, the cracking up of imperialist bases in South-East Asia, the deep ferment among the peoples of the Middle East, the fiasco of imperialist war policies in Korea and Vietnam, the rising tempo and sweep of the World Peace movement, desperate efforts of the American imperialists to stem and defeat the movement and intensify the drive towards war.

All these events had exercised profound influence on our people, drawn them towards the democratic camp, roused their hatred and hostility against the imperialist war-mongers, made them increasingly see that the real cause of their poverty and degradation lay not in "natural calamities" but in the class rule that prevailed in the country.

The question of power had come to the forefront, especially in areas where the democratic movement was strong, the question of removing the present Government from power, the question of forging an alliance to effect this removal, the question of establishment of a Government that would solve the problems facing the country and make India play a worthy role in the battle for freedom and peace,

What the Elections have Revealed

Elections, even in countries where bourgeois-democratic conditions prevail, can never be a real index of the strength of the popular movement, a correct reflection of the correlation of class forces. The dice is always heavily loaded in favour of parties that represent the propertied classes. This is even

more true in India where civil liberties are severely restricted, where the Communist Party, the main party of the opposition, has been the target of severe repression all these years and where the power of the State machinery is freely used by the Congress Party to ensure victory for itself in the elections.

Despite all these, however, it would be a profound mistake to ignore the results of the elections or even to minimise their significance. It would be a mistake to focus attention only on bogus voting or tampering with the ballot boxes and to fail to see that while these elections do not *adequately* reflect the reality, they do reveal, in a broad and general way, the profound changes that have taken place in the outlook, sentiments and loyalties of the masses during the last five years as the result of events in India and abroad. They do reveal *the shift in the position of classes and masses*, the *nature of the shift, its main direction and the role that the Party has played in bringing about this shift.*

They do answer some of the basic questions on which many of us were not clear in the past—questions such as : What is our overall estimation of the political situation in the country; how broad is the mass base that the Congress has still got; which forces are growing at a greater pace as the result of disintegration within the Congress—forces of democracy and revolution or forces of reaction and counter-revolution; what is the dominant mood of the masses as a result of the betrayal of the Congress—hated against the Congress and the desire to remove it from power or frustration and demoralisation?

Inevitably, in a vast country like India, where conditions are different in different parts, where the popular movement is marked by its extremely uneven development, no generalisation can be made which would hold true for all areas. Nevertheless, broad generalisations are both possible and necessary. Possible, because we have enough facts, enough knowledge of the history of the last 5 years, enough data. Necessary, because a revolutionary party has to base itself on the masses—not only on the existing level of their

movement, on their existing consciousness but also the *shift in their position* in order to work out a correct policy.

Shift Away from the Congress—Shift Towards Struggle

What are the broad facts that the elections reveal?

First and foremost, they reveal that vast mass of people have *shifted away from the Congress*, have lost confidence in its ability or desire to ensure for them land and bread, work and adequate wages, civil liberties and freedom from police oppression. The fact that Congress which only a few years ago enjoyed unrivalled prestige and influence, could this time secure only 43 per cent of the votes cast—this cold fact gives the lie to Congress claims to represent the country. Except in 4 small States—Coorg, Delhi, Saurashtra and Bhopal—nowhere could the Congress secure a majority of votes not even in U.P.

Even this, however, does not give full indication of the loss suffered by the Congress as an organisation in prestige and influence. The factors that operated in favour of the Congress were not merely the traditional influence of the Congress—unlimited resources, the power of the press, the pressure of the administrative machinery, intimidation of Muslim voters, social and economic pressure brought about by landlords and rich peasants, especially in areas where a broad peasant movement has not yet developed, large-scale corruption and suppression of the Communist Party in its strongest bases. There was also the disunity of the Left forces which made it appear to many people that there was no alternative to the Congress. There is no doubt that Nehru's assumption of the presidency of the Congress on the eve of the elections, created new illusions in many sections, disrupted the KMPP, temporarily arrested the swing away from the Congress and exerted a powerful pull on the Muslim voters. Finally, there was the psychological factor—many people desired that the Congress should be defeated but did not believe it was possible to do so. Hence they either abstained from voting or willy-nilly voted for Congress.

Due to all this it can be safely asserted that the real loss in the influence of the Congress is far greater than that indicated by the voting figures. The Congress has suffered *the biggest political and moral defeat in its entire history*. This of course, should not lead one to the conclusion that the Congress has now lost all influence and is relying solely on repression to maintain itself in power. Even when all factors are taken into account, the Congress still has greater following than any other single party in the country. But its mass base is cracking up—and cracking up rapidly all over the country.

Secondly, on the whole the shift away from the Congress has been a *shift not to the Right* but to the Left, towards democracy and struggle and not towards counter-revolution—a fact which is of decisive importance not merely for a correct estimation of the events of the last five years but also for working out of correct slogans and tactics for the future.

The three all-India parties whose following can be broadly described as democratic and Left—the Socialist Party, the KMPP and the Communist Party and parties allied to it in the UFL and PDF of Travancore-Cochin and Hyderabad—together won 49 seats in the Parliament and 385 seats in the State Legislatures. They polled 20.9 and 16 per cent of the votes cast respectively.

The Jana Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Ram Rajya Parishad, parties of Hindu communal reaction, backed by landlords, princes and some of the most reactionary elements of the big bourgeoisie, won only 10 seats in the Parliament and 87 seats in the State Assemblies. They polled 4.5 and 7.3 per cent of the votes cast respectively.

Of the 87 seats won by these parties no less than 51 are situated in the princely States of Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat where the democratic movement has always been weak and where Congress policies of appeasement of the Princes and Jagirdars enabled them to strengthen their position. The same happened in Orissa where another party of feudal reaction, the Ganatantra Parishad, which assumes a “non-communal” garb, won 31 seats in the Orissa Assembly and polled 7.6

lakhs of votes, securing its most impressive victories in the districts of Sambalpur, Koraput, Bolangir and Kalahandi where even the Congress never had any influence. In Punjab and PEPSU, where parties of Hindu and Sikh communal reaction expected to score their biggest victories and even form the Government, they actually secured only 12.4 lakhs out of 63 lakh votes polled.

Feudal and communal reaction still retains considerable hold in its traditionally strong bases, has capitalised anti-Congress discontent to some extent in U.P., C.P. and parts of West Bengal but has failed to make significant headway in areas where it was not already strong.

Further, forces of communal and feudal reaction triumphed precisely in areas where the peasant movement led by the Communist Party was either weak or non-existent. They were routed where a militant peasant movement, a broad popular movement had been developed by the Communist Party. The contrast between Rajasthan and Hyderabad, between Travancore-Cochin and Madhya Bharat, between the Orissa States and Tripura is not only an eloquent commentary on the real nature of the "bloodless revolution" effected by Sardar Patel, it also delivers a smashing blow against the Nehruite thesis that feudal reaction can be defeated by supporting the Congress.

The masses, it is evident to all today, are moving away from the Congress. They are moving towards the Left, towards the democratic camp, towards struggle. Failure to see this, failure to understand its significance, failure to make this the basis of our work would lead to trailing behind events, to being taken by surprise, to right opportunist deviations in relation to mass struggles.

This process, however, is not taking place in a simple and uniform way, nor is it expressing itself in the same form everywhere. Failure to realise this would lead to deviations of an opposite nature.

Local parties have come into existence in many parts of the country, parties most of which were formed on the eve of elections and they together polled nearly 90 lakhs of the

votes. Among these are parties like the Tamilnad Toilers' Party that professes a progressive programme, parties that express the urge of the tribal people for a homeland like the Jharkhand Party, parties led by feudal princes like the Ganatantra Parishad, parties that profess Congress ideology and declare that they oppose the Congress only on specific issues like the Lok Sewak Sangh, the Tamilnad Congress of Travancore, etc.

Another marked feature of the elections has been the very large vote polled by "Independents". Taking the country as a whole, they polled nearly 20 per cent of the votes in the Assembly elections—a figure much higher than that polled by any party other than the Congress. In most Provinces and States the total votes polled by the Independents were only next to the Congress. The exceptions are Travancore-Cochin, Hyderabad, Andhra, Malabar and Tripura.

This phenomenon is significant. Equally significant are the exceptions.

They reveal on the one hand the *disintegration of the mass base* of the Congress, the rift in the Congress itself—many former Congressmen standing as independents in order to capitalise the anti-Congress discontent; they show on the other hand insufficient development of political consciousness among large sections of masses, their vacillations, the weakness of organised all-India parties in many areas which enables local men of influence and local parties formed on the eve of elections, to utilise mass radicalisation. Also they are a reflection of the existing disunity of the popular forces which bewilder many who hate the Congress and make them repose their trust not in any party but in the men they "know".

It is a fact worth noting that in States and areas where the Communist Party is strongest and where a broad united front was forged, unattached independents not merely failed to win many seats but even polled poorly. A number of independents in these areas who were either formally or in practice integrated in the Democratic Front won on the basis of progressive support and are standing firm even after the elections.

All these show the complex and tortuous process that is going on in our country, the divergent forms which the break up of the Congress is assuming, the strength and weakness of the popular forces. While the basic shift is clear and unambiguous, the specific extent and nature of the shift in each area, the classes it involves, the form in which it expresses itself—all these must be concretely studied by provincial units of the Party in order that over-simplification is avoided and correct tactics are evolved in relation to parties and movements.

Emergence of the Communist Party As A Major Political Force

Not merely have the broad masses moved away from the Congress, not merely have the majority of them moved to the Left, but inside the camp of the democratic masses, the Communist Party has become the strongest single factor, the most powerful challenge to the Congress. Even the worst enemies of the Party are forced to recognise this. The Party stands forth today as the first Party of the Andhra people, as the most powerful force in Kerala, as the Party that has the backing of the overwhelming majority of the people of Tripura, as the Party which constitutes the main opposition to the Congress in Bengal, as the Party which is rapidly growing in Orissa and Punjab, as the Party which people *all over the country* consider to be the Party of the future.

This is a factor of decisive significance for our country and our people. The Communist Party has carved out for itself a place on the political map of India.

If this had not happened, if the Socialist Party of India which claimed at one time that it would capture "at least 800 seats" had emerged as the main "opposition" to the Congress it would have tried to capitalise its victory not in order to fight the Congress but in order to bargain with it. It would have sown new illusions among the people and tried to organise them for anti-struggle, anti-unity and anti-Soviet, anti-China policies. It would have diverted the democratic movement

into disruptive, professedly anti-Communist but in reality anti-democratic channels and served the interests of American imperialists.

No genuine democrat, therefore, need shed tears over the Socialist Party's debacle in the General Elections.

Attempt is being made by the Socialist Party leadership to prove that their claim to be the "alternative" to the Congress has been proved by the fact that they have polled many more votes than those polled by the Communists and the UFL and the PDF—99 lakhs against 62 lakhs. This claim has no basis in reality.

In the first place, the Socialists contested more than 3 times as many seats as contested by the Communists and the PDF and the UFL. Even in Madras State, Socialists contested 161 seats while Communists contested only 133.

Secondly, in many constituencies it put up candidates who were selected only because of their "local influence". A notorious example of this is the Maharajah of Vizianagaram and his lieutenants who stood as "Socialist" candidates from Andhra. It formed alliances with Dr. Ambedkar, with careerists, even with Congress factions in some areas.

Thirdly, the Socialist Party basked in the sunshine of patronage of the ruling party all these years, was given unhampered freedom to disrupt the working class movement, freedom for propaganda and agitation and did not have its leaders and workers in prison and underground.

Fourthly, the 6 million votes polled by the Communist Party, UFL and PDF are no real indication of the effective influence of the Party. In many constituencies of Telangana and other areas, the Party could not set up candidates. Above all, taking into account the undemocratic nature of the Constitution and with a view to forging unity and defeat the Congress, the Party did not put up its own candidates in many constituencies, but supported the independents, the KMPP and other parties and even the Socialist Party. To give only a few examples, five out of the 12 Socialists who won in Travancore-Cochin won with the support of the Party, the

Party supported the Socialist candidate in order to defeat Madhava Menon in Malabar, it was with the Party's support that Kumaraswamy Raja was defeated in Madras State, no less than 14 KMPP and independents elected to the Madras Assembly from Andhra had the support of the Party.

Despite all this, even in Bihar where the Socialist Party contested and won the largest number of seats (264 and 23), it polled 6,540 votes per seat contested and the strength of the Socialist Party in the Assembly is less than one tenth the strength of the Congress (240).

As against this, to take only one example, in Travancore-Cochin, the UFL contested 73 and won 37 seats including 5 supported Independents, polling over 11,000 votes per seat contested, and its strength in the Assembly is 82 per cent that of the Congress Party.

Even if we take the percentage of voting alone, the Socialist Party in its strongest base, Bihar, has secured only 18.2 per cent of the votes cast while the PDF of Hyderabad has secured 22.5 per cent of the votes and the UFL of Travancore-Cochin 25 per cent.

The Socialist Party has done best in the States of Bihar, U.P. and Vindhya Pradesh. In these States and in some others where the Party has secured 10 seats or more the number of seats won by it as against the Congress are as follows :

	<i>Socialists</i>	<i>Congress</i>
Bihar	23	240
Uttar Pradesh	18	390
Vindhya Pradesh	11	40
Travancore-Cochin	12	44
Madras	13	152
Hyderabad	11	93
Orissa	10	63

Nowhere is the Socialist Party in a position to challenge the Congress, to oppose it effectively, to substantiate its claim of being the "alternative" to the Congress.

The Communist Party, the UFL and the PDF have won most of their victories in the States of Travancore-Cochin,

Hyderabad, Madras, Bengal and Tripura, where their strength *vis-a-vis* the Congress in the Assembly is as follows :

	Communists & UF	Congress
Hyderabad	45	93
Travancore-Cochin	37	44
Madras	62	152
Bengal	30	150
Tripura (Electoral College)	19	9

While the Socialist Party cannot become an "alternative" to the Congress or even the major constituent of an alternative democratic coalition government in any State Assembly, coalition of democratic parties including the Communists as its major constituent party, can replace Congress rule in a number of States.

In the contiguous States of Madras, Hyderabad and Travancore-Cochin which have a total area of 219,146 sq. miles and a population of 8.48 crores, the Communist Party, the PDF and the UFL have won 144 seats as against 289 seats won by the Congress.

In the contiguous States of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Vindhya Pradesh which have a total area of 207,491 sq. miles and a population of 10.7 crores, the Socialist Party has won 52 seats as against 671 won by the Congress.

The strength of the Communist Party, the UFL and the PDF in the former three Legislative Assemblies is 49.7 per cent of the Congress strength. The strength of the Socialist Party in the latter three Legislative Assemblies is only 7.4 per cent of the Congress strength.

Whereas, therefore, in the former area, the United Front constitutes a serious challenge to the Congress in the latter area the Socialist party does not constitute such a challenge.

No amount of jugglery with figures can hide this patent fact.

In every State where the Socialist Party is the main opposition, the correlation of forces both inside the Assembly and outside, is still heavily in favour of reaction headed by the

Congress and the ruling classes are not confronted with an acute crisis.

In several States where the Communist Party and the United Front constitute the main opposition to the Congress, the correlation of forces has either already changed or is fast changing against reaction headed by the Congress and the ruling classes are facing a serious crisis.

And where the crisis is most acute—Travancore-Cochin—the Socialist Party which once dreamed of replacing Congress rule has already become the main prop of the tottering Congress Government. The same may happen soon in Madras State also.

These facts show that the Communist Party and the United Front have not merely emerged as the strongest opposition to the Congress but also that their successes have created a qualitatively new situation in Indian politics. They have created a serious *crisis* for the ruling classes, have created possibilities for the *defeat* of the Congress in several States, have shattered the myth of the invincibility of the Congress and destroyed the *monopoly position* which the Congress enjoyed in the political life of the country. All this is bound to exercise a profound influence on the masses even in areas where the Congress has won the overwhelming majority of seats, and draw them towards struggle, towards unity and thus undermine the position of the Congress throughout the country.

Already the eyes of the masses of all States are focussed on the South—on Hyderabad, on Travancore-Cochin, on Madras.

The “instability” that has developed in these States is not just *governmental* instability, which occurs when rival parties of the ruling classes are evenly balanced. It is *political* instability caused by changed correlation of class forces—the emergence of the party of the working class as a major force. It may mark the beginning of a political crisis for the ruling classes. Therein lies the reason of their panic.

Therein also lies the reason for Dean Acheson’s plea for “aid” to India and his speech of March 13th in the course of which he said :

"India is fighting a desperate battle to save herself from Communism..."

"India is a most striking example of the need for urgent and effective action..."

"...the unexpected strength shown by the Communist Party in the recent national elections..."

The significance of the victories won by the Communist Party and the United Front must not, therefore, be measured merely in terms of seats won and percentage of votes secured. The significance lies deeper.

All this is being stated not in order to create sectarian arrogance in our comrades, not in order to induce them to make the false claim that "not Socialists but we are the alternative"; but in order to stress that history of the Communist Party is not "merely a history of deviations" as cynics think but a history of bold leadership of mass struggles, in order to point out the *new* situation in Indian politics and the role the Party has played in creating this situation.

Odds Against the Party

For four years, the entire power of the State was directed against the Party and the movement led by it. Party units were banned, mass organisations were suppressed, tens of thousands were thrown in prison without trial, thousands involved in cases of murder, dacoity, arson and rioting, and thousands shot. Terror was let loose against people in areas where the Party had its main bases and struggles led by the Party were drowned in blood: Military and police terror reigned in Telengana and other areas; women were subjected to worst indignities. A virulent campaign of lies and slanders was launched against the Party, a campaign in which the Socialist leaders fully participated.

Even when elections were being held, hundreds of the finest cadres of the Party remained in prison, warrants continued against over a thousand in Hyderabad, arrests, beating up and even killing continued in Telangana.

The victories that the Party and the United Front have

won show clearly that the Government offensive against the Party has failed. The areas of mass struggles stood firm like rocks. Those who slandered the Party as a party of bandits and murderers have been silenced. Telangana has acquired a new meaning in the eyes of the democratic masses in our country in general and of the oppressed peasantry in particular. No longer is it associated with "Communist atrocities"; today it is associated with the mass peasant movement for land which all the might of the Government failed to crush, with resounding defeats suffered by the Congress, with the victory of the Communist candidate Comrade Ravi Narayana Reddy, who polled the highest vote in India.

Not merely has the policy of repression suffered fiasco but the vaunted morality of the Congress leaders also stands exposed. They stand exposed as hypocrites and liars, as organisers of mass butchery.

How did the Party and the United Front win such victories in face of such overwhelming odds?

This question will be taken up later but here it is necessary to point out one thing. Nothing would be more harmful than any attempt to explain the victories won by the Party in the States of the South, in Bengal and Tripura, in Orissa and Punjab by basing oneself on the events of the last 3-4 years *alone* or the events of any particular "period". Such "explanations" would lead to wrong conclusions and wrong practice. What we have to understand is that in the result of the elections stand revealed, though within limitations, the *entire* work carried on by the Party ever since its formation in various States and Provinces—the struggles it has led, the classes on which it has based itself, the causes it has championed, the organisations it has built, the links it has forged with the masses by selfless and sustained hard and patient work.

Lessons of the Elections

Not merely Communists but all genuine democrats, all classes except the monopolists and landlords, desire the removal of the present Government and its replacement by a popular

government. It is necessary, therefore, for all of them to examine the causes which led to the defeat of the Congress at the hands of the progressive forces in certain States and areas and not in others. The general national and international factors, sketched earlier, which include the food crisis, operated in *all parts* of the country, and played a big role in weakening and disintegrating the Congress everywhere. The very fact, however, that the democratic forces succeeded most in *specific* areas shows the need to examine the *specific* factors that led to their victories.

The "theory" put forward by Congress leaders and their henchmen that Congress lost where the food shortage was acutest and where, therefore "mischief-mongers" could turn the wrath of the people against the Government—this theory has no basis in reality.

If this theory were correct, then the worst famine-affected province of Bihar would not have returned the Congress Party to power with such majority. If this theory were correct, then the Congress would not have lost heavily in the Krishna, Guntur, East Godavari and West Godavari districts of Andhra, in the Tanjore district of Tamilnad—all of which are surplus districts—and done comparatively better in other districts in the same province where the food situation is far worse.

The leaders of the Congress put forward this "theory" because they want to make out that Communists *want* famine and starvation for through that alone they can win the support of the masses. This is on a par with the other bourgeois theory that Communists want unemployment, chaos and war for that alone would create the situation in which they can "capture power".

Study of the election results shows that the most impressive victories were won by the Democratic Forces—

1. Where the Party boldly led mass struggles in face of terror and repression, where it established its claim to be the leader of the people by determined championship of the cause of the masses, unflinching courage, utter devotion to the cause of the people, self-sacrifice and heroism;

2. Where the Party had developed a broad peasant movement uniting the entire peasant masses and on the firm foundation of unity of agricultural workers and toiling peasants. Also where the Party had built a powerful trade union movement;

3. Where flexible United Front tactics were adopted, the Communist Party coming before the people as the party of unity, as the party giving concrete expression to the popular urge for unity, as the party subordinating everything to the supreme task of defeating the Congress;

4. Where the election campaign could be developed into a broad popular movement with the slogan of an alternative Government as the key slogan;

5. Where provincial units of the Party brought out their own Manifestoes based on the Central Manifesto, where agitation was positive and concrete and such concrete factors as the *national* factor, the factor of unification of the nationality into linguistic provinces, were effectively utilised (the contrast between Andhra and Kerala on the one hand and Maharashtra and the others is striking);

6. Where the weakness of organisation was overcome by developing mass initiative, rank and file initiative to the utmost extent, drawing the masses into the electoral battle as active participants in selection of candidates, in planning work through broad-based United Front Committees at all levels; and

7. Where the Party was strongest; where the Party was unified and went into the struggle as a team.

All these factors must be taken together and in their totality. Any attempt to isolate any single factor and focus attention only on that factor would lead to wrong conclusions, to deviations of right opportunist and left-sectarian nature.

Long before the elections—in the Policy Statement and in the Election Manifesto—the Party had pointed out that the Congress had lost the backing of the majority of our people and was relying on popular disunity to maintain itself in power. Hence the key task before the Party, before all the democratic forces, was to forge unity in order to defeat the Government.

The elections have proved the correctness of this analysis. They have brought home to the people the urgent need for unity.

They have done something more. They have shown that the unity that can defeat the Congress must be unity for *developing mass struggles*, unity not merely of top leaders of parties but unity of the masses, unity to build *a mass Trade Union and mass peasant movement* on the firm foundation of agricultural workers and toiling peasants, unity to create linguistic provinces, unity to fight for the demands of all classes and sections—workers, peasants and students, teachers, office-employees, shopkeepers, artisans, youths and women and build their *mass organisations*. They have shown that the masses have to play an active leading role in the struggle against the Government and their initiative has to be developed to the utmost extent. They have shown that only united mass organisations and broad-based united front committees at all levels can be the firm foundation of the United Front movement. Finally, they have shown that only a politically and organisationally unified mass Communist Party can be the builder of the United Front.

The elections, therefore, have not merely stressed the need for unity; they have also shown what kind of unity is needed, which classes must form its basis, what form it must take, which force can build it.

The lessons that the elections teach are valuable not merely for “future elections”. They are valuable for every struggle, for the entire democratic movement, for the establishment of a popular Government—a movement of which the general elections were only a part. These lessons must guide us in all our future work, these lessons should be made a part of the consciousness of all *democratic parties and elements*. All of them desire that the Congress should be defeated. All of them must know *how* the Congress can be defeated.

United Front Tactics During Elections

Complex and varied were the problems facing the Party in

forging electoral alliances with other parties and groups and their tackling demanded the utmost flexibility. Despite the absence of effective directives from the Centre, in the majority of provinces the comrades tackled these problems effectively demonstrating thereby the maturity they had attained.

The chief obstacle in the path of United Front was the right-wing leadership of the Socialist Party of India which contested no less than 1786 Assembly seats and which refused to ally itself not only with the Communist Party but with any democratic party while preferring alliance with Dr. Ambedkar and notorious careerists, many of whom it adopted as candidates. Its leaders went to the length of saying that they preferred victory of the Congress to victory of the Communist Party in any constituency. And they actually ensured victory for the Congress in hundreds of constituencies by splitting the democratic votes.

In view of the anti-unity policy of the Socialist Party, in view of their record of sabotage of mass struggles and moral support to the Congress in the suppression of the militant struggles of workers and peasants, in view of their hostility towards the Soviet Union, People's China and other democratic countries and in view of their open subservience to the British and American imperialists—it was perfectly correct on the part of the Communist Party to lay down that there should be no *general support* to Socialist Party candidates—even in constituencies where the Party or the United Front were not contesting. Such support, no matter what name was given to it, would have meant in practice acceptance of the Socialist Party's claim that they and they alone are the "alternative" to the Congress. It would have meant tacit support to the anti-people and pro-American policy of the right-wing leadership of the Socialist Party.

It was also correct that where we or our allies were not contesting, we should support such Socialist candidates as were pro-unity; pro-struggle and not anti-Soviet.

However, it was *also* necessary to stress that where a top leader of the Congress or a hated Minister could be defeated

only by supporting the Socialist candidate in the constituency, such support should be given despite the fact that the Socialist candidate could not be placed in the category of progressive Socialists. Experience has shown the galvanising effect of the defeat of top Congress leaders on the masses.

This omission, however, was corrected in most of the constituencies where such a situation arose before the polling. It was also necessary to point out that in bases of working class and peasant movement, the unity of the movement should be preserved and that if the Socialist candidate was one who was looked upon by the masses as *their* real leader, if he enjoyed *their* confidence and thus he alone had reasonable possibilities of winning—in such places the Party should support the Socialist candidate as against the Congress, while demarcating itself from the policies of the Socialist Party. Such tactics would have helped to strengthen the movement against the Congress and drawn the honest elements of the Socialist Party, especially rank and file workers and peasants into the unity movement.

With the Left-Socialist Group, the Party worked in closest co-operation in almost all constituencies where the group existed. Cadres of the Left-Socialist Group as well as their leaders wholeheartedly supported the Party in the election struggle.

The Party achieved electoral agreement with the Forward Bloc (Marxist) in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, with the Kamgar Kisan Party in Bombay and several parts of Maharashtra and the Marathwada region of Hyderabad. In several constituencies of Maharashtra, the Party and the Peasants' & Workers' Party opposed each other though they worked together at Sholapur. In Uttar Pradesh, the Party and the UPRSP worked together. In Punjab, the Party had united front agreement with the Lal Communist Party. The failure to reach agreement with the Forward Bloc in Punjab had adverse effect on the election in several constituencies.

The united front of the Communist Party with the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Kerala Socialist Party which

led to the formation of the United Left Front in Travancore-Cochin had a galvanising effect on the entire people of the State and created the conditions for broad United Front Committees on a local basis into which all democratic elements were drawn.

The People's Democratic Front of Hyderabad also was in essence a United Front of Left Parties and groups with its main base in Telangana where the Communists have become the undisputed leaders of the peasant movement.

The specific feature of these United Fronts were that they were in the nature of agreement between Left parties, that accepted the goal of Socialism, parties most of whom claimed to be Marxist. Such United Fronts were necessary and desirable. But they were not broad enough to draw the vast masses into the movement, they were not strong enough to defeat the Congress.

The Party, therefore, tried to build a broader united front—a united front which would exclude the parties of communal reaction backed by feudal and counter-revolutionary elements but includes all parties, groups and individuals who opposed the Congress from a progressive and democratic standpoint—even though the opposition in many cases was not firm and consistent.

In Tamilnad where the main base of the Party lay in working class areas and among the peasant masses of Tanjore, the Party supported the Toilers' Party candidates in Arcot district, a number of progressive Independents, and strove for a province-wide united front with the Dravida Kazhagam. While the latter as an organisation did not join the United Front, most of its leaders and cadres supported the Party and Left candidates and played a big role in the defeat of the Congress.

In Andhra, even after attempts to reach agreement with the KMPP and the KLP had failed, the Party did not content itself merely with "exposing" these parties and opposing them everywhere; it supported and worked for a number of candidates set up by KMPP to ensure the defeat of the Congress.

United Front on a local basis was arrived at in several areas and no less than 11 KMPP candidates elected to the State Assembly from Andhra had the backing of the Party. Gopala Reddy and Kala Venkat Rao have openly ascribed their defeats to the support given to their opponents by the Communists.

In Malabar, the Party succeeded in achieving a united front agreement with the KMPP, a united front which played a big role in ensuring the rout of the Congress.

In Bengal, a United Front embracing the Communist Party, Forward Bloc and the KMPP and covering the whole province could have inflicted a crushing defeat on the Congress. Such a front did not come about mainly due to the insistence of the KMPP on contesting too many seats. The Party was late in giving the slogan of an alternative Government and could not also develop a sufficiently strong unity movement.

Certain mistakes committed in our approach to the Scheduled Caste Federation have been dealt with in a resolution of the Central Committee.

It can be seen from the above that while some successes were undoubtedly achieved in achieving United Front agreements, on the whole the slogan of the Party that all progressive forces must unite to defeat the Congress remained unfulfilled. Even Left unity was not fully realised in most provinces.

What was this due to?

Some would ascribe this solely or mainly to sectarian approach on the part of the Communist Party towards other parties. Such explanation would lead to the wrong conclusion that once the Party adopts a "correct approach", unity will be achieved.

Undoubtedly a correct approach is necessary. Undoubtedly we have to get rid of all sectarianism, remnants of which are still very strong among us and is hampering the development of the United Front movement. But the real causes as to why effective United Front could not be forged in the elections lie deeper.

They lie first and foremost in the *weakness of the Party* itself. Only the Communist Party, as history of all countries has proved, can be the leader, builder and driving force of the United Front movement.

Sectarianism itself is both cause and the result of the weakness of the Party. Without ridding ourselves of sectarianism, we cannot take effective steps towards the development of a broad mass movement. Without developing such a movement we cannot root out sectarianism.

If the Party were strong among the masses, above all strong in its own class, the working class, it could have brought them on the streets with the demand for unity, it could have developed a mighty unity movement whose very strength would have convinced all democratic parties and elements that unity was necessary and possible and that this unity could defeat the Congress. It was the independent strength of the Party, its independent mobilising power, *combined with* correct approach that made United Front between the Communist Party and the KMPP in Malabar possible.

Secondly, before the elections most of the other parties with which we sought United Front *exaggerated their own strength* and influence and refused to recognise the strength and influence of the Communist Party, which though far less than what the situation demanded was far greater than what the bourgeoisie thought or wanted to make out. Accustomed to methods of bourgeois parties, other parties looked upon appeals for unity made by the Communist Party as a sign of its weakness, as recognition of the "fact" that the Party was "played out". Hence, while professing to stand for unity many of them laid down conditions to accept which would have meant liquidation of the Party's own bases.

Thirdly, the issue of United Front came to the forefront only on the eve of elections and United Front itself, therefore, could not but be only an electoral agreement. It was not as though a united mass movement had been developed for the realisation of the immediate demands of the people, united mass organisations built as the organ of the movement and

the election struggle looked upon by all as part of this movement, as a means to establish a Government which would carry out the minimum accepted programme of the movement. Inevitably, therefore, disputes arose not on any basic issue but on which seat which party should contest.

Due to all these reasons the United Front realised during the elections could neither be sufficiently broad nor sufficiently firm.

A new situation has developed after the elections. Not merely the urge for unity has grown but also its possibilities have increased immensely. All can see today that no single Party can defeat the Congress and dislodge it from power. All can see today that the Communist Party is a major force, that the Congress suffered its heaviest defeats precisely where the Communist Party is strongest; that therefore, *only a United Front which includes the Communist Party* can replace the Congress. All can see today that mere discontent is not enough, that this discontent has to be given concrete form and direction through *mass struggles* and consolidated in *mass organisations*. All can see today the Congress can be defeated, as it has been defeated in Madras, Travancore-Cochin and Telangana. All can see today that these defeats have created a serious crisis in the ruling class, that the measures which they are adopting to overcome the crisis (like the appointment of a Counsellor in Travancore-Cochin and the refusal to form Andhra Province) are deepening the crisis, are giving rise to *opposition even in Congress circles* and thus the basis is being created for broader United Front than any of us visualised before. Even the Socialist Party leadership dares not today reject the slogan of United Front off-hand but is compelled to pursue its anti-unity policy in a more subtle way. The joint walk-out from the Hyderabad Assembly on the occasion of the Rajapramukh's address is an indication of the growing strength of the urge for unity. The rank and file and even the leadership of the KMPP has come closer to the Party and expressed readiness to co-operate with us.

The elections have underlined the need for unity. They have also created conditions for the development of a broad united movement to defeat the Congress and install a popular Government in power.

Weaknesses Revealed

The elections have also revealed serious weaknesses of our movement which have to be overcome with the utmost rapidity.

One common failing, a most serious failing almost in every area, was the complete ignoring of the issue of peace and also to a great extent the issue of solidarity of the Indian people with Vietnam and Malaya, with Egypt and Iran. It was inevitable that issues of food and cloth, of wages and employment, of police terror and suppression of civil liberties would figure prominently in our agitation. But together with them, it was also necessary to popularise the struggles that are being waged against imperialists in other lands, to denounce the atrocities of the imperialists against the peoples of these countries to develop international consciousness in our people, to make them conscious of the menace of world war and to demand that India should play a leading role in bringing about a Pact of Peace between the Great Powers. It was necessary to expose the role that the Indian Government is playing by refusing to take a firm stand on Peace. It was necessary to warn the people that the continuation of the Nehru Government in power meant increased penetration of American capital in India, increased dependence on America which has revealed itself as the enemy of freedom and independence of peoples of all lands.

Not that all these were not done at all but as comrades will admit, that these were not done with sufficient vigour and effectiveness.

This is being stated here not merely in order to point a serious weakness of our agitation but also in order to emphasise the importance of the resolution on peace adopted by the Central Committee and in order that serious attention may

be paid by Party units to implement the directions of that resolution as well as of the circular on peace and solidarity with the colonial peoples.

The weaknesses that the elections have revealed, however, are not confined to this and certain other aspects of our agitation and organisation only. There are other basic weaknesses also.

The most serious weakness which the results of the elections showed is the weakness of the Party in the working class, the weakness of the trade union movement, the deep split in the working class.

Except in some of our trade union bases of Tamilnad, in Kolar Goldfields where Tamilian workers predominate, in the small industrial areas of Kerala, in Sholapur and in predominantly Bengali working class areas of Calcutta and suburbs, we fared poorly in industrial areas. In most of the *major industrial centres*, the Party failed to win seats. It failed to win a single seat in Bombay which had first hoisted the Red Flag, it failed to win seats in Nagpur, in Kanpur, in Delhi, in Ahmedabad, in Tatanagar, etc. The overwhelming majority of the seats in all these areas were captured by the Congress, including most of the seats in the mining belts of Bihar. Hindustani speaking workers of Bengal voted for the Congress.

The serious state of affairs that these results reveal need not be dilated upon. The Policy Statement adopted by the Party has stressed the importance of the industrial working class in our economy and in our political movement, has pointed out that the leadership of the working class movement has to be established not merely through the leadership of the Party but also primarily through *action by the class itself*. Due to the position which cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Kanpur etc. occupy in the political life of our country, the Party cannot become a national political force without becoming the major force in these cities, in the working class of these cities.

Explaining how mass action of the proletariat transformed

“slumbering Russia, into a Russia of the revolutionary proletariat and revolutionary people”, Lenin drew attention to the striking fact “the bigger the city, the more significant was the role the proletariat played in the struggle”.

The weakness of our working class movement, the weakness of the Party in the major industrial centres, is the key reason why we are unable to give concrete expression to the popular hatred against the Government in an effective manner, why we are unable to develop a powerful movement against rise in the price of foodstuffs, against suppression of civil liberties, against imperialist atrocities in Korea. The Party can be constantly before the people, appear as their tribune and champion, rally the democratic masses under its banner only if it is able to move the working class into action on national and international issues.

To overcome the disunity of the working class, to develop a powerful working class movement, to create political consciousness in the working class—this, therefore, is the key task facing the Party today. This must not remain a pious wish as in the past but be translated into deeds.

Equally weak is the state of the peasant movement in most provinces. In Maharashtra, where the Party has been working for many years, small working class centres of Amalner and Dhulia voted mostly for the Party but due to our weakness in the surrounding peasant areas, we failed to win seats.

It is not a question of elections alone. By confining its work to small industrial areas, by not spreading out in the surrounding rural areas, the Party would isolate the working class in such centres and render it impotent in face of Government attack. This holds true even for relatively large working class centres of the north, many of which are industrial island in a vast agrarian sea.

The Party in Maharashtra has also to take up the issue of *Samyukta Maharashtra* in right earnest. The ignoring of this issue by the Party is a serious failing which has nothing in common with the Marxist principle that the party of the

proletariat has to fight for unification of national homelands. The relative strength and stability of the Congress in Bombay and Madhya Pradesh States is due, among other reasons, to the fact that the movement for linguistic province has remained weak. Further, the demand for disintegration of Hyderabad State can never acquire irresistible strength as long as the Marathwada regions are not drawn into the struggle for a United Maharashtra.

While the mass base of the Congress is disintegrating all over the country, the disintegration is not proceeding at the same rate in all areas. Nor should we draw the conclusion that mere weakening of the Congress necessarily means the strengthening of the democratic movement.

In Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat and Madhya Pradesh, the Congress has secured a minority of votes polled but in all these States the democratic parties too have done poorly and the combined strength of the Congress and the parties of communal and feudal reaction is many times more than that of the democratic parties. In Punjab, PEPSU and Orissa, the Party has made considerable headway in recent years, but reactionary forces are still in a dominant position there. The struggle in all these areas and Delhi is not a struggle against the Congress alone. It is simultaneously a struggle against feudal and communal reaction. To forget this would lead to the worst type of opportunism, to entanglement with parties of reaction which would strengthen them and help the Congress leaders to retain their influence on the democratic masses.

In the vast Hindustani speaking region which stretches from Ambala to the borders of Bengal, the region of which the Uttar Pradesh forms the heart and core, the Congress is still an immensely powerful force. The Communist Party failed to win a single seat in this whole region. Even the Socialist Party which claimed this area as its stronghold fared badly—much worse than anyone expected. So did the KMPP. The democratic movement in this area is extremely weak—weaker even than in many other areas where too the Congress secured only a minority of votes.

The following facts will show this. They will also show how wrong it is to measure the strength or weakness of reaction only by reference to the support secured by the Congress.

In Maharashtra, where the Congress won 82 per cent of the seats securing 42 per cent of the votes, the democratic vote, (the votes secured by the Peasants' and Workers' Party, the Socialist Party, the Kamgar Kisan Party and the Communist Party) constitutes 32.6 per cent of the poll, while the parties of communal reaction got only 1.1 per cent.

In Uttar Pradesh, on the other hand, the Congress won 390 out of 430 seats securing 49 per cent of the votes; the democratic votes (Socialist Party, KMPP, RSP and Communist Party) were 20 per cent, while communal reactionaries secured 15 per cent.

In Bihar, Congress won 73 per cent of the seats and as in Maharashtra, got 42 per cent of the votes; but the democratic votes constituted only 23.7 per cent of the poll, even the Janata Party, a party of big landlords securing nearly 3 times as many votes as the Communist Party and as much as the Communist Party, Forward Bloc, United Kisan Sabha and RSP put together.

In all these States, the basic task is to develop a mass peasant movement, in close co-operation with all democratic parties and elements, paying special attention to the agricultural workers and poor peasants, vast masses of whom have not yet been drawn into the Kisan Sabhas. This alone will shatter the base of the Congress in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, this alone will defeat the efforts of the communal and feudal reactionaries who are diverting the anti-Congress sentiment of the people into disruptive and counter-revolutionary channels. Feudal remnants are still immensely strong in most of these regions, caste and social oppression rampant—against which the Party must mobilise democratic opinion.

Further, the Party has to pay special attention to the disabilities from which the Muslim minorities suffer—the suppression of Urdu, the discrimination against Muslims in

services, etc., the open or veiled intimidation to which the Muslims are frequently subjected.

It should also be noted that in several regions, especially in the Chotanagpur regions of Bihar, the movement for a tribal homeland has gathered immense strength. The spectacular victories of the Jharkhand Party which swept the polls, especially in the tribal districts of Singhbhum and Ranchi and won 32 seats in the Bihar Assembly are phenomena to which utmost attention has to be paid. Failure to evolve correct slogans and tactics and conduct vigorous work among the tribal people would mean leaving them in the hands of their present leaders who are striving to use them for purposes of bargain with the Congress leadership and who will use their just aspirations for disruptive purposes. The causes of the failure of the Party in Darjeeling and the success of the Gurkha League must be studied.

It must be clearly realised that at the present stage when events are marching rapidly, when the ruling classes are facing a crisis, the uneven level of our movement, the extreme weakness of the democratic forces over the greater part of the country constitutes a serious menace to the entire democratic movement.

At the same time, it must be remembered that it is not as though in areas where the Congress and extreme right wing have triumphed, the base of reaction is firm and broad. On the contrary, the base is weak and is disintegrating under the impact of the victories of the democratic forces in the South, under the impact of growing mass opposition and due to dissensions in the Congress camp itself. There is no need, therefore, for defeatist outlook and demoralising conclusions. What is needed is intensive work, overcoming of weaknesses that the elections have brought out.

From all that has been said above, it should not be thought that special efforts are needed on the part of the Party only in States of the North, that in the areas where the Party has scored its biggest victories the Congress has been *smashed*, that no unevenness of the movement prevails in those regions.

Such conclusions would be wrong. They would lead to complacency and sliding back. They may also lead to left-sectarian tactics.

In Andhra, the Party contested 67 seats and won 41. It polled 14.52 lakhs of votes. In the constituencies where the Party contested, the Congress polled 9.98 lakhs of votes. Altogether the Congress contested 136 seats, won 40 and polled 21.84 lakhs of votes.

This shows that the Congress is not a negligible factor even in Andhra. It is still a very big force. Same is even more true about Malabar, Tamilnad and other areas.

Further, of the 41 seats won by the Party in Andhra, no less than 31 are situated in the four districts of Krishna (10), Guntur (10), East Godavari (6) and West Godavari (5)—the traditional strongholds of the Party. Three seats were won in Nellore. From the remaining 7 districts, the Party contested 18 and won 7.

In Tamilnad, 6 out of the 16 seats won by the Party were from the district of Tanjore.

In Malabar, all the 5 seats in the Moplah regions were captured by the Muslim League.

In Bengal, the Party won 30 seats of which 22 lie in Calcutta and in the adjoining districts of Howrah, 24 Parganas, Hooghly and Burdwan. Six seats were won in Midnapore. Party's base in Bengal, in many areas lies, as elections show, mainly in the middle-classes and not in the working class. In North Bengal, the arena of the Tebhaga struggle, the Party failed badly. Even in Cooch Behar, which witnessed big food demonstrations and firing last year, the Congress won all the seats.

In Telangana, out of the 45 seats won by the PDF in Hyderabad State, 35 lie in the districts of Warangal, Nalgonda and Kareemnagar. The movement in the Marathwada area of Hyderabad is extremely weak.

Again, if we take Orissa and Punjab, where the Party has won a number of seats, we get the following picture.

Out of the 7 seats won by the Party in Orissa, 6 lie in the

districts of Ganjam and Dhenkanal. Out of the 6 seats won by the Party and the Lal Communist Party in Punjab, 5 are in the districts of Amritsar and Ferozepur.

What do these facts show?

They show that great unevenness prevails even in States and Provinces where the Party has become a force, the movement has yet to be broadened and extended. Further, that in a State like Bengal where the Party is already looked upon as leader of the democratic forces, it has yet to acquire a firm and broad proletarian and peasant base, while extending and consolidating the position it has won among the middle-classes.

The unevenness which the elections have revealed is not merely a *geographical* unevenness. It is something far more serious. In the greater part of the country, we have yet to acquire firm base in the proletariat and in the most oppressed strata of the peasantry—the classes that alone can constitute the granite foundation of a proletarian party.

While we have every reason to be proud of our achievements, proud of our Party, we cannot also afford to ignore the serious weaknesses which are not the weaknesses of the Party alone but of the entire democratic movement. They must be overcome by the *united effort* of all those who desire our country to be free and independent, happy and prosperous.

Situation after the Election

The results of the elections have given immense confidence to the masses. It has, as already pointed out, created a critical situation for the ruling classes. It has made the imperialists panicky.

Frightened by the growth of the democratic movement in India and frightening the Congress with the Red bogey, the American imperialists are striving to effect economic and political penetration into our country by "loans", "aids" and "agreements", and transform the Indian Government into their subservient tool—an instrument for violent suppression of

the democratic movement, an instrument of war against the democratic countries.

"The USA believes it necessary" said Dean Acheson in a statement before the American Congress on March 19, "to stop and reverse a trend in the recent Indian elections in which the Communist vote increased to a very great extent. If this trend should continue, you will have a growth of Communist strength in India and a very dangerous situation in Asia".

Every patriotic Indian must be made to ponder over the significance of these words which presage shameless interference in the affairs of our country by the American imperialists. "The USA believes it necessary to stop and reverse" the trend to the Left. The means which the Americans adopted for this in China and Greece and even in countries like France and Italy, what it meant for those countries—for their freedom as well as economy—all this must be explained to our people.

The Party has to come before the people today as the Party of full national freedom, as the Party that defends national independence and national sovereignty, as the Party that wages determined battle against those who are selling our country to the foreign imperialists.

Faced with the deepening economic crisis and the growing food shortage—products of their own policies—the ruling classes are resorting to standardisation, to wage-cuts, to raising the price of foodstuffs. As always, they are shifting the burden of the crisis on the workers, peasants and toiling intelligentsia, 30,000 workers of Ahmedabad have been thrown out on streets, thousands in Bombay are facing the same threat.

The Party has to come before the people as the Party that resists these attacks of the ruling classes, as the Party that defends the day-to-day interests of workers and of all sections of the people, as the Party that organises them for struggle to defend their right to live.

Having suffered serious political and moral reverses in

the elections—the Congress is striving to forge alliances with the most reactionary elements (release of Razakar Ministers of Hyderabad is an instance), disrupt the growing unity of the people (Nehru's overtures to the KMPP and Socialist Party, move to form "National Kisan Sabha" on the lines of the INTUC), isolate the revolutionary forces led by the Party, continue repression against the Party and launch a new terror drive against the Party.

All these efforts of the Government can be defeated today. The Congress is weaker than it was at any time. It is torn with internal dissensions—dissensions that will again come to the surface. The appointment of a Counsellor in Travancore-Cochin has evoked a protest even from Congressmen in the State and the crisis which developed after Congress defeat in the State has deepened. In Madras State, the crisis that developed as the result of the defeat of each one of the top Congress leaders, is being sought to be overcome by bringing back C. Rajagopalachari who, however, has not been able to find suitable "colleagues". In Hyderabad, the precarious majority is being sought to be maintained by extending the number of Ministers, by creating jobs for Congressmen who threaten split. Such is the state of the Congress!

The democratic movement is stronger than ever before; the Party is not merely stronger than ever, it has learned many lessons from its own history and the history of the mass movement.

The Party has learned that the "first task of every Party of the future is to convince the majority of the people that its Programme and tactics are correct" (Lenin), that for this propaganda and agitation, though essential, are not enough but also experience is needed, experience which the masses can acquire only through struggles.

The Party has learned that "in its struggle, the proletariat has no other weapon but organisation" (Lenin) and that even the most revolutionary situation will lead to revolution only if the main organisation—the Party—is firm in discipline, flexible in methods and deeply embedded in the masses.

The Party has learned that one deviation cannot be corrected by jumping into another deviation, that deviations both of the right opportunist and left-sectarian types have to be *simultaneously* fought, that both result very often from failure to see a complex situation in its entirety and from focusing attention only on a part and not the whole.

The Party has learned that it must neither be cowed by repression nor fall victim to the tactics of provocation resorted to by the enemy but develop the whole movement in a resolute, planned and co-ordinated manner on the basis of sober assessment of the situation in order to defeat the enemy.

Above all the Party has learned that it is today a major force, that millions follow its lead, that millions more sympathise with it and are coming towards it and all this imposes on it heavy duties and responsibilities, failure to discharge which will mean greater setback than ever before.

The Party has to give concrete expression to the popular urge for unity which expressed itself during the elections, which got strengthened after the elections and place the movement for unity on firm basis.

The Party must not get dizzy with success and propagate the wrong thesis that the Communist Party is the "alternative" to the Congress. Congress rule which represents the rule of landlords and monopolists can be replaced only by a Government of *democratic coalition* of all anti-imperialist parties, including the Communist Party. An attitude of sectarian arrogance towards other parties like the KMPP, the Forward Bloc and others, towards non-party democrats, and towards the ranks of the Socialist Party and honest followers of the Congress who still number millions, would disrupt unity and prevent us from carrying out our tasks.

Due to the victories won by the Party and democratic forces in the States of Madras and Travancore-Cochin and the serious reverses suffered by the Congress a new situation has developed there and new possibilities have opened up. In these two States, especially in the State of Madras, the

possibility has arisen of the formation of a Government of the United Democratic Front.

The specific features of the situation in these states are:

1. A big majority of people have taken up a position of opposition to the Congress which is in a minority even in the Legislature (Madras 152 in a House of 375, Travancore-Cochin 44 in a House of 108).

2. The opposition on the whole is a democratic opposition.

3. Communist Party is the single biggest force in the opposition.

Such is not the situation in a State like PEPSU where too the Congress is in a minority but where main force opposed to the Congress is represented by the Akali Party, a party of feudal and communal reaction and the Communist Party is not a major force. Nor does such a situation exist in Orissa, where too the main opposition consists of the Ganatantra Parishad—a party formed and led by princes. Hence there can be no UDF Governments in these States at present.

The formation of a Government of the United Democratic Front in Madras and in Travancore-Cochin would be a gigantic step forward. Such Governments would press for the formation of linguistic provinces, undertake measures to give relief to the peasantry, the agricultural labourers and the workers as well as to the middle-classes, combat black marketeering and corruption, restore full civil liberties and would thus help the people in their struggle for a better life. Such a government would be a Government of struggle against the monopolists and the feudals and a champion of the common people.

At the same time, one must remember the limitations of the present United Democratic Front.

It is a product of electoral defeats suffered by the Congress and represents a coalition of those who inflicted these defeats and came together only when the possibility of a non-Congress Government arose. It is not a product of victorious mass struggle in which the constituent units have

stood together and fought together. The present UDF has not been forged in the fire of mass struggle. It does not, therefore, yet represent the fighting unity of the masses.

As such the UDF itself is not yet sufficiently firm, nor sufficiently united. It is only a rapid growth of the mass movement, mass pressure and united mass organisations that can give it stability, unity and firmness.

Was it then premature for the Party to make efforts to form a Government of the UDF ?

Not in the least. When the possibility of forming an alternative Government arose, it was the duty and the responsibility of the Party to make every effort to translate this possibility into reality. Masses want an alternative Government. They want the non-Congress parties and individuals for whom they voted to form such a Government. Only by giving expression to this mass urge, only by taking steps for its materialisation, the Party could unite the masses and develop the mass movement. If a Government of the UDF comes about, it will be a great step forward. If, for any reason, it does not come about, the masses will have known whom they can trust and whom they cannot. They will know whom to hold responsible for the reimposition of the Congress rule over them.

Petty-bourgeois "Lefts" may shout about "opportunism", "betrayal of revolution" and "watering down of programme". The ruling classes know better. Hence their desperate efforts to form coalitions, to buy over Independents, to work up anti-Communist hysteria—to do everything to prevent the formation of a Government of the United Democratic Front.

Main Tasks Facing the Party

What are the main tasks facing the Party today?

Broadly speaking, they are:

1. Revive the trade unions and kisan sabhas as united organisations by not merely uniting the existing organisations but also by drawing into them workers of the Forward Bloc, KMPP, Socialists and rank and file Congressmen.

2. Develop a broad-based mass movement for civil

liberties, for withdrawal of warrants, release of detenus and lifting the ban on the Party in Hyderabad; for release of detenus and withdrawal of warrants in Bengal, Punjab, Bombay, Tripura; for defence of accused in Hyderabad, Madras State, Travancore-Cochin and Uttar Pradesh (Ballia); for repeal of the Detention Act, for full freedom of the Press, for TU rights.

3. Intensify the movement for linguistic Provinces in Andhra and Kerala and draw all elements, including Congressmen into the movement. Develop similar movement in Maharashtra and Karnataka. Demand ending of Commissioner's rule in Tripura and other Part C States and conferring of the right of Legislative Assembly on the Electoral College.

4. Develop a mass movement for peace, for a Five Power Peace Pact, for solidarity with colonial peoples fighting for freedom, for friendship with Soviet Union, China and other democratic countries, for close economic relation with them, against germ war in Korea, against suppression of Indians in South Africa, for withdrawal of the Kashmir issue from UNO.

5. Build a united movement for help to the people in the famine-stricken areas, force Government to give relief, mobilise people for adequate rations and against rise in prices of food-stuffs.

6. Place all these movements on the firm foundation of united organisations and united committees. Form UDF committees wherever necessary in order to broaden the movement. Develop a passion for organisation and overcome lag between movement and organisation.

7. Wage determined struggle against parties of feudal and communal reaction while drawing masses under their influence into united mass organisations.

8. Transform our newspapers into powerful instruments of mass education, mass agitation and mass mobilisation (All comrades must study Chapter Five of the *History of the CPSU (B)* which describes what a Bolshevik mass newspaper must be); create mass literature in the form of cheaply priced pamphlets on current national and international subjects.

9. Undertake education of Party cadres and draw cadres

into the Party (first as candidates) so as to build a mass Party which alone can fulfil the tasks of the mass movement.

10. Overcome all dissensions that still exist inside the Party in certain areas, fully unify the Party and tighten up discipline.

Due to strengthening of the democratic forces, it is possible today to give *every* movement a mass character. It is possible to develop a broad movement of writers, artists, and cultural workers, a theatre movement, movements of all sections, all strata of our people and to draw into them all honest and progressive elements.

The growing hatred against the British and American warmongers, the immense sympathy and goodwill among our people for Soviet Union and China, that have been expressed in enthusiastic reception to the cultural delegations that visited our country are a powerful factor for peace and for brotherly relations with our neighbours. The fiasco that the slander propaganda carried on by American imperialists against these countries has suffered, the contempt with which those who reveal themselves as American agents are looked upon by our people is an indication of the profound democratic sentiments of our people. Basing themselves on this sentiment, the democratic forces can today decisively defeat the war plans of the imperialists and enable our country to play a worthy role in humanity's struggle for peace.

The election of a large number of Communists to the Legislative Assemblies and Parliament have imposed new responsibilities on our Party. In order to discharge these responsibilities in a befitting manner, in order to fulfil the hopes that people have reposed in them, in order that they may effectively champion the cause of the people, our comrades have to take their Parliamentary duties seriously—as seriously as they take their extra-parliamentary work. Every PC and Parliamentary Fraction must see to it that comrades maintain live contact with the people of the constituencies which elected them, go there frequently, address meetings reporting on what they have done and are doing in the

Legislatures. Also it is necessary that rules and procedure are studied and mastered, that each comrade equips himself for effective participation in the debate. The practice of bourgeois parties in which a few "leaders" do all the work in the Legislature and most of the members merely raise hands—this practice must find no place in our Party groups in the Assemblies and Parliament.

In the forefront of all tasks stands the tasks of reorganising and rebuilding the Party itself.

It must be recognised that never was the lag between the influence of the Party on the one hand and the organised strength of the Party on the other so great as it is today. It is evident today that with a little more preparation, the Party could have contested many more seats, especially in its strong bases, and polled at least 8 million votes. The membership of the Party, however, is not even a minute fraction of this. Perhaps in no other country of the world there is such a lag between the influence of the Party and the organised strength of the Party. This lag must be overcome by a bold policy of recruitment to the Party and measures to educate the cadres.

A necessary step towards the overcoming of this is the setting up of an effective Party Centre, which will run the Central Journal, bring out a theoretical monthly, prepare educational material and give political guidance to the Party as a whole. We do not have such a Centre today. We did not have a Centre throughout the election period—a failing which affected our election campaign seriously.

Provincial Committees too must put an end to the present chaotic methods of work, stabilise their finance, set up fractions and fraction committees, guide the provincial journals and help the DCs to function the party units.

Organisation has always been the most neglected subject in our Party. Again and again we have seen what this neglect leads to. Not merely repression takes us unaware and severs our links with the masses but even during a big struggle or a campaign Party units cease to function in an organised manner.

With the loosening of the political grip of the Congress over the people and because of the worsening conditions of their lives, big struggles are going to break out in near future. The Party will be overwhelmed by the immensity of the tasks that these struggles will create unless it overcomes its organisational weaknesses and grows into a mass Party.

Above all, it must be kept in mind that reaction will not take its defeats lying down. It is planning a new onslaught—an onslaught which we shall be able to face and defeat only by strengthening our Party and striking deep root in the masses. Any complacency, any slackening of efforts, any illusion would be fatal.

A period of tremendous possibilities has begun. The relative “political stability” of the last five years is over. The “stability” was based not on mass support for the Government but on the fact that while the masses waged many economic and even political struggles, the Congress enjoyed a monopolist political position in the country and the vast masses did not see any alternative to Congress rule. Today the United Front constitutes a *political* challenge to the Congress in a vast area.

This is a new factor in the Indian situation. It is a factor of immense significance for our country and for the whole world because of the position which India has come to occupy in international politics. It is a factor that is exercising profound influence on the people of the whole country.

Hence immense responsibilities rest on our shoulders. We shall discharge them only by fully unifying the Party politically and organisationally, overcoming all weaknesses in our work and resolutely fulfilling the tasks that our movement demands.

(April 6, 1952)

Resolutions Adopted at the C.C. Meeting of C.P.I. held in March 1952*

1. Organisational Form of the Democratic Front

The question of the building up of the Democratic Front (DF) has become a practical problem during the course of the General Elections for the unification of all the democratic parties, organisations, groups and individuals and the defeating of the Congress and other reactionary forces. This question has received added importance due to the resounding victories, in some of the States, of the Democratic Front, which includes the Communist Party, and of the Communist and other progressive candidates. As a result, the urge of the unification of the democratic forces has not only grown in States where such significant events have taken place, but also in the States where the Congress was able to secure big majorities in the Legislatures. Under these circumstances, the question of what form this urge for the unity of the democratic forces should take, has also become an important practical problem.

Already such United Fronts have been formed during the course and immediately after the General Elections and have been growing in several States like Travancore-Cochin, Hyderabad, Madras, etc. under different names. The functioning of these Democratic Front organisations has given us much valuable experience and has given rise to a number of organisational problems such as whether primary membership can be enrolled to Democratic Front, whether the Front

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has to function on the basis of the agreement of parties and groups constituting it or otherwise, etc. It is not possible at this stage to give a categorical answer to the question as to what definite shape or shapes these Fronts would take in different States in future and what shape the All-India Democratic Front would take. Nevertheless, it is possible and necessary to give certain guiding principles for the successful building up of the democratic unity of the progressive forces. The guiding principles are:

1. The Democratic Front has to function on the basis of the agreement between different parties, groups, mass organisations and individuals constituting it.

2. There cannot be any individual primary membership for the Democratic Front at this stage because this will give rise to unhealthy competition in enrolling primary membership for the controlling of the Front, because this will divert the attention of ours as well as others from the urgent task of developing and strengthening the class organisations and other mass organisations which are the solid mass foundation of the Democratic Front. Middle-class elements who want to build a mass political organisation of the type of the Congress should be convinced of the necessity of building mass organisations of workers, peasants, youths, students and others on whose basis alone a powerful mass movement can be developed. Units of Democratic Front, however, should, at all levels, include such individuals whose presence in the Democratic Front would make it more effective and representative.

The Party should not, in today's condition, take the initiative in forming petty-bourgeois political parties under any designation like Democratic League, People's Party etc.

3. Mass organisations also can be brought into the Democratic Front on the condition that their unity is not disrupted by such a measure or where such affiliation may become a hindrance to developing united mass organisations.

4. Democratic Front Committees have to be formed wherever other progressive parties, groups and individuals are

made to feel the necessity for them. But, it is wrong to waste our energies in forming and functioning such committees consisting of our Party, of mass organisations under our influence and our sympathisers alone. Instead, we have to put all our available energies in building up class and mass organisations of the people.

5. In places like Telangana and Tripura where big militant struggles were fought under the banner of such popular organisations as the Andhra Mahasabha and Mukti Parishad and where they have developed into mass political organisations embracing the majority of the people, they can and should be developed into Democratic Fronts of these localities. It is for the comrades of those areas to study the conditions carefully and determine what organisational form they should take.

2. On the Relations of the Communist Party with Other Parties, Groups and Individuals in the Legislatures

1. The election of a large number of Communists in the Legislative Assemblies and in the Parliament has posed several questions before the Party. What should be the relation of the Communist Party in the Legislature with other parties in the Parliament and State Legislatures? Should the Party function as a separate party on the floor of the House or join hands with others to form an Opposition bloc against Congress? If an Opposition bloc is to be formed, should the Party be in the bloc as a party or should all legislators of different parties forming the Opposition dissolve their party identity and become members of a new Parliamentary Party or United Democratic Front with its separate Programme, rules, leadership, etc.? With what parties can we ally ourselves? And, finally, should there be uniform tactics in all State Assemblies and the Parliament or shall it be different from State to State on these questions?

2. There can be no uniform tactics in all the States because the strength of the Party differs from State to State and the Party Legislators have to find the best mode of discharging their function of fighting for defence of the

interests of the people on questions of land and wages, taxes and trade, repression of the peoples, civil liberties, Government's foreign policy, etc. On all these questions, the Communist Legislators must find the most effective means of giving expression to the views and policy of the Party, of achieving the demands of the people and of unifying the democratic forces.

3. Under no circumstances can we agree to such a form of the Parliamentary Front, bloc or Party as will restrict our Party from expressing its views through the forum of the Legislature. The presence of the Party as the defender of the people and the Communist Legislator as its spokesman in the Legislature must be felt by the people.

4. While trying to mobilise the democratic forces on the floor of the House against the reactionary Congress Party, we should try to build Fronts or blocs in such a way that while giving expression to agreed Programme, the independent expression of our views, where all parties do not agree on a common view, is not restricted. Similarly, the Party should enter a Front or bloc *as a Party* or group and our members must not lose their identity and become merely individual members, dissolving their identity into any new Parliamentary Party as such.

5. In the House of the People, the MPs of the Communist Party with their friends today form the largest single group, though they have not got that number which would entitle them to become the recognised Opposition Party in the Parliament.

Besides the Communist Party, there are KMPP, the Socialist Party and many small groups and parties. The Communist Party in the Parliament will adopt a programme on the basis of which it will be prepared to form a bloc with other democratic parties to form a United Democratic Opposition to the Congress Party on the floor of the House. In this bloc, the Communist Party and other parties will retain their separate identities with their own special viewpoints and programmes, where they do not agree, but debate, consult

and vote together where they agree. Parties and groups and individuals should be invited into such a consultative bloc after prior consultation with them.

6. In the Parliament or in any State Assembly, the Communist Party will not ally with or form any front or bloc with any communal party such as the Jana Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha, Ram Rajya Parishad, Akali Party, Muslim League.

The united Democratic Front, it must be clearly understood, is a coalition of Democratic Parties, groups and individuals and no party that is based on the principle of division of the people in accordance with religion can be a component part of the UDF.

This does not prevent the Party or the UDF from coming to an understanding with any Legislative Party on specific issues that come up in Legislatures.

7. In the State Assemblies, the Party in the *Madras State* has to follow tactics which are peculiar to the Madras State and under present conditions cannot be applied elsewhere. There the Party is the largest party next to the Congress in the Legislature with 62 members. It can thus become the recognised Opposition Party. Besides this, there exists the possibility of forming a Democratic Coalition, which can be larger than the Congress Party and thus defeat the Congress Government if it is formed or prevent its formation.

8. Under these peculiar circumstances, the party took the step of calling a Convention of non-Congress Legislators and forming a United Democratic Front with an agreed programme. If Legislators numbering more than the Congress and its allies sign a declaration of agreement with the UDF, the Party will agree, if the majority so agrees, to authorise Mr. Prakasam of the KMPP to present the declaration to the Head of the State and thus to act as the leader for the specific purpose of fulfilling the requirements of the Constitution.

9. If the possibility of forming a Democratic Coalition Government of the UDF arises, the Party in Madras State Assembly will best fulfil its revolutionary duty to the people by accepting the responsibility to participate in and support

such a Government to fulfil the agreed programme and will function in it as part of the UDF.

10. In the absence of such a Government, however, when the UDF is in opposition the Committee of the UDF should function as a co-ordinating committee of all UDF Parties on agreed matters, but allowing each to function independently as a party, on the floor of the House.

The UDF will not have a separate discipline, rules, etc. as of a Party or Front, when in Opposition. But if it ceases to be an Opposition and becomes a Coalition Government bloc, then other rules of collective responsibility will apply. It is premature to discuss that position now.

11. The holding of the Convention in Madras and formation of the UDF has led some people to believe that the same line is to be followed in other State Assemblies. Such an understanding is not correct.

The peculiarity of Madras is that there in the democratic movement, outside as well as in the Assembly, the Communist Party is the strongest Party. In Madras therefore, there is no danger of its getting submerged or losing its identity. Moreover, the displacement of the Congress as a majority party and its Government even temporarily is such a dire necessity and a near possibility and will be such a galvanising factor that the formation of the UDF on these lines has to be carried out. But such is not the position in other States.

12. No doubt the same possibility exists in *Travancore-Cochin State*. But there the Party has been elected on the ULF platform and as its members. The ULF existed prior to the election and is not a creation of the Parliamentary Coalition as such. And there also, the extension of the ULF on the Madras line can be done if the possibility of a democratic coalition arises.

13. Following the Madras example, it would not be wise to form a UDF on the same type in Bengal where the Congress has secured a big majority in the Assembly. There the task of the Party is to stand forth as the defender of the people in the Legislatures on its own platform and to seek

allies on given issues from time to time, where agreement is possible.

14. The PDF in *Hyderabad* has come into existence on eve of the elections under conditions of the illegality of the Party in Hyderabad on the basis of an agreed programme and will continue to function in its present form in the Legislature.

15. In *Orissa*, reactionary elements led by feudal Princes have secured a large number of seats in the Assembly and are trying to form a bloc whose main constituents would be the Ganatantra Parishad and Independent People's Party. The Party in Orissa should not join such a bloc where avowed reactionary feudal and communal elements exist, are in majority and lead. The Party in Orissa should function in the Legislature on its own programme and as a Communist Party and should not get entangled with these reactionary parties in any way.

16. The two Communist Party Members in the *Bombay* Assembly should work in co-operation with the members of the KKP and the PWP on agreed questions, but should retain their identity as Communist members and should not merge into any Parliamentary bloc as individuals.

17. The *Assam State* Assembly has one Communist Member. No decision is taken regarding Assam pending an inquiry into the position there.

18. In the *PEPSU*, the Communist MLAs are two and together with Lal Communist Party MLA, they are the deciding factor between the Congress and the Akali Party. The Party MLAs should not align themselves with either of them in order to help them to become a Government. But they support or vote against the Government whether it be of Congress or Akali according to the measures and policy they follow. The three members must retain their independent existence and viewpoint and should not form a bloc with the Akali Party or the Congress.

19. In *Punjab* Assembly, the four Communist Party MLAs should constitute themselves into Party group in which the

Lal Communists can be admitted if they are prepared to work under the direction of the Party in Punjab and its Legislative unit.

Such in brief, are the tactics that the Communist Party members should follow in different State Assemblies and the Parliament.

3. On Akali Party

1. The Akali Party is a communal reactionary party which represents the interests of landlords, princes and other reactionaries.

2. With the support of Sikh princes, it organised the communal massacre in East Punjab at the time of partition. Later on, it carried on the policy of communal disruption by fanning Indo-Pak war tension, utilising the issues of Gurdwaras left in Pakistan, abducted women, evacuee property and Kashmir. It raised the bogey of Hindu domination and came forward with a demand of Punjabi-speaking province, by which they meant Sikhistan, thus distorting the national urge of Punjabi people and dividing the Hindus and Sikhs on this issue.

3. Because of the openly communal attitude of the State Congress members on the question of language during the Census and because of the failure of the democratic movement to take up the national problems, Akali Party had been able to secure the support of good section of the Sikh peasants, Government employees and Sikh shopkeepers and traders in the cities, specially refugees from West Punjab.

4. It disrupts the united mass movement by diverting the discontent of the Sikh masses into communal channels. It is looked upon by Hindus and untouchables as their enemy. Any hobnobbing with the Akali Party scares away the Hindu masses, including agricultural workers and poor artisans from the Party and disrupts the unity of the peasant movement.

5. Therefore, the CC approves of the stand taken by the Punjab PC towards Akali Party, of having no truck with the Akali Party and of exposing its pro-feudal, communal,

reactionary politics, by developing the anti-feudal struggle, taking up the question of merger of PEPSU and of taking up the demands affecting Sikh religious unity and clarifying the stand of the Party on the question of language and national question.

6. The Party in the Punjab can build the democratic unity of the masses only by taking up the national question in right earnest, campaigning for the merger of PEPSU as a step towards the formation of a linguistic province, by consistently exposing the game of communal reactionaries of disrupting the democratic movement and by drawing in the masses under their influence into the common class organisations through developing the anti-feudal struggle.

4. On Communal Organisations like the Jana Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha & Ram Rajya Parishad

1. These are parties of feudal reaction backed in some areas by the most reactionary elements of the big bourgeoisie.

2. There should be no alliance with these parties in any form and no entanglement with them. This, of course, does not mean that we debar their individual members from joining common mass organisations like TUs, Kisan Sabhas and participating in the movement for peace, for civil liberties, etc. But it does mean that even individual members of these organisations unless they are representatives of united mass organisations, should not be taken in United Front Committees.

3. The policy should be one of sharp criticism, uncompromising opposition and ruthless exposure of these parties before the people in general and also before their own masses.

5. On Scheduled Castes Federation

1. The Scheduled Caste masses consist of economically the most exploited and socially the most oppressed sections of our people. Their urge for economic betterment and social equality have been given a distorted and disruptive form by their pro-imperialist and opportunist leader, Dr. Ambedkar

who has organised them on a communal, anti-Caste Hindu basis in the SCF.

2. This organisation has acquired a certain amount of mass basis in areas where the democratic movement led by the Communist Party is weak, where this movement has not taken up the economic and social disabilities of the scheduled caste masses and fought for them vigorously, where the scheduled caste masses have not been firmly united with non scheduled caste masses in the common struggle for democracy and economic betterment.

3. Despite its communal and, therefore, basically disruptive character, however, the SCF cannot be placed in the same category as the Hindu Mahasabha, Akali Party, Muslim League and similar communal organisations because it is an organisation of the oppressed masses and expresses, though in a distorted and disruptive form, the urge among these masses for social equality and democratic rights. In the interests of drawing the Scheduled Caste masses into the common struggle of workers and peasants and destroying the hold of pro-imperialist reactionaries over them, the following tactics should be followed :

a) No attempt should be made to form alliance with the SCF on all-India basis. The all-India leadership of the SCF consists of Dr. Ambedkar, who had, till transfer of power in 1947, consistently supported the British Government and opposed the demand for India's freedom, who has never supported working class and peasant struggles, who after becoming Minister defended all the anti-popular policies of the Nehru Government and who, after his resignation from the Government, criticised the Nehru Government's foreign policy on the ground that its friendship with China was depriving India of aid from America. He also advocated the partition of Kashmir on a communal basis. And since the leadership of the All India SCF means Dr. Ambedkar, no alliance or agreement with the SCF on an all-India scale is possible or desirable. The Party must sharply expose the policies of Ambedkar and wean the SCF masses away from his

influence by boldly championing the democratic demands of the Scheduled Caste masses, by fighting caste-Hindu oppression against them and by drawing them into common mass organisations.

b) It would be a mistake, however, to adopt the same attitude towards all units of the SCF in all parts of the country. The SCF is not a well-knit homogeneous organisation with a consistent policy. Many units of the SCF and several of its local leaders don't subscribe to the views and policies of Dr. Ambedkar. Every effort should be made to draw these units and individuals into the democratic movement on common issues in order to help the process of radicalisation among the Scheduled Caste masses.

c) The election tactics of the Party with respect to the SCF in some places were defective and sectarian. While correctly attacking the Socialist Party for aligning with Dr. Ambedkar, who has been propagating reactionary pro-American policies, and refusing to support him, we wrongly rejected, in some places, an electoral agreement with the local SCF units even where they were prepared to take a progressive stand on national and international issues. This resulted from our not differentiating between the reactionary leadership of Dr. Ambedkar and the oppressed masses of the SCF and the possibility of sections of them breaking away from the leadership.

It is necessary to avoid such mistakes in future.

6. On Relations with Left Socialist Group

1. The decision of the Left Socialist group to continue as a group shows that their leaders as well as majority of members feel that the time has not yet come when they should dissolve themselves and join the Communist Party, that they can serve the Communist movement better by maintaining their existence as a group for the present and working in close cooperation with the Party.

2. We should note this fact and should establish relations of closest united front and cooperation with them at all levels. Political issues facing our movement should be discussed

with them and coordinating committees should be set up to ensure joint work. They should be called to meetings of PMs and sympathisers where Party policies are explained, campaigns planned and tasks facing the movement are discussed. They should be supplied with our literature and joint discussions held on them as well as on documents prepared by them. Through all this, as well as common mass and educational work, they should be drawn closer to the Party.

3. We should not form fractions in the Left Socialist groups. In case of those who feel like joining the Party, they should be taken in only after informing the Left Socialist group in the area concerned.

7. On the Tasks of the Trade Union Movement

The CC discussed the question of immediate revival of the Trade Union movement on a countrywide basis and resolved that a meeting of leading Trade Unionists should be held on or about May 15. Comrade S. A. Dange was entrusted with the work of preparing a preliminary draft which is to be circulated among comrades and discussed at this meeting where TU Fraction and Fraction Committees are to be set up.

8. On Kisan Work

Resolved that a meeting of the leading comrades working on the Kisan Sabha in the various Provinces should be held in May to discuss the main problems of the Kisan movement and to form a properly functioning Kisan Fraction of the Party. The *Note on the Agrarian Question* prepared by Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad may be taken as basis for discussion in the meeting of Kisan comrades.

9. On the Struggle for Peace

The Central Committee of the Communist Party sends its warm fraternal greetings to the hundreds of millions of men and women all over the world who are fighting shoulder to shoulder for the sacred cause of world Peace.

Incensed at the colossal blows they have received wher-

ever the will for Peace has asserted itself, the Anglo-American imperialists are desperately striving to extend the wars and conflicts they have unleashed in Asia and North Africa into a world-wide conflagration.

Recognising the vital importance of India in any plans for a World War, the imperialist Powers have always striven hard to coerce, cajole, blackmail and dupe India into supporting their aggressive actions.

Unfortunately for them, by the rout of the most reactionary and brazenly pro-American parties in the elections and the victories secured by the democratic parties, the Indian people have asserted in no uncertain manner their opposition to American war policies, their love for Peace and for freedom of the enslaved peoples.

The election results have intensified the desperation of the imperialists. That is why today they have redoubled their efforts to penetrate India economically, politically and even militarily through new "aid" agreements and treaties and through fresh pressure and intervention on the issue of Kashmir.

So blatant is this penetration that even the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation has been forced to come out against the ruinous effects of foreign capital and foreign economic interference in our affairs.

The growth in the strength of the forces of Peace is reflected in the categorical declaration of the All-India Congress Committee itself in favour of Peace, of disarmament and of the freedom of the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa.

India today can play a great and vital role for world Peace. It has the strength to resist the pressure of the imperialist Powers and thus defend its own national sovereignty. More, it has capacity, if it acts fully and consistently for Peace, to ensure that the plans of the imperialist war-makers are upset and world Peace ensured.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India fully supports the call given by the All-India Peace Council

for the holding of Conferences all over the country to demonstrate the Indian People's support for the cause of Peace and Freedom for Asia and North Africa. Let the rallying slogans "Quit Asia!" ring out in every town and village. Let a wave of solidarity demonstrations for the courageous peoples of China and Korea, Malaya and Vietnam, Egypt and Tunisia sweep across India. We shall thus be striking a mighty blow for Peace of lasting value.

Above all, the Central Committee of the Communist Party calls on all its members and supporters, on all organisations and individuals pledged to the cause of Peace, to campaign actively and unceasingly for the conclusion of a Pact of Peace between the five Great Powers. Already 600 million signatures have been collected to the historic Appeal of the World Council of Peace. In India, the two million signatures thus far collected do not in any way correspond to the real number of Peace-lovers in our country.

The Central Committee draws special attention to the recent letter of the World Peace Council emphasising the vital importance of the campaign for signatures to the Peace Pact Appeal. The valuable arguments and suggestions given in that letter will be of inestimable use in intensifying the campaign.

The one real and decisive step towards the solution of all the issues of Peace would be a Five Power Pact. Freedom for the Asian peoples cannot be ensured as long as the danger of a world war remains and provides the excuse to the imperialists for intervention in the affairs of colonial and semi-colonial peoples. The freedom and sovereignty of India itself remains threatened as long as the imperialist Powers seek to use its manpower, bases and resources for their plans for a Third World War. The immediate economic difficulties of India cannot be eased as long as world tension and consequent imperialist pressure stand in the way of unhampered trade and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, People's China and the People's Democracies.

That is why the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India lays the very greatest stress on the necessity

for all Party members and supporters, all mass organisations and individuals who stand for Peace, to participate actively in the great world campaign for a Peace Pact.

The Central Committee is confident that Peace can be ensured, that the democratic forces are strong enough to see that India plays its full part in the struggle for Peace and defeat the desperate moves of the imperialists to ensnare India into their war trap.

The Indian People Against the Congress*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India warmly greets the people of India and congratulates them on the clear and unambiguous verdict they have given on the five years of Congress rule in the first general elections held on the basis of adult franchise.

Despite the multiplicity of parties that contested the elections, the main issue that was posed before the people by every Party, including the Congress Party, was whether the Congress Government should continue to rule the country.

On this straight and simple issue, the people of India have given their verdict against the Congress Party. In spite of the tremendous resources it commanded, including the use of administrative machinery, in spite of the denial of even ordinary civil liberties to the Communist Party and other democratic opposition parties, the Congress Party could secure only 44 per cent of the votes polled taking India as a whole. Except in the small States of Coorg, Saurashtra, Bhopal and Delhi, in no State could the Congress Party secure a majority of votes polled, the actual proportion of its votes to the total varying between 30 per cent in Travancore-Cochin State and 49 per cent in U.P., the home province of Pandit Nehru.

The Communist Party of India entered the election battle under very severe handicaps. The illegal ban on the Party continued in Hyderabad and in Travancore-Cochin. Hundreds

*Statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India on the "General Elections and After" issued on March, 29, 1952.

of its leaders and workers, including many of its candidates continued to be detained in jail. Despite these, the Communist Party indicted the Congress regime and sought the verdict of the people by putting up its candidates precisely in those areas, where it had led the struggle of the peasants and workers, against which a most slanderous campaign had been carried on by the Government, the ruling Party and its press throughout the country for the last many years. The resounding victories secured by the Communist Party precisely in these areas is of great significance.

The total rout of the Congress by the biggest margin of votes in those districts of Telangana and in Tripura, where the peasants led by the Communist Party had carried on the most heroic struggle against feudal reaction and for land, and the election of the People's Democratic Front and Communist candidates, constitute the most effective answer to the slander of the Congress and the Congress Party on the Communist Party and the Telangana peasants' struggle.

The total rout of several Congress candidates, including Ministers, by large majorities; the defeat inflicted on the Congress Party in Malabar and Tanjore, where the mass peasant movement led by the Communist Party had been subjected to savage repression; the success of the Communist and Communist-supported candidates in the working class areas of Alleppey in Travancore-Cochin State and in Madurai, Trichy, Madras and Vikramasingapuram, where the working class had fought the most heroic battles; the success of the UFL candidates in Travancore-Cochin State; the victories of the Communist candidates in the areas of Bengal, Orissa and the Punjab where the Party had led the struggles of the peasants—these constitute the clear verdict of the people on the question "Who resorted to murder, arson and looting—Congress or Communists?"

In these elections, the Communist Party sought to unite all the freedom-loving democratic classes and their parties, organisations and individuals. On the basis of this unity is to be formed a Government of democratic unity to replace the

hated Congress Government and take the country along the wide road of Peace, freedom, democracy and prosperity.

The results of the elections show, without any shadow of doubt, that this is an eminently practicable objective. For, it is precisely in those areas and States where such unity has been forged that the Congress received the most crushing defeats.

These results further show that on the whole, communal and feudal reaction represented by the Jana Sangh, Ram Rajya Parishad, etc. to whose success American imperialism was fondly looking for, received a severe blow at the hands of our democratic people. Such reactionary parties could utilise the prevalent mass hatred against Congress only in those areas and the States where the democratic movement has been weak and non-existent.

The crushing defeats suffered by the candidates of the Socialist Party throughout the country in general and in those areas and States where it boasted of its ability to form Governments in particular, constitutes the rejection by the people of the anti-struggle and disruptive policies of the leadership of the Socialist Party. Nonetheless, that leadership, by its persistent refusal of the offer of unity by the Communist Party of India facilitated to a great extent the successes of the Congress Party.

But for this disruption of the leadership of the Socialist Party and the failure of the other democratic parties to build a firm unity before the elections, the people would have inflicted a far more powerful blow to the Congress and other parties of reaction. By delivering such a powerful blow against the Congress Party, the people of India have delivered a blow against the Anglo-American imperialists who are trying their utmost to drag India into their war-mongering plans. For, it is the Congress Government with Nehru at its head and with its talk of "neutrality between the two power blocs" that is effectively preventing India from joining her great neighbours, China and the U.S.S.R. in the world-wide struggle for peace and national liberation.

Despite the clear verdict of the people against the Congress Party, it is able to remain in a majority of the States and in the Centre only because of the undemocratic electoral law, which it has framed. It is this law which has enabled the Congress to capture a far greater proportion of seats both in the State Assemblies and in Parliament, than warranted by the proportion of votes it secured at the polls. For example, in the Uttar Pradesh, the Congress Party polled 49 per cent of the votes but secured 90 per cent of the seats; in Bihar, it polled 42 per cent of the votes but secured 73 per cent of seats; in Bengal, it polled 39 per cent of the votes but secured 75 per cent of seats and so on.

These fictitious Parliamentary majorities secured by the Congress Party cannot, however, conceal the tremendous moral and political defeat it has suffered. Above all, its failure to get a bare majority of the seats in the Madras, Travancore-Cochin and Tripura State Assemblies and the success of democratic parties and individuals has given immense confidence to the people all over the country. A new upsurge and urge for unity has gripped the masses of our people throughout the country.

Out of this great urge for unity has emerged the United Democratic Front in the Madras State Assembly, composed of the Communist Party of India, the KMPP, the TNTP and independent democrats, based upon a common minimum programme of immediate relief to the people. Out of this too has emerged the unity of the UFL with Travancore-Tamilnad Congress in Travancore-Cochin State on the basis of a minimum programme.

The Central Committee greets the emergence of these United Democratic Fronts as marking a development of great significance for the struggle of our people for Peace, freedom and democracy.

The strengthening of the UDF in the State Assembly would lead to the formation of a government pledged to the implementation of the common minimum programme, thereby translating the will of the people into action. Such a consumma-

tion would tremendously strengthen the democratic forces throughout the country, will further strengthen people's confidence in the invincible power of people's unity and would further undermine the base of the Congress and other reactionary parties.

Against these developments are ranged reactionaries in India and abroad. While the Congress Party and its Government at the Centre are doing their utmost to prevent the formation of democratic non-Congress Governments in even a single State, Dean Acheson and other leaders of world reaction have grown panicky at the result of the elections. With demagogic chatter of "struggle against totalitarianism" American and British reactionaries are "advising" the Congress leaders to disregard the clear verdict of the people. Sweet words of "aids" and "grants" are bandied about, food and other commodities are promised, so that a determined struggle is waged against the people and their elected representatives.

The CC is confident that the Indian people will defeat all these manoeuvres of Indian and world reaction just as they defeated the plan of the Congress Party and its Government to come out as victors in an election in which the most powerful Party of opposition is gagged in all possible ways.

The CC is gratified to note that various sections of the people have already started moving against the plans of Indian and world reaction. The mighty united call of the people of Travancore-Cochin against the appointment of the Counsellor; the powerful movement for the formation of linguistic provinces in South India, particularly in Andhra; the ever-rising demand for the release of political prisoners and restoration of civil liberties; the universally expressed sentiments of indignation against the imperialist powers who are resorting to naked terror as in Tunisia, Vietnam, Malaya, etc.; the unanimous voice of protest against the use of bacteriological weapons and other inhuman methods in Korea, the warm welcome offered by the Indian people to the various cultural and trade delegations from the U.S.S.R., China

and Eastern European People's Democracies; the growing demand in the trading and industrial circles for closer trade relations with the Socialist and People's Democratic countries—all these show that the plans of Indian and world reaction can be foiled.

The Central Committee, therefore, appeals to all democratic parties, organisations, groups and individuals who are genuinely interested in defeating the Congress Party and its Anglo-American allies to come together and form United Trade Unions, United Kisan Sabha, United Student and Youth organisations, United Women's organisations, United organisations of Intellectuals, etc. so that every factory, every town and village, every institution where people come together in daily life can be transformed into a fortress against imperialism, feudalism and monopoly capital.

The Central Committee also appeals to people of every class and section that is anxious to see that our great country is not transformed into an instrument in the Anglo-American game of suppressing the Asian people's struggle for Peace and national liberation, to come together in broad-based Peace Committees, collect signatures for the demand for Five Power Pact, demand the withdrawal of foreign armies from every Asian country, strengthen the movement for closer economic and cultural ties with all countries of the world, including the U.S.S.R., China and Eastern Europe and in all other possible ways combat the Anglo-American efforts to make India their satellite.

The Central Committee is confident that the various organs of United Front like the People's Democratic Front Committees in Hyderabad, UFL Committees in Travancore-Cochin, the joint Election Committees in Malabar, as well as the various committees that are today springing up in the various parts of the country, will address themselves to the task of building these united mass democratic organisations which alone are the sure guarantee that the game of Indian and world reaction will be defeated.

The Central Committee has no doubt that, if those parties

and groups that are already convinced of the need for such a powerful United Front address themselves to those tasks, the United Front that has so far emerged will become so broad that overwhelming majority of Socialists will range themselves against the disruptive policy of their leaders and join the United Front.

Report on Trade Union Front*

Introduction

Our party workers on the trade union front have not met for a long time. The last meeting on an all-India scale was held in May 1949, at the time of the Bombay session of the AITUC.

Since then a number of things have happened which demanded a meeting of the party leadership on the TU Front. In 1950 January, the party was openly and publicly informed by our friends that it was following a wrong course. The discussions following from that ultimately resulted in the party adopting at the all-India party conference a new programme in October 1951 and reorganising its work in accordance with it.

From 1948 onwards many of our trade unions had been illegalised and hundreds of our TU workers had been thrown into jails. The Congress government and the bourgeois-landlord cliques thought that the militant working class and peasantry, their leaderships and the party had been smashed.

The adoption of the constitution in 1950 rendered some of the laws of the Congress government ultra vires of the new constitution. That allowed some of our TU organisations being released from the clutches of the police and some of our members from the prisons.

*After legalisation of the Communist Party of India a convention was held in Calcutta on 20-22 May 1952 pursuant to Central Committee decision. attended by 300 Party Comrades working in Trade Union Front S A Dange addressed this convention This report was adopted in the convention and also published as a booklet

The desire of the Congress government to appear democratic to stabilise itself in the minds of the people by holding adult-franchise elections, its confidence in its own victory, the belief that it had smashed the militant workers and peasants and also the fact that we had made some changes in our methods of approach and tactics—all this secured for us a certain amount of respite from total persecution and illegalisation.

A review and reorganisation of the TU front was delayed by the overriding demands of the election battle. No doubt, workers' struggles were being fought and demanded guidance from the party as a whole. But an all-India meeting as this was not possible at the time.

The election victories of the party, the advance of the democratic masses and their rejection of the absolute leadership of the Congress which was reduced to the position of a minority in votes at the polls has greatly changed the situation for us, both in relation to the people and in relation to inner-party situation. Elections showed to the people that the criticism by the democratic left of the bourgeois-landlord regime of the Congress was correct and tallied with the opinions of vast masses of the people. It has given us courage to find that repression has not smashed us and that the people remember our sacrifices and forgive us our mistakes.

The elections have confirmed the reading of the situation as given by the preamble to the programme of the party. The crisis of the landlord-bourgeois system in India is coming out in a more severe form since the elections and is showing the real character of the present government and its inability to save the people from poverty and hunger.

The Post-war Situation

The post-war situation was characterised as one in which with the victory of the Soviet Union, the forces of democracy and socialism had become stronger and the forces of imperialism and reaction had become weaker. It was a situation in which the rivalries between the two remaining

imperialisms, American and British, were becoming sharp and the liberation movements of the colonial people were on the rise.

With the end of the war, peace-time economy should have been introduced, the people who had been starved of goods during the war should have been supplied with their necessities. Prices should have gone down, taxation reduced, consumer goods supply increased, the devastated regions reconstructed and backward countries helped to build industries. Peace should have reigned and war banned. People wanted all that in order to save them from the usual post-war crisis, whose memories they carried from the experience of the first world war.

But this was against the interests of the narrow monopoly finance groups of Britain and America. Because it would have meant increasing wages at home, lending capital goods abroad for peaceful construction and being satisfied with ordinary normal profit. It would have meant giving the colonial people freedom to build their life as they liked. Hence the imperialists rejected the road of building peace economy.

With the end of the war the Americans started their bid for world domination forgetting the fate of Hitler. Their first attack jointly with England was to blockade trade with the USSR; foment conspiracies to overthrow the new people's democracies and defeat the Chinese revolution. On this basis they hoped to redivide the world and prolong the life of dying capitalism.

All the three schemes failed.

US Bid for World Domination

Their another scheme was to subordinate England and the other capitalist countries in their orbit to the status of colonies through the Marshall plan.

Under the Marshall plan, by exporting its worthless goods and armaments to the Marshallised countries, the American imperialists hoped to enslave those countries economically, ruining their home industries through Marshall imports and

enslave them politically by installing Marshallised governments tied to American loans and subsidies.

All these schemes could not stave off the crisis of American imperialism or their satellite countries.

Utilising the bait of loans, the threat of cutting of supplies, and by directly buying off the colonial puppets of the British colonies, the Americans tried to oust Britain from its markets and sources of raw materials.

But many of these markets and sources of materials, as in Malaya, were enveloped in liberation struggles. If the struggles succeeded, these countries would be altogether lost to any imperialism. Hence in their ultimate class interests the American, British, French, Dutch, Portuguese united to fight the colonial people's liberation struggles in Malaya, Indo-China, Burma, Indonesia, Iran, Tunisia, Egypt etc., though their international imperialist rivalries continued within the framework of their counter-revolutionary alliance.

Deepening of the Crisis of Capitalism

By 1950 it was clear that nothing could save the Anglo-Americans from a crisis which was already creeping on them, and for which they used the deceptive name of 'recession'. Neither the Marshall plan nor the threats of war and atom bomb, nor the suppression of the colonies was going to save them from a crisis. Hence they launched the Korean war in June 1950 and thereby hoped to usher in a boom.

The boom came but only for a time. The war industries made profits. As Stalin had warned, the adventure misfired and failed to solve the crisis of imperialism.

Two years after the Korean war, the slump has begun, in the capitalist market of England and America, and all those whose economy is tied up with them are hit by the slump.

The slump is an inevitable concomitant of the capitalist system. A war-economy boom cannot overcome for good this manifestation of the crisis of capitalism. The all-pervasive power of the monopolies and their interference through the state machine may disturb the influence of the slump

from appearing in all branches with equal force. But it cannot avert the crisis.

Curtailement of civilian production, mounting prices and taxation resulting from the arms drive constrict the market for civilian goods and make a crisis in consumption of civilian goods inevitable.

Unemployment is rising in America. Textile and woollen mills are closing down. Workers faced with a fall in standards of living by rising prices are resorting to strikes for increased wages. Even armymen are refusing to go to war and the news of the strike of airmen in America is confirmed officially.

The same is the story in England and the other Marshallised countries.

Strengthening of the System of Socialism and People's Democracy

Only the Soviet Union, people's democracies and China are not hit by any crisis. There peace economy is growing and standards of living are rising.

The strength of the system of socialism and people's democracy, its refusal to be drawn into armaments drive by threats of war, the peace movement in the world, the resistance movements of the colonial people, and finally the heroic struggles of the Korean people backed by the Chinese have been the main factors in the setback to the Anglo-American imperialist schemes of world domination for the present.

India after August 1947

In the context of these world events, what has been the fate of India, its ruling classes and its people?

Faced with the post-war liberation struggles the British arrived at an understanding with the leadership of the National Congress and installed it in power, after dividing and weakening the country and inciting communal massacres to disrupt the united struggle of the people for liberation. The direct rule of British imperialists ended.

But this independence did not lead to any improvement in the conditions of the people. The fundamental features of semi-colonial economy were retained by the Congress Party in power, because its leadership was drawn from the land-lord-bourgeois classes.

British capital remained intact in the vital branches of production and drew its profits as before. Our trade and finance remained tied up as before. Our armed forces were officered and commanded by the British as before. Our industry had no machines to make machines, no capital goods, for which it depended on the British as before. Our land and food production remained backward due to the hold of feudal landlordism, the moneylender and the capitalist market, producing cheap raw material for the imperialist industries, as before.

Taxation rose, prices went up, inflation continued, consumption declined, famines came. The peasant fought for land, the worker for wages. But the Congress governments spent more than half of the revenues on the military, police and bureaucracy instead of spending on relief to the people.

We need not recount the whole story. When the people protested, the workers struck work and the peasants fought, what had the government to say?

It pleaded for time to plan and to execute the plan.

It demanded faith from the people in its bona fides and goodwill and claimed that it was being solely guided by people's interests and not class interests.

It attributed the major economic evils to the legacy of past British rule and proposed the five-year plan as its solution.

It proclaimed aloofness from any bloc in its foreign policy and denied its tie-up with the Anglo-American group.

Proclaiming faith in Gandhism and non-violence, while indiscriminately shooting down striking workers and starving peasants, it asked the working class for co-operation with capital and rejection of class struggle.

It did all these because it claimed that it was not a government of any one class but of a welfare state.

Landlordism and capitalism, it said, would vanish gradually and peacefully, if the working class and the peasantry worked hard, produced more, consumed less and saved in order to maintain the state and its budget and build the plans for the future.

These are in short the main lines of government policy. If the working class and the peasantry resisted this line, it would be suppressed by force.

Policies of the Congress Governments

The policy has been put into effect, and the results so far show that it is the same landlord-bourgeois policy that has proved bankrupt everywhere in solving people's problems.

After their compromise with the British, the Congress ministries have ruled for six years in the provinces and four years at the centre. They have had time enough to show their true character. What class nature have they shown?

They tried to take off all control from food and cloth in the interests of speculators and monopoly financiers and ruined the poor consumers and small traders. Only strikes and hartals by the workers and the people restrained the ministries. The sub-ordination of the government to the big monopoly syndicates in cotton, sugar, jute, cement is too well known to need description.

As soon as they came to power, the accumulated reconstruction funds in each state were squandered by the bureaucrats in league with their henchmen. A large section of the Congress bureaucrats and leadership enriched themselves at the expense of the people.

They played with the demand for abolition of landlordism and under the plea of abolition, enriched themselves, the landlords and a few rich peasant farmers.

In their exports and imports control and licence policies, they have fed their favourite monopoly bankers and traders, at the expense of the people and genuine traders.

By their open attack on workers' struggles, by the application of ordinances and bans, they have shown that the Congress government is a government of the exploiting class of landlords and big bourgeois monopolists. Their government and the state serve and strengthen the interests of these classes alone.

What economic perspective does the government hold before the people and where is it leading them to?

The economic platform of the monopoly bourgeoisie is its much-advertised five-year plan. In essence it is a platform of financial bankruptcy of the state, high prices, low wages, ruin of genuine industry and trade, misery of the people and the ultimate strengthening of the hold of foreign and Indian monopoly capital over our economy.

The plan does not visualise any basic expansion of industry and agriculture. It proposes to spend about 1500 crores of rupees in rehabilitating the economy and restoring our capacity just to the level it was before the war. The schemes of industrialisation drawn even by the Tata-Birla plan or the 1937 schemes of the planning commission are no longer there.

Invitation to Foreign Capital— Offensive against Working Class

Who is going to find the money for it? The monopolists with high range of incomes are not to be taxed to provide the capital. The plan says:

"Although disposable incomes left after taxation in these ranges are too high in India relating to the general level of incomes in the country, any material increase in direct taxation is at this stage likely to affect the capital market adversely" (*Five-year Plan*, p 22).

The planners admit that even the present taxes are evaded and black market evades them successfully. They say: "There is a considerable leakage on account of non-declaration of profits made in black market" (*ibid*).

But what can the poor government based on Gandhian

non-violence do against these immoral monopoly racketeers, not a small number of whom belong to that very sect itself?

But capital must be found. So, a portion will be borrowed from the *American monopoly banks*. For this they must be assured good conditions. The assurance is that : (a) They will never be nationalised, (b) they will be allowed to export all their profits and capital and in their own currency, (c) Indian capital will not get any special favourable conditions as against their competition (*Gist of Policy Statement of April 1949*, p 160).

But that alone is not going to give us all the capital for development. The bulk has to be found from those who produce. It is the working class which produces profits, which again become further capital for industry. So the working class has to contribute more for this. How? The mechanism is simple. For increased production or against rising prices which make profit for the bourgeoisie it should not demand and should not be paid more wages. *More production, less wages, high prices—is the formula for finding capital for the five-year plan.*

In para 63 the plan says that “inflationary pressures will continue to operate in the economy”. That means government has no plan for hope of reducing prices.

But they demand more production, under the plea that thereby they want to reduce prices for the consumer and improve the standard of living. Production is dependent not only on the bourgeoisie; the working class is the main agency to fulfil the plan in this respect. But what is to be its reward, its share in the growing wealth?

The plan prescribes that they must work more under rationalisation and accept larger workloads.

“The object is to facilitate the workers attaining a living wage standard through acceptance of rationalisation” (p 192).

A living wage standard by today's wages in terms of today's prices is impossible. Therefore the plan admits that wage increases and larger earnings are justifiable. But “any upward

movement of wages at this juncture will further jeopardise the economic stability of the country, if it is reflected in the cost of production and consequently raises the price of the product". *Hence workers must accept wage-freeze or wage-cuts.*

Similarly on bonus demands, the plan says "no payment should be made in cash on this account while the inflationary situation lasts" and inflationary situation, they say, will last throughout the period of the plan (p 188).

Thus the five-year plan of the monopolists promises high prices of goods and taxation for the people, rationalisation, unemployment and wage-cuts for the working class, and enormous profits for the monopolists and foreign financiers.

For encouraging larger production of food and raw materials the plan does not visualise largescale abolition of landlordism and giving land to the peasants, as it frankly admits, it will rouse serious "social antagonisms" which in other words means that it fears the landlords.

Such are the plans and perspectives of the Congress government and the big landlord and finance groups that guide it.

The Direction of Trade

The crisis of Indian economy is not denied by the ruling classes and their Congress Party. In fact it plays upon it by blaming the whole crisis as being due to the results of British rule and thereby uses the anti-imperialist sentiments of the people to gather their support for its present anti-people policies.

The fact that in the past imperialists kept us in semi-colonial conditions and thwarted our development should have led us to break away from our moorings in their economy. We should have changed the direction of our trade and broken the monopoly of British finance over it. On the contrary we find the following admission by the government regarding our export-import trade.

Mehtab, minister for commerce and industry, at the import advisory council gave the following figures for July-December, 1951, in crores of rupees.

	<i>Imports</i>	<i>Exports</i>
Sterling area	200.4	202.3
Dollar area	161.7	78.1
Non-sterling non-dollar area	112.9	66.9

The monopoly financiers thus refused to get out of the trade links of the Anglo-American bloc.

We should have taken hold of their capital investments here since they have refused to return our sterling loans to them. That would have given us the best paying key industries, which earn 40 crores of profit per year, on their own admission.

In our capital borrowings we should have refused to tie ourselves to one or the other imperialist country.

Penetration of American Capital

The financial policies of the government of India are however, leading it to mortgage the country to America in addition to the hold that Britain has already got over our economy.

The American drive to capture the colonial markets of Britain is in full swing in India and Pakistan.

Utilising the failure of the India government to solve the food and production crisis in a democratic way, the American monopolists are offering more and more loans to India. The loans help the American monopolists to sell their unsalable goods at high prices to India. They allow their financial and technical advisers to penetrate the country's economy. They get a hold over the government machinery and they help to pass the effects of the crisis of the imperialist system on to the backs of our people.

In the end the loans tend to draw the India government more and more in grip of the warmongering bloc and into enmity with the democratic and socialist countries.

The government of India has already drawn 200 million dollars from the American monopolists as food loan, nearly 75 million from the World Bank, and proposes to contract further debts of over 1000 million dollars.

It claims that by these loans, it will reconstruct Indian

economy, carry out vast irrigation works and solve the crisis of food and production in the country.

We have to tell the people and the working class that these claims are totally false and will not solve our crisis. We must tell them to reject the economic plan and perspective of the Congress government and its landlord-bourgeois philosophy because they cannot solve our problems.

Two years back the government and the ruling classes were harping on shortage of consumer goods as the reason for high prices and scarcity of goods.

They demanded 'industrial truce' from the working class, which mean that it should not strike against the monopolists who were profiteering to secure rise in its wages. The government admits that the truce has worked. The strike wave also shows that whether because of truce or not, the number of strike struggles did go down for various reasons. The year 1951 was a year of lowest mandays lost in strikes. In 1947 we had 16.5 million working days lost in strikes, in 1948 7.8 million, in 1950 12.8 million, in 1951 only three and half million.

The bourgeoisie itself admits that production in 1951 had increased tremendously. The general index of production shows the following rise in some of the commodities.

	1948	1950	1951
Cloth	100	93.8	104.3
Engineering	100	203.5	265.8
Sugar	100	105.8	119.2
Coal	100	110.8	118.8
Steel	100	111.2	115.9
Cement	100	169.4	207.4
General index	100	105.2	119.6

That shows that our working class has been producing on the upgrade, that the shortage of production was being overcome.

What relief did the consumers, the public and the workers get from this?

Hardly had production gone up than a crisis of 'overproduction' developed. When prices began to go down the bourgeoisie complained of losses and threatened to close down factories.

The Slump

The government, which so long clamoured for production, supply of goods and reduction in prices, began to sanction heavy exports of cloth, sugar, iron, ore, coal, etc. in order to curtail supplies to the home market and push up prices.

It stopped subsidies on food in the name of saving deficits in the budget and attacked the livelihood of 50 million people in the cities and rationed areas, i.e. mainly the working class and the middle class.

Thus the myth that shortages for the people can be overcome by industrial truce, more production by workers at less wages, has been blown up.

The attack of the slump on our economy has proved how we are in the grip of the Anglo-American economy. It has proved how the people, impoverished by landlordism and monopoly capital, are unable to buy even at falling prices. It has proved how the landlord-bourgeois state run by the Congress Party refuses to reduce the top heavy bureaucratic police structure of the state which is absorbing over fifty per cent of the taxes and thereby impoverishes the people and hampers trade and production.

Once before, the government blamed natural calamities for the ills of the people. Now it blames the slump also as a natural calamity.

The slump is neither natural nor unforeseen. Apart from being the inevitable outcome of landlord-bourgeois economy, this slump has visible birthmarks of its Anglo-American parenthood, with its nursery in the Indian economy and agency in the Governmental machinery.

The slump began as a financial crisis in the export commodities and the stock-exchange market, in oils, jute, leather, tea etc. These export commodities were just those which the Anglo-Americans were piling for war purposes. The Indian

big bourgeoisie and the government instead of building stable trade in the commodities in the stable market of the people's democracies boycotted those markets and turned to the war markets.

The defeat of the Americans in Korea curbed their wild war-schemes. The financial crisis of Britain and America forced them to unload hoarded goods and stop stockpiling. Inflation, war-boom, high prices and taxation had impoverished their home market. And the slump came. Their crash hit the Indian economy, first in the export market and next in all commodities.

Such a crisis hits the colonial markets far more quickly than the metropolitan, because the monopolies of the colonies are weaker compared to those of Anglo-American finance. The chronic poverty of the colonies reveals the crisis in all its severity.

People's Solution

What solution can there be for the crisis?

The bourgeoisie is trying to throw the burden on peasantry by cutting down the purchase price of raw materials, on the working class by wage-cuts, unemployment and rationalisation on the small traders and manufacturers by refusing them credit and a protected home market. The Congress government is trying to save the big monopolies by giving them relief in export duties, reducing taxes, advancing loans, and lending state funds for partnership in their ruined ventures, thus saddling the people with the losses of the monopolists.

The people's solution is quite different from this. We must demand opening of trade with China, the USSR and the people's democracies, who are ready to buy what we want to sell without dictating any terms and who are ready to supply us capital goods for industrialisation. The international economic conference at Moscow has convinced the genuine traders and manufacturers of the need for such trade.

We must insist on the British supplying us capital goods in exchange for the loans they have appropriated from us.

We must ask the Americans, not for loans, but for supplies against barter of our surplus goods, if they are so anxious to help us, as they say.

We must refuse to produce in accordance with the requirements of the warmongers.

We must scale down the excise duties and sales tax that make the goods dearer for internal consumption of our people.

We must refuse to export good primarily needed for our consumption, such as cloth, sugar etc.

We must reduce the expenditure on the state machine and drastically cut down taxes on consumer goods, which are imposed to maintain that expensive machine.

Credit in the hands of monopoly speculators must be frozen and given to small and medium producers first.

The taxes on monopoly profits must be progressively and steeply increased.

The workers must be protected from wage-cuts and closure of factories.

The peasantry must be given relief from rent and interest.

These measures alone can mitigate the evil effects of the crisis on the people.

The slump enables us to convince the people of the disastrous effect of linking our economy to war-markets of the imperialists and thereby to strengthen the desire for peace and freedom in the minds of the people. The enemies of peace on the contrary make the people yearn for more war which is painted as a conveyor of boom, production and profits. People's experience must be used to expose this vile lie of the profiteers who benefit by people's miseries and war.

Bourgeois Analysis of the Slump

The bourgeois propaganda about the causes of the slump is designed to sidetrack the attention of the masses from the crisis of the imperialist system and its colonial allies. It is designed to mislead the people into believing that crises and slumps are god-given natural calamities and punishment for sins, decreed by the unknowable. Such a view kills the

initiative of the masses to struggle against the oppressors for bettering their condition.

In order to counteract this propaganda, we must study the facts and put them before the people. We must show the origin of the slump and our misery in the imperialist, landlord-capitalist economy in which we are enmeshed. We must be able to show from facts and figures how the landlords and monopolists are responsible for it and are using it to enrich themselves at the expense of the masses.

Various sections of the bourgeoisie according to their own interests prescribe their own solution for the slump.

Seeing that the slump hit the export markets in jute and oil-seeds, the export houses howled for lowering of the export duties, to which they ascribe the slump. The strongest of them, i.e. the jute magnates, got their demand and their duty was reduced from Rs. 1,500 to Rs. 275.

Jute is owned by big landlords, British bankers and big Indian millowners. It is an item of war exports as also an item of peacetime economy. When price rose due to war in Korea the government was in no hurry to raise the export duties and enabled the monopoly holders to mint millions until the duty was raised. But when the foreign market demanded a reduction, the action was quick.

The next big bourgeoisie to get relief were the cotton magnates. They got relief on cloth exports and credit on American cotton imports. The sugar syndicate was allowed to export sugar, although, only a few weeks before, a minister had solemnly asserted that it would not be allowed.

The speculators wanting credit from the banks and unwilling to unload black money attributed the slump to tightening of credit and dearer money. They wanted to hide the fact that they had been speculating on the difference between the bank rate here and the bank rate in England and that the government had only decided to share the superprofits of the war boom by raising the bank rate. Dearer money was only a symptom and not a cause of the slump.

The big manufacturers attributed the slump to high wages

and cost of production, alleging that that made the products dearer and hence unsalable. If so, then they should have welcomed the fall in prices and it should have led to sales. But just the opposite happened. Even at falling prices sales would not go up. The manufacturers began to curtail production and close the factories in order to push up prices. And above all, they demanded removal of all controls.

A year back they all attributed high prices and want of goods to underproduction. Now they all attribute our ills to overproduction and fall in prices. They ask for underproduction again and high prices. Thus they oscillate in their own contradictions of capitalist economy.

In relations to people's needs there is total underproduction. But those who are in need of goods are not allowed to labour and earn in order to buy and consume the goods. Those who labour are not allowed to retain the gains of their labour in order to be buyers of what is produced. Hence we say that the solution to our ills is not this or that financial measure but complete change in social relations, a change in the direction of people's democracy and people's economy from landlord-bourgeois economy and its autocracy.

Multipurpose Schemes & Our Attitude

Taking advantage of the crisis the American monopolists have opened a full-scale offensive to dig into our economy and among our people. Many political parties, groups and individuals including many government ministers are aiding and abetting this conspiracy to enslave our people to the Americans in addition to the slavery of the British.

It is propagated that the American loans for building the multipurpose schemes will help us to improve agriculture and industrialise our country. Some trade-union organisations (viz the Hind Mazdoor Sabha convention in Bombay) have even undertaken to support the six-year plan of government, i.e. to support the attack on living standards of workers, already openly announced by these plans. In view of this, it is necessary for us to be clear in our attitude to this question.

Our attitude to these schemes and plans is not determined by the fact that they are being done on loans from England and America. We have already shown above how the plans are being built on the basis of starvation of the people and enrichment of the rich. More than this is the fact that a large part of the plans is sheer robbery of the state funds by those in charge, in league with the foreign monopoly financiers. This robbery predetermines the failure of these schemes and plans and in the end bankruptcy of the state.

Reports of the Sindhri factory, the Hirakud dam, the Damodar valley project show that the original costs are doubled or trebled once the schemes are launched. The suppliers, seeing that government treasury is committed, raise prices, charge huge commissions, nepotism becomes rampant and even what is supplied in tools and machines turns out to be mere scrap. The Sindhri factory was estimated to cost 10 crore. It cost 24 and yet it is not fulfilling production targets.

The working of Damodar Valley Corporation during the last two and a half years has been criticised in parliament. Criticisms based on the auditor's reports show that "(a) the estimate has been enormously exceeded; (b) heavy expenditure was incurred even before the appointment of a suitable chief engineer and before the rules and regulations were drawn up; (c) wastage and overhead costs have been too excessive; (d) contracts were given by negotiation without competitive tenders being invited and there was no approved schedule of rates for the execution of works at the various work sites; and (e) some of the projects might prove uneconomical and might have to be dropped"

"The auditor's report mentions two other instances which reflects no credit on the corporation. One relates to the loss through deterioration of a large quantity of cement estimated to cost about Rs. 3 lakh; the other is in connection with the scheme to transfer the corporation's headquarters from Calcutta to Ranchi. On the latter, more than Rs. 7 lakh were spent on preliminary arrangements alone. Subsequently, however, it was decided to abandon this proposal" (from a pamphlet by the Employers' Association).

The story of the other projects is no better and those projects are estimated to burden us with over five hundred crores of rupees' debt.

The American penetration in joint partnership with the British on the oil refinery projects, the Japanese penetration, which again is partly American, in the iron ore mines in Goa and export of our pig iron to Japan, the various community projects built up as centres of Americanism and Hollywood gangster culture should tell us that it is not a healthy growth that will result from government policies but just mortgaging of our economy to foreign imperialist exploitation.

It is futile to expect that the incoming famines and crisis of production are going to be overcome by such measures. At best their manifestations may be mitigated, zigzagged and a little delayed but never averted.

In order to meet the threat to our people, to the independence of the country, the working class has to come forward to defend the people's interests. We must reject all attempts to saddle the people with the burdens of the six-year plan to enrich the monopolists. We will put forward our platform of reconstructing the economy of our country. We will not accept rise in prices, fall in wages or bonus and wage-freeze in the name of fighting inflation. We will not allow our rights to be curtailed to demand improvements in our standard of living. We will formulate our charter of demands for the people and for the working class and fight for it. We are threatened with famine, crash of our economy and further impoverishment of the people. Our trade unions must mobilise to meet the crisis, to save the gains that the working class, the people have fought for and won, to go further.

ON THE ADVANCE OF OUR WORKING CLASS AND THE IDEOLOGICAL ORGANISATIONAL OFFENSIVE OF THE BOURGEOISIE

In 1952 today, it is hundred years since the first factories began to work in India and the new working class was born.

How far has it advanced in these hundred years?

In the early days the peasant, forced out of his land and village, ruined by landlords and moneylenders, with his handicrafts forcibly destroyed by the British government and later by competition, resisted with uprisings, with guns in hand led by peasant partisan heroes; but he was beaten. He flocked to the new towns on the sea-coast, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta etc. where the British and their Indian agents found suitable conditions to build factories.

Jungle Law, Unlimited Working Day, Child Labour, No Rest

From 1852 on to 1880, the working class in these factories was exploited most inhumanly and without pity. Arrogant Britishers, pious Hindus, religious Moslems, all combined irrespective of their religion, nationality, language or country in bleeding men, women and children in these slaughter-houses of capital. There was neither law nor moral scruple to protect these millions, dazed by the new order, the new machines, the new unheard of ways of work and new masters, from the cruelties of capital in its birth on Indian soil, in a country conquered by a foreign imperialism and ravaged by its own landlords and monied traitors.

In those days, it was jungle law that prevailed. There was no limit on hours of work. Men, women and children were herded in the dens of capital to work from 12, 16, 18 and even 23 hours per day. There was no Sunday, no holiday, no starting and closing time. Children of five and six years of age worked full time as the grown-ups. And when they died or were maimed in the machines there was no value for their life or limb.

Who then brought capital to its senses and secured some law, some decency in the life of the worker and his exploitation? The whole history of working class struggles the world over shows that the bourgeoisie never yielded any reform, any wage-increases or improvement to the workers without the workers waging determined struggles. The Indian bourgeoisie is no exception to the general characteristic of that class as such.

The protests of the working class in the early days were feeble and did not take to any strike struggle. When the cheap child labour of the Indian factories, run by the British and the Indian owners, competed seriously with the cotton textiles of Lancashire, the British owners in England demanded that the India government prevent *excessive exploitation* of the Indian worker. The demand was not motivated by any pity for the women and children. It was a demand arising out of the needs of British capital to prevent undercutting of its price of production by the cheap labour of Indian children by capital in India. The first factory commissions to enquire into conditions of labour were thus born out of the quarrel among the thieves. The commissions recommended Sunday holiday, and limit upon the age of children and night work by women. By 1890 Sunday holiday came into existence and child labour below 9 years was prohibited.

But that was only in the letter. Sunday holiday was nullified by calling workers to clean machinery on that day; child labour continued as before, with the change that every working child was given the certificate of being of the required age. There was yet no legal limit to hours of work.

Indian industrialists say that they had to struggle against the British competition to survive. But that struggle they conducted by means of children's labour, unlimited working-day of men and women and wholesale robbery of the earned wages of lakhs of workers. Not their heroism and money but robbery of our toil and our suffering that built them up. This they don't say.

The Fight for the Shorter Working Day

Following the crisis of 1905-7 and the political upheavals in which the working class began to take interest as shown in the political strike of 1907 in Bombay, the government of India appointed a commission and in 1911 limited the working day to 11 hours.

But all such limitations remained ineffective because, in

the absence of an organised and conscious working class, the bourgeoisie would never give up its jungle-law and club-rule.

The first world war and the Russian revolution brought the first wave of class-consciousness and strike struggles to the Indian factory worker, in the big cities and towns. The fight for higher wages, dearness allowance, bonus and shorter hours of work began to figure in the demands of the workers from 1917 onwards. In 1920 the workers of Bombay on their own demanded 10-hour day and threatened to strike. The government and the employers acceded to 10-hour day in 1920 and the law was enacted in 1922. It was in this period that the trade-union movement arose, gathered strength and became a mighty weapon of the working class, to achieve its demands.

Since 1918, when the workers began their struggles not only on individual factory scale but industry and areawise against the employers, what have been the gains of the working class and how did they achieve them?

To the working class of today 18 hours' work would look a horror. A child of 7 years to stand by the machine for 18 hours would bring today a whole factory on strike. Workers today strike for weeks against the arbitrary dismissal of even a single worker. They know the time by the clock and come and leave by it. They demand and will have their pay within 7 days of the month end. And above all the greatest thing is that they have the 8-hour day—their biggest achievement. The fight for the normal working day is the beginning of the liberation struggle of the working class.

The strike struggles of 1920 brought the 10-hour day. The struggles of 1930-34 gave us the 9-hour day and the post-war upheavals made the Congress government give effect to the 8-hour day in 1946.

One hundred years ago, out of 24 hours the worker had not even 6 hours of his own. All his time was labour time to produce profits for the bourgeoisie. Now 8 hours are labour and 16 hours his own.

The Fight for Living Wage

Along with the fight for the normal working-day the workers had to fight for a living wage. That fight is not yet won, but the TU movement today is on the way to it. Until the first world war, the movement for higher wages had not taken an organised form. The bourgeoisie till then refused to accept that the worker had a family and not only himself. To the bourgeoisie, each member of the worker's family was merely a 'hand' to be put to use at his machine, whether it be of the woman or the child.

It is during the twenties that the movement for higher wages and bonus payments arose with a force and some gains were made. But living wage as such till today remains to be achieved.

The anarchy of wages in the same industry and same place was first beaten down by the workers' struggles for the *standard wage* in any industry. The fight for the standard wage was a fight for a uniform wage and elimination of competition among the workers themselves. It was a fight to build their industrial and class solidarity.

The fight even helped the bourgeoisie to restore order in its cost-structure and thus provided capital also with uniform conditions of exploitation in relation to one another in the matter of the purchase of labour-power.

The fight for the standard wage remained essentially a matter located to particular industries and areas. Standard wage had been proposed by the bourgeoisie in Bombay mills in 1897, but strike of 1928 demanded and won it.

The standard wage led to questions of *minimum wage*, and the *living wage*. In a number of places and industries, the minimum for a job was obtained as in Bombay textiles. Even the principle that the wage of the worker must be based upon the admission that it is his wage as the earner of a family, that it must be a family wage and not individual wage was being gradually recognised.

The principal gains in this matter came as a result of the struggles in the period of the second world war.

That there should be a minimum sum of money below

which no one should be paid for his day's labour and that that minimum should be valid for the whole country—this principle was forced on the government and the bourgeoisie through persistent struggles. The admission of this principle ultimately came through the central pay commission of the government of India. As the largest employer of labour on the railways and salaried employees, it admitted Rs. 30 as the minimum to be paid on a *national scale* to every employee in its service. This set the standard for all private employers also. All unskilled workers demanded a relative grading up of their wages. The central pay commission had been appointed only for government and railway employees. But by an irony of history, not visualised by the government or the bourgeoisie, it became in a way the *central propagandist* of the working class demand on national scale for a *national minimum*. It sanctioned and sanctified the principle of a national minimum.

The thirty-rupee minimum certainly was not a minimum living wage. But the struggle for the living wage was being disrupted by the disunity of the TU movement and the shrewd manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie. Instead of the living wage, the Congress government passed the fake legislation of the *Minimum Wage Act* prescribing minimum wages in sweated industries. That is only a manoeuvre in the interest of the big bourgeois monopolists to help them against the small, though it is done in the name of the workers. The minimum wage law in no way gives us the living wage, i.e. the wage that would permit a worker to live a civilised decent life with his wife and children.

In the early days even the earned wages were mulcted by way of fines, arbitrary deductions and confiscations. The passing of the *Payment of Wages Act* in 1936 reduced the robbery of workers' earnings by limiting fines to not more than 3 per cent of the earnings and compelled the bourgeoisie to pay the workers' dues within seven days of their falling due at the end of the month. Till then the employers used to keep two months' wages on hand, thus forcing the working class

to give the bourgeoisie free credit of two months' labour, and allowing them to trade on these vast advances free of interest, while the workers had to enter into debts for food, rent and other necessities. That was one more blow to curb the robbers.

The Fight for Social Insurance

A normal working day and a living wage are incomplete without *social security*, i.e. social insurance against old age, sickness, accident, unemployment and maternity leave.

These questions were not raised in a general form in the early days of the TU movement. In the period after the first world war, demand was made and the law was passed providing for compensation against injury and accidents. That was surely an achievement, as the worker's life and limb got a value to be paid for by the employer, not only when it produced profits for him, but also when it was lost by the worker in the service of the employer. By that law the worker came to be recognised as a human being and ceased to be valued merely as a piece of machine. In fact machines were better looked after than men.

The bourgeoisie, however, refused to accept responsibility for sickness, unemployment and old age. To accept that the employer must pay for the maintenance of the worker when he is sick or old, unemployed or when a woman worker goes to hospital for motherhood was to accept fundamentally *new principles* of working class life and social organisation. It was to accept the fact when the workers had ceased to produce due to old age, sickness, unemployment or maternity they had a claim on social wealth or the part of it held by the bourgeoisie to maintain them, that when they were in production, they had produced so much surplus and contributed so much to the social fund and bourgeois property as to entitle them to claim maintenance even when they ceased to produce and that every producer of wealth, every unit of labour-power today was so productive as to claim such maintenance.

The bourgeoisie naturally resisted with all its might the admission of such principles. But outside India, the working class in Europe had already fought these battles and forced bourgeois society to accept the principles of the political economy of the working class. Social security legislation was forced on the bourgeois state by the working class. The stand of the bourgeoisie that the worker produced as much as he was paid in wages and that his relations with the product and its owner, the bourgeoisie, ceased as soon as he had ceased to produce was smashed by the working class movement in Europe long ago. Thus when the workers in India raised the question of *leave with pay*, i.e. the right to rest at the expense of the bourgeoisie and social insurance bourgeois resistance did not take its stand on the basis of *principle* but on the *capacity* of the industry to bear the costs.

The fight for social insurance is an uphill one. *Compensation* for accident and injury was established by the 1923 Act. But they would not agree to pay wages during sickness or unemployment. Partial compensation for (*involuntary unemployment*) arose during the second world war in the jute industry because the jute millowners were afraid of losing their labour force during stoppages, as the war afforded alternative employments and at better wages than in the jute industry. Thus for the first time unemployment of a type came to be partly paid for. *Maternity benefits* became general during the war in order to attract female labour when male labour ran short or when the employers did not want to pay men's full rates for the job to women. *Leave with pay* system existed in some undertakings for office workers, but it had not been applied to factory workers. Annual holidays with pay were introduced at the end of the war in some industries. *Sickness insurance* was discussed in 1944. The Employees' State Insurance Act to provide insurance against sickness, accident and maternity and the Provident Fund Act to cover old age and retirement have been passed but are not

yet effective due to the sabotage of the employers and the government.

The bourgeoisie refuses to agree to these measures. And where it agrees the greatest shortcoming of these measures is that they are applied only to a few industries and the workers are made to contribute a part of their wages to these insurance funds, on which the employers' contribution is made conditional. The insurance is hedged in with so many conditions and bureaucratic obstruction that their full value ceases to reach the needy workers.

The Right to Form Trade Unions

Another achievement of great value that requires to be recorded is the right of TU organisation. The right of the workers to form trade unions and conduct strike struggles was challenged by the British and Indian bourgeoisie aided by its law courts in the days of the first world war in the Madras case. But soon the wave of strike struggles and the rise of trade unions silenced the government and the employers, who then considered it advisable to pass the TU Act of 1926 and thus legalise the organisation of TUs and the strike struggles.

Thus in hundred years we advanced from a state of jungle law to some order in the world of exploiters. We have secured the acceptance of certain principles and laws embodying them, though their effective observance depends on the strength of the working class. We have secured:

1. 8-hour day.
2. Sunday rest.
3. Interval rest for meals.
4. Prohibition of child labour.
5. Compensation for accident.
6. Maternity benefits and leave.
7. Leave with pay.
8. Timely payment of wages.
9. Limit on fines and robbery of earned wages.
10. Provident Fund Act.
11. State Insurance Act.

12. The minimum wage limit.
13. Right to bonus.
14. Wages linked to prices or cost of living.
15. Compensation for involuntary unemployment.

This short review of the principal achievements of the working class will show us how we have fared since the new industrial worker was born in Indian society, how from a hunted animal, beaten, flogged and forced to work in mines, plantations and mills, with his wife and children, young and old, in the grinding wheels of rapacious capitalism aided by the British bayonet and the moral bleatings of the Indian bourgeoisie he has come to be a man standing up in defence of his rights as man and worker, as the builder and pillar of our society. To know this should give him confidence in his strength, his struggles and his victories. What lessons for the future does he give us and what now are the tasks before him?

From the review of the struggles and achievements of the working class and TU movement certain lessons stand out, which the working class must note in its further march. These lessons may be roughly outlined as follows:

The first thing to be noted is that all these gains of the workers came as a result of struggles and sacrifices. There were strikes, in which thousands and lakhs participated, hundreds were killed and sent to prisons, before the bourgeoisie yielded. Not without furious class struggle was anything gained.

Second thing to be noted is that it is not only the foreign British government that opposed these rights being given. The British and the Indian big bourgeoisie joined hands in fighting the working class and its demands for better living and working conditions.

The third thing to be noted is that not until the workers began to unite and struggle as a class, irrespective of their caste or communal divisions, did they become effective.

The fourth thing is that not until the workers entered into the political battles against the ruling class and were led by

political parties guided by the class outlook and philosophy of the working class did they make any substantial gains.

The fifth is that while the initial mass battles of the working class and their trade unions were led by communists and their friends, it is only when the communists and non-communists formed a united front and maintained the unity of the working class and the trade unions irrespective of their political differences that onslaughts of the bourgeoisie could be defeated and effective gains made.

The sixth is that with the increasing violence of the ruling class against the workers, the need of combining the workers' struggle with that of the peasantry and other working people has become apparent and where such alliance comes about the disruption of the struggles of the workers and also that of the peasants is becoming difficult for the enemies of the working class.

The seventh thing to be noted is that the struggles of the workers in India have always been helped by the class conscious workers of other countries, that the international solidarity of the working class of the world has always been a factor in the success we have achieved. It is only since the Russian revolution and now the Chinese that the arrogant bourgeoisie has been brought to respect the rights of the workers, despite the ferocious hatred it bears towards them.

That, in short, is what the history of the hundred years of development of the working class movement in India teaches us. Every phase of our struggles illustrates for us one or the other of the above seven lessons. We must carefully study how these conclusions arise and what they mean for us to-day.

The bourgeoisie and its agents in the working class are organising a powerful ideological offensive against the organised working class. The aim of the offensive is to eradicate the above seven lessons from the minds of the working class and the consciousness that its gains have been made because it fought struggles, which alone bring out those lessons.

The organised TU movement is faced with the urgent

problem of the ideological building up of the working class, which we have to take in hand immediately.

Challenging us ideologically, the bourgeoisie is building up rival TU organisations, and disrupting working class unity in order that we may not be able to advance further in winning better working and living conditions and achieving people's democracy.

With a working class ideologically tied to the bourgeoisie through the Congress and the reactionary rightwing socialists, and organisationally divided, the landlord-bourgeois government hopes to pass the burden of the crisis on to the backs of the toiling masses and thereby save the exploiting monopolists and their rule.

It is, therefore, necessary to understand our TU movement in the past and organise it in the future in the light of the above lessons.

TRADE UNIONS, POLITICAL PARTIES AND UNITY

The mass trade-union movement in India is mainly the creation of the Communist Party. It is the communist pioneers who first brought the class outlook to the trade unions. It is they who first united the workers irrespective of caste and communal divisions, irrespective of political creeds. It is they who first built the biggest trade unions in India, brought the outlook of international solidarity of the working class into the trade unions. The union as the instrument of militant struggles of the working class and of collective bargaining, run by the workers' own leadership, came into the field through their work.

The British imperialists and their Indian partners tried their best to stop this growth. But they failed.

Offensive Against the Working Class

Since 1947 the Indian monopolists led by the National Congress have launched the most determined offensive against the working class organising itself with the outlook of its own class. The offensive took the form of dividing and

disrupting the AITUC nationally and internationally or directing the workers under the influence of Anglo-American leadership, of preaching class-collaboration and suppressing the strike struggles either by laws of compulsory arbitration or by direct state force.

In this the big bourgeois monopolists are aided by the rightwing socialists. In recent days, the hand of the American Federation of Labour, the America CIO, the British TUC, Yugoslav agencies in guiding, financing and staffing the socialist leadership and the INTUC is directly and openly visible. Their main burden of attack is that the Communist Party has never built the TU movement as such, that it has always used the TU for its party politics, that internationally it puts the TUs at the service of Russia. Hence they have to build a separate TU movement.

It is necessary that this Anglo-American offensive aided by the Congress government, the INTUC and the right socialists is fought energetically, and the working class apprised of the role of the CP and other political parties in the TU movement.

Communist Pioneers

There were no communists in India before 1921 and socialists in India before 1934, whether in group or party form. There were no trade unions in India before 1918 and no central organisation. The AITUC was founded in October 1920 not in order to co-ordinate TU activity but mainly in order to elect "workers' representatives" to the ILO which was founded in 1919. But once founded the AITUC tended to become the central mouthpiece of the trade unions.

It was the communist group in Bombay that brought the 'labour problem' before the National Congress. From 1921 to 1924 the Bombay Provisional Congress, the biggest Congress unit in those days, and the AICC were constantly being moved to *establish committees to organise the working class*. Committees were established and funds allotted but never to work in the working class. The national bourgeoisie did not

consider it seriously. They considered it safer not to encourage the worker to become organised either in TUs or in political parties.

'Principles' of Majoor Mahajan

Not that the bourgeois leadership had no ideas as to what the TUs should be, if they did come up.

When the Ahmedabad workers struck for wages, Mahatma Gandhi took the lead and established the Majoor Mahajan, the union which for all these years since 1920 is being hailed as the model of trade unionism. Why is it a 'model'? Some facts are worth noting in this respect.

The Majoor Mahajan's subscriptions from the workers were realised for it by the millowners at the pay counter. This practice continued till 1936.

The Ahmedabad Millowners' Association made donations to this 'union', to help its 'social work'.

The Majoor Mahajan preached that the capitalists were their trustees as they were more clever and the workers ignorant. The capitalists were necessary for society. Capital and labour were two wheels of the social chariot, on which life moved.

Hence it decided to solve all disputes by arbitration and not by strikes. It is recorded in the Mahajan's proceedings that one dispute had been pending in arbitration for 17 years.

The Mahajan never affiliated to or formed any central all-India body of trade unions. Even when Lajpat Rai and C.R. Das were presidents of the AITUC in 1920-22 or Nehru and Subhas Bose were presidents in 1929-30, the Mahajan declined to join the AITUC.

It was their principle that the workers should not look beyond their factory or their town.

The Mahajan was organised on a craft basis. It was their principle that the workers should not unite even on the basis of an industry as a whole. To unite on an all-India scale was dangerous.

Naturally the Mahajan never joined any international

organisation. To combine internationally was still more dangerous.

The Mahajan would not participate in political actions, or conflict with any government, not even the British.

Such were the 'model' principles on which the Majoor Mahajan was built.

Formation of INTUC

Anyone now looking into the 'principles' on which the INTUC is run will be struck to find that on these essential matters, the INTUC has changed its Mahajan line.

The INTUC by its very formation now wants a national central body of trade unions. It now sits in the Anglo-American international, the ICFTU. It does not oppose forming unions on industrial basis. It puts its unions at the service of a political party and politics, i.e. of the National Congress.

Thus Gandhian trade unionism has thrown overboard certain of its 'principles'. Why have they done so? They have done it because the working class refused to accept their line of division and disruption. Hence the bourgeoisie advises the INTUC to accept the workers' outlook on these matters, in order to disrupt it effectively. It is the communists who adhered to and effectively brought the questions of national central organisation, of international solidarity, of political outlook to the workers. The others now accept it—only to use it against the working class.

As stated above the communists tried their best to persuade the National Congress to organise the working class. But they failed. From 1921 to 1930 the national bourgeoisie underestimated the role of the TUs.

Communists Build Mass TUs

The pioneer communist groups of 1920-28 led determined strike-struggles against wage-cuts and rationalisation, won big victories and built big mass trade unions. All these unions were in the AITUC. None of them preached class-collaboration. They fearlessly championed the demands of political

freedom. They joined in international solidarity. They were industrial unions. They were bringing forward working class leadership.

In the strikes of 1923-24 the communists came forward with the slogan of working class as the creator of values, with slogans of socialist outlook. In 1927 they brought the question of international solidarity, through the defence of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, in which these two innocent workers were hanged by American imperialists on faked charges.

The great May Day celebrations were begun in India in 1927 by the communist pioneers who made it a mighty movement during the strike struggles of 1928-29.

On International Affiliation

But the communists did not raise the question of international affiliation on their own in the AITUC. They did not think the movement was ripe for such an advanced step. Moreover they were sure the other groups, especially the group of N.M. Joshi-V.V. Giri would not agree to affiliation with the Red International of Labour Unions (RILU), the international of the militant working class. The Joshi-Giri group was with the British TUC and the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU). The IFTU had deserted the struggles of the working class and opposed the struggles of the colonial people for freedom. Hence we did not support the IFTU, neither did we move for affiliation with RILU.

Who forced the question on us first? It was the British TUC and the Joshi-Giri group. The British TUC send Purcell and Halsworth, two labour reactionaries, to India at the AITUC session in Kanpur in 1927 in order to secure the AITUC affiliation to the IFTU, because the Chinese movement had gone and affiliated to the RILU. On a world scale, the bourgeoisie had launched an offensive through the IFTU to divide and capture the working class for its schemes of war-mongering and suppression of the liberation struggles of the colonial people. The same game is being repeated now by the ICFTU.

The IFTU move was defeated by us at Kanpur and at the Delhi executive meeting of the AITUC in 1928. We then proposed a countermove to affiliate with the RILU. As a result, the Joshi-Giri group with the consent of the others dropped the question of affiliation with the IFTU and we dropped our proposal.

What was the role of the Congress leadership in these moves? It may be noted here that C.F. Andrews and Lala Lajpat Rai who represented Congress ideology at these meetings and in the AITUC encouraged the IFTU and the British TUC though on national questions they expressed anti-British sentiments.

Another question of international solidarity that arose in this period was that of expressing friendship with the Soviet Union and China. The communists frankly told the working class that the Soviet Union was a country of the working class and as such a friend to be defended. The question of the Chinese revolution came when the British gunboats attacked Shanghai, Hongkong and Canton workers' strikes and the revolution. We openly told the workers to support the worldwide "Hands off China" movement of that period.

But while doing this on the platform of the party, we did not pose the questions as an issue of the TUC platform, if the others would not agree. *We never wanted to divide the AITUC on political questions.* But we also refused to keep the working class and TUC aloof from political questions as such.

Thus we built the TU movement in India from 1922 onwards.

Socialists Enter TUs

The socialists came in 1934. But they were not yet in the TU movement. They entered it in company with the Royists in 1936. For what? Mainly in order to guide the working class into the fold of the National Congress. The socialists were 'Congress socialists' then.

The tremendous growth of the TU movement and the lead-

ership of the communists therein had frightened both the big bourgeoisie and the British government. The British had attacked us in 1924 and 1929 by launching the Kanpur and Meerut conspiracy cases and wholesale arrests of trade-union workers. But the attack had failed to dislodge us.

The National Congress leadership refused to support any struggle of the workers. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel had refused our offer to send 10,000 volunteers to the Bardoli peasant satyagraha in 1928 from the textile strikers of Bombay. Mahatma Gandhi refused to allow the Ahmedabad workers to give any relief to the Bombay workers, who were on strike for six months.

In 1937 the communists entered the stronghold of the Majoor Mahajan in Ahmedabad and brought about a general strike of 36 mills. Sardar Patel was surprised, because the strike took place despite his ban. That set the bourgeoisie thinking. With the first share of power in the ministries of 1937, the national bourgeoisie organised a determined offensive through their Hind Mazdoor Seva Sangh to capture the working class throughout India and suppress the militant TU movement.

The socialist leadership along with the Royists controlled the AITUC. But they would not organise the workers against the offensive of the bourgeoisie and the Congress. We bore the brunt. Rajagopalachari and Munshi and Pant and all threatened us. Rajaji even made a statement that he carried a pistol in his hand against us if we dared to fight. We did not flinch. We have not become Rajaji's enemy No. 1 only today. We became so since we conducted the strikes of workers against the Harveys of Madurai and Chettiers of Coimbatore despite Rajaji's threats in his first honeymoon days of ministry and power.

That was how the big Congress bosses and the socialist leaders behaved at the first taste of power.

In those days the TU movement spread far and wide, became an all-India one. Former backward areas came swiftly to the forefront of struggles.

In 1947 with the mass backing that the Congress and socialists had secured during 1942, they tried to capture the AITUC and TU movement through it. The Hind Mazdoor Seva Sangh of Sardar Patel allotted a lakh of rupees to enrol bogus membership of unions inside the AITUC run by Congressmen and right socialists.

They tried their best to capture the AITUC at the Calcutta session in February 1947. They measured their strength by proposing a resolution to support the bills, brought forward by Congress ministries which banned strike and imposed compulsory conciliation. The resolutions were defeated by overwhelming majority.

Soon after Sardar Patel established the INTUC in May 1947. The Sardar was not ready to give the socialists their price. The socialists soon followed the Congress and split away from the AITUC and started the Hind Mazdoor Sabha.

Gandhian leadership had so far not worked as an all-India central body for the working class. Now they had it—in order to support the anti-working class bourgeois state.

Who Split the AITUC and Why?

In 1950, though the INTUC and the socialist HMS claimed to differ with each other, they agreed to join hands in affiliation with ICFTU, the Anglo-American international splitaway from the WFTU.

Both the Congress and the socialists accuse the communists of having caused splits in the AITUC, of using TUs for party politics, of joining with foreign countries like Soviet Union and China. What do the above facts show?

The communists in the AITUC never committed the AITUC to any political resolution on the question of the war, about which so much is said. The communists never pitched the AITUC and TUs in the elections behind their party candidates.

The first split in the AITUC in 1929 was caused by the Joshi-Giri-Chamarlal group because they wanted co-operation with the royal commission on labour which the AITUC

had disapproved. Even Nehru who was the president of the AITUC then had to admit it and criticise the tactics employed by these gentlemen.

In 1947 it was the Congressmen and socialists who started new rival organisations and split from the AITUC.

The communists never forced any political affiliation on the elections. The Bengal INTUC split on this issue from the central body.

The HMS unions rallied behind the Socialist Party which openly wants affiliation of trade unions to the Socialist Party on the model of the British where the TUC unions are affiliated to the Labour Party and pay levy for party funds.

It is only the communists who do not want the union to affiliate to any party. They did not want the unions to line up behind any party. Only if the overwhelming workers of a union demanded, the unions in some cases joined democratic fronts, formed from several progressive parties and groups.

Anglo-US TUs Quit WFTU

Internationally also the British and the American TUs who had first joined in the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) wanted to commit the WFTU to accept the Marshall plan, which was a plan of the American government to enslave the European countries. The TUs of the Soviet Union, France, Italy, China, India etc. asked that the Anglo-Americans should not raise the question in the WFTU and demand a vote. They could in their national centres, if they liked, take their own decision. But the Anglo-US leaders insisted. The Soviet trade-union centre made the following statement on this issue, which is worth noting:

“The AUCCTU considers that the international unity of the working class in the World Federation of Trade Unions is based on the free and voluntary co-operation of trade unions which are non-party organisations of the workers and pursue the aims of improving the standard of living of the working class.

"The Soviet trade unions, therefore, consider that it is impossible to turn trade unions, which are non-political organisations, into an arena for political games and political machinations" (February 1948).

But the Anglo-American TU leadership had lined up behind their imperialists. They lost in the vote and hence left the WFTU.

They agreed on walking out of the WFTU but could not agree for a long time on forming a united body of their own because of Anglo-American rivalries. Only latterly, a semblance of agreement on the ICFTU was arrived at and the INTUC and HMS joined them from India. They have lined up behind the Marshall plan. Hence it is no wonder that the socialist HMS has lined up behind the five-year plan and the American aid and community projects.

Who then put the trade unions at the service of foreign countries? The communists, who refuse to divide the TU on political questions or the Congress and socialists who divide the working class and line it up behind Anglo-American schemes, of world domination?

The Communist Party has built the TU movement, fought its battles, made tremendous gains for the working class, organised it nationally and in solidarity with the international working class, has given it socialist ideology, class outlook and a revolutionary make-up.

It is very difficult for the bourgeoisie to smash the organised working class from this position.

Working Class Unity

It is true that the communists made mistakes and failed to establish the working class in India as the leader of the national-revolutionary freedom movement and that this failure was used by the bourgeoisie to weaken the party and the working class.

But despite this the working class has been so well embedded in its class position that the bourgeoisie has been forced to launch an all-round offensive with the aid of the INTUC and

the right socialists to prevent it from uniting, to keep it divided, to demoralise it ideologically and win it for the monopoly bourgeoisie and its Anglo-American helpers.

Hence it is our most important task to unite the working class and the TU movement. No amount of sacrifice should be spared for it.

The crisis of the colonial economy of the capitalist system and the successes of the socialist and democratic systems are making our task easier.

When the Congress government in order to enrich the monopolists lifted controls in 1948, the working class led by the socialists and the communists unitedly struck and forced the government to restore controls. In several towns and industries, even when the trade unions do not formally unite, the workers carry out united strike struggles, as in Bombay in 1950 and Nagpur in 1951. But the division in the leadership prevents the workers from reaping the benefits of their united action.

Among the working class a tremendous urge for unity exists. Wherever a united call goes, the workers and even the middle classes in sympathy with them, act unitedly and successfully.

Such unity halts the government in its offensive against the working class and enables it to protect its standards of living.

The AITUC has always proposed to the UTUC, the HMS and even the INTUC joint actions on agreed questions affecting the economic interests of the working class, even though the organisations may not agree politically or unite organisationally. But they have persistently refused our offers, the story of which need not be recounted here.

Unity cannot be achieved unless the AITUC unions work hard and lead the workers in struggles. We have to work for unity from below as well as from above. Where and in what conditions the one or the other or both should be the starting point depends on the state of the organisation, the mood of the masses and the make-up of the dissenting leaderships.

Unity has to be constantly worked for, setting aside party political questions, or personal likes or dislikes and notions of false prestige. At the same time, we should not compromise on fundamentals or agree to surrender the working class to the leadership of the bourgeoisie and its agents.

THE MAKE-UP AND TASKS OF OUR TU FUNCTIONARY

In the conditions and tasks facing our TU functionary, he has to re-organise his make-up and re-equip himself. The conditions of TU work are no longer what they were six years back. While strike struggles have to be led and fought, strike-leadership alone is not enough to unite and organise the working class. The bourgeois attack takes various forms, in reply to which a strike alone is not sufficient. We have to meet the attack according to the means employed by the bourgeoisie.

We must be under no illusions that government's economic plan or American aid is going to lessen the crisis for food, consumer goods, industrialisation and markets. The food crisis is a permanent one until the land is handed over to the peasant and landlordism abolished. The American loans may delay the impacts of famines here and there. But these very loans will ultimately intensify the crisis. Either by buying over whatever industry we have our national resources, or entering into partnerships with British and Indian holders, the American entry into our markets will ruin our industry and trade and make the situation worse, by accelerating the concentration of money and national wealth in the hands of big monopoly groups.

Therefore we must always be prepared to be with the workers in their struggles against rising living costs, unemployment and rationalisation.

Our TU functionary must know at least a short outline of our struggles and achievements so that he can give an outlook of confidence, class-consciousness and victory to the worker and can draw on past experience to help in the present struggles.

Our enemy distorts our history and misleads the worker. We must be able to combat this distortion.

Industry & Its Development

Our TU functionary must know not only the general trends of development but also those in each industry where he works to be able to lead the worker correctly.

The increasing growth of monopoly is ruining the small producers and genuine industrialists. The hold of British capital, for example, has closed the whole leather industry in South India throwing out thousands of workers, and ruining hundreds of employers who are clamouring for aid against the power of the British market. The import of British power-engines of small calibre threatens to ruin the industrial units manufacturing such engines in India and render thousands unemployed.

Therefore, while fighting for the workers' demands, we must learn to combine the demands of the worker with the demands of the employer in such cases and defend our national interests against foreign monopoly capital. Hence we must know the trends in each industry where we work.

Our TU functionary must know the markets for the products produced by our workers, the prices therein, the causes of their rise and fall. It is necessary because the government and the bourgeoisie try to set the consuming public against the worker by attributing high prices to our wages and create antagonisms between the working class of the towns and the peasantry in the countryside.

Technique of the Trade

Our TU functionary must know at least the rudiments of the technique of the trade in which he is running the union, so that he can understand the problems of wages and workload, of speed-up and piece-rates better and can represent them with correctness. The best teacher in this is the worker in the trade itself. We must not neglect to learn from him.

Our TU functionary must pay serious attention to the

application of the laws on industrial matters. There is a tendency to consider all the laws as attacks on the working class and hence requiring no attention except to combat them in a general form. But it is forgotten that there are two sets of laws. One is an achievement on our part and to demand and supervise their realisation and application is a task of the trade unions. Laws such as Payment of Wages Act, compensation for injuries, sickness insurance, maternity benefits, factory acts have been fought for and won by us in the teeth of opposition of the bourgeoisie, which does not wish to apply these laws in their full effectiveness. Therefore we must build the TU movement around the application and enforcement of laws which are in the interests of the workers.

Conciliation & Arbitration

The other set of laws—mainly those concerning conciliation, arbitration, recognition—are laws which are imposed on us to curb and devitalise the class solidarity and action of the working class. Therefore we must build the TU movement around the struggle against such laws as are against the interests of the workers.

In the early days of its rule the Congress government allowed the conciliation and arbitration tribunals to concede the demands of the working class. Thereby it hoped that the workers would line up behind it, abjure strike actions and give up the class-outlook.

But very soon, when the bourgeoisie wanted to withhold concessions, the workers threw overboard the conciliation and tribunal acts as in the 1950 Bombay textile strike. The reaction of the workers has been so swift that even the INTUC has demanded an overhauling of the machinery of the arbitration tribunals, and the interference of the central appellate tribunal in revising awards of lower courts which turned favourable to workers.

The scandal of the bank tribunal has shattered even the faith of the middle class, which was most critical of our hostility to these acts and manoeuvres of the Congress government.

Though the workers have thus come to the point of defying these laws, the acts still remain in force and have to be skilfully used by our trade unions.

Hence the legal branch of our TU work has become a very important one. The fight in the wage boards, conciliation and arbitration tribunals has become a part of the class struggles.

The TU lawyers of the AITUC have done excellent work in many areas, with the result that workers belonging even the INTUC and HMS unions demand the services of AITUC lawyers.

That becomes a starting point for united work. Hence industrial law and TU lawyers have to be given special attention.

Welfare & Cultural Work

Our TU functionary must not neglect the organisation of social service, co-operative and welfare work, and cultural needs of the working class. There has been a tendency, and it exists even today, to label all such activity as 'reformist'. That is so because all reformists emphasise welfare work to the detriment of struggles of the workers. But because reformists misuse welfare work, social service and cultural work, it is no reason why our TUs would condemn it, instead of giving such work its proper place in the organisation. The bourgeoisie deprives the workers' entertainment, makes it too dear for them. Nowadays the Congress government, with the aid of the British and American funds and organisation, is undertaking organised corruption of our national and class traditions and culture. It is the tasks of the trade unions to organise good entertainment, good cultural education of the workers. The famous example of how the Rangoon dock workers by simply taking up co-operative housing for the homeless docker, became a mass force and a big union uniting the divided workers is worth studying.

Caste & National Composition

Our TU functionary must know the caste and national

composition of the workers in his union and trade, their customs and traditions, their approach to life and the antagonism that the bourgeoisie foments on the basis of caste, community, tribe and linguistic national groups.

The worker coming to industry under the grinding wheel of capitalism, carries with him all the ideology, traditions and loyalties of his tribe, caste, village, religion, etc. The new class solidarity takes a long time to mature in him. In fact many a caste, village or national bonds act for him as protection against sickness, family difficulties and such other needs. Before he can learn to go to the union for his difficulties, he turns to his jamat.

We must learn to evaluate these relations of his and how to prevent them from cutting across his new class needs and loyalties. The caste, nation, tribe in the worker must be harnessed in the service of building the class outlook, solidarity and trade-union unity of the worker as an exploited man, where the exploiter stands above him irrespective of caste, tribe, nation and religion.

If we neglect to evaluate this factor correctly, the bourgeoisie will succeed in dividing our unions and struggles and preventing us from achieving our aim.

Women & Child Labour

In view of the special hardships imposed on the women not only as workers but as women in the conditions of our economy, the TU functionary has to pay special attention to the problems of women in matters of equal pay for equal work, maternity benefits to working women, care of their children, etc.

As regards young workers, he must pay special attention to the question of apprenticeship laws and education, sports, etc., after working hours.

Child labour which is extremely scattered in domestic and plantation industries requires immediate study and attention.

Unemployed

Our TU functionary must carefully study the mood of the

employed worker primarily and not judge the pressure for action only relying on the unemployed workers, who come into contact with the unions more easily than the employed. We must learn to develop the unity of the employed and unemployed against the common exploiter who uses one against the other for his own aims.

Cadres

We must learn how to build up new cadres inside the factories, fearless and militant, watchful and wise, to take the lead of the workers' struggles.

We must learn to keep some of the cadres unexposed. Or else, the victimisation by the employers will throw all our best leaders and men from the real field of work, i.e. the factory, shop and office.

Some people think that because our unions are now legal, we bring all our cadres to the forefront. We have to remember that the unions are legal but the crisis of capitalism is not over. The bourgeoisie does not hesitate to attack us when we lead workers' struggles.

Learn from the Masses

Our TU functionary must learn how not to run ahead of the masses nor lag behind them. This he can do only by experience and study. He has sometimes to restrain the inexperienced masses while at other times, he has to rouse them into correct action.

In this task our functionary is suffering from the legacies of the past. At one time we banned all strikes in the name of a political line. At another time we called strikes on everything without caring to know if the masses were ready or not.

As a result, even where workers are ready to act we now hesitate lest we may burn our fingers again. And when workers act on their own, controversies flare up among us, calling each other names. This results from not keeping our ears to the ground and sounding the mass mind through correct mass trade union work.

We must remember that there is no such thing as a period of 'no strikes' or a period of 'all strikes'.

So long as we have not achieved people's democracy we will have to struggle, and there will be strikes. In the present crisis of imperialism and its colonial economy there is no such thing as 'partial stabilisation' leading to a period of relative peaceful growth of industries. The warmongers' boom is always a temporary one and each one leads to a more severe crisis than the preceding one. Hence there is no question of one or the other slogan. We must know how to assess the situation, the mass mind and the correct type of struggle that will take us ahead.

Our TU functionary must know the various tactics of mass struggle from past experience. He must know the local traditions of struggle and its forces and must also learn from them. Readymade rules of struggles will not serve the purpose except in the general approach.

Our TU functionary must know the peasant around his factory if it is in the countryside. In such areas the worker lives in the village and works in the factory. Under such conditions, strike struggles are directly linked with the peasantry around.

We must learn how to get the peasant's help and also how to render him our help. In the sugar plantations, tea gardens, in mining and new factories spreading out into the interior to secure cheap labour and land, the sympathy and ties with the peasant are a great factor in the success of the TU struggles.

Our TU functionary must have the overall world outlook of Marxism and in the present period must know how to link up the peace movement with the struggles of the masses. In this respect every economic evil today can be read in the wise words of Stalin which explain the crisis and peace as the solution of it.

"What does placing the economy of a country on a war footing mean? It means giving industry a onesided, war direction; developing to the utmost the production of goods necessary for war and not for consumption by the popula-

tion; restricting to the utmost the production and, especially, the sale of articles of general consumption—and, consequently, reducing consumption by the population and confronting the country with an economic crisis.”

There has been a tendency either to neglect the peace movement or to present it mechanically as a duty. That arises out of the failure to understand the present phase of the crisis, as described by Stalin.

Our TU functionary himself must develop culture, must be modest and patient with the masses. Even while negotiating and dealing with the ‘enemy’ at the conciliation and negotiation table, he should be polite and dignified, though sharp and firm in his approach. Rudeness is not an attribute of the class struggle.

If we succeed in producing such a functionary and boldly champion the cause of the workers, without jumping into false sectarian boldness or reformist lack of confidence, we shall revive our TU movement; we shall take the lead of the people’s struggles on all issues and take the path of achieving the demands of the workers and the people.

SOME OF OUR MISTAKES AND THEIR CORRECTION

We have seen the economic perspectives put before the people by the government and their disastrous effects on the people and the working class. We have seen the achievements of our class and its future needs. We have seen the way the political parties work in the working class and TUs. We have seen the disruption and division that the bourgeoisie has carried out in organisation and unity of the working class. We have seen the tasks that our TU leadership has to carry out, the key task being to work for and achieve unity.

In carrying out the tasks, the crux of which lies in building the unity of the working class and the trade unions, besides knowing the moves of the ruling classes, the struggles and achievements of the working class and their lessons, as stated above, it is also necessary to understand how the party and the trade unions led and advised by it functioned,

where and how they behaved correctly and where they made mistakes.

TU Unity

In building TU unity it is also necessary to understand the character of the organisations and their leadership with whom we try for organisational unity. It is necessary to lay down the *dos* and *don'ts* in achieving unity from below as well as from above.

It is more or less an acknowledged fact that the communist pioneers with the help of the non-communists built the early mass TU movement in India and achieved many a great gain for the working class.

The ideas of class consciousness, national and international solidarity of the working class and duties following for them were consciously built up from an early period.

Mass trade unions were brought into existence and the initiative of the workers by building working class cadres was developed.

Unions were built on industrial basis and democratic mass functioning developed through mill committees, departmental groups and leaders, etc.

Political education and action of the working class was organised through the party.

At the same time the party as such did not become a mass party of the working class, drawing upon all the gains of the struggles and the growing industrial and political consciousness of the masses.

Our Isolation

The political leadership of the masses in the national liberation movement was not seized by the pioneers and the party due to inadequate understanding of the programme and tactics in relation to the national struggle, the role of the bourgeoisie and its parties and the democratic front.

The trade unions led by the party got isolated or split because of the organisational-political mistakes and the on-

slaughter of repression from the British government and its bourgeois allies in India in the period of 1930-35.

The lessons of the split of 1929, the split of 1930 between the AITUC and the Red TUC are worth noting in this respect.

The tactics of eliminating reformist influence over the working class, of boldly leading its struggles when workers from below are ready while the reformist leadership hesitates and gets isolated and tactics on the question of building the revolutionary trade-union movement, as laid down by the RILU, were wrongly understood and applied in the AITUC and the Red TUC in this period.

Breach Healed

But soon the corrections were made, a unity movement was launched, and the development of united struggles of workers and correct approach to the reformist and national-bourgeois leadership healed the breach in 1938.

As a result on the eve of the second world war in 1940 the AITUC and its TUs were highly organised, they had a mass base, membership and good cadres. All political parties except the Congress stood inside the fold of the TU movement of the united AITUC organisation, though differing with each other and struggling against each other on political and even industrial matters.

Tactical Differences During War

The second world war and the differences in tactics among the political parties in relations to the war and the role of the working class again threatened with division and disunity on TU questions.

The Congress bourgeoisie and its wing in the TU movement were not prepared to fight for the defence of the working class against the burdens of the war, while the CPI and other parties and groups were conducting such struggles for the defence of the working class.

When the war switched over to a new phase in 1941 and

the CPI called for the defence of the socialist state of the world's working class—the Soviet Union—no party openly took an opposition position. Even the Congress leadership had to advocate support to the defence of Soviet Union and China in their 1942 resolution. But the differences arose on the question of the application of this position.

On trade-union questions, on the question of strikes in defence of working class interests, serious differences arose. The CPI advocated a line of not encouraging strikes or settling them as quickly as possible if they arose in order to facilitate the defence against fascism.

However, in practice, the slogan of defence against fascism was mechanically applied, because the party leadership underestimated the strength of the USSR and the resistance movements, overestimated in panic the strength of imperialism, forgot to note that while mouthing phrases of support to their Soviet ally, the Anglo-Americans sabotaged aid to the Soviet Union and were only guarding and trying to strengthen their colonial bases against the post-war crisis.

Reformist Deviation

The mistake lay in not combining the defence of the interests of the working class and people with the interests of the defence of the Soviet Union and the anti-fascist war.

As a result, in the TU field, when the national bourgeoisie and the British attacked the workers' standards of living and the workers demanded leadership from us in their defence, we either lagged behind or gave wrong slogans or in some cases even deserted the struggles.

Our mistakes in tactical application of our line, our mistakes on the TU front in the matter of the defence of the interests of the workers weakened our TUs and lost us many of our large bases of the working class.

The bourgeoisie and its right and left parties, the socialists and others took advantage of our mistakes in order to isolate us from the working class.

But even in this period, where we stuck to mass work, in

relation to famine relief, rationing of food, demands for dearness allowance and occasional strike struggles, which broke over our heads, we retained our mass bases.

But these were retained generally in areas and industries where we had not led furious class battles before and where the workers had only recently come to consciousness and organisation, as for example in some areas of the south.

Our serious losses were in the areas and industries where we ourselves had imbibed the class anti-imperialist outlook into the worker and had led determined mass battles on his behalf, as for example in Bombay, Kanpur, etc.

Thus the division in the working class, our isolation from the class in major areas followed from our political line and its working out in the TU field.

Reformism was the main deviation in this period.

At the end of the war, the leadership of the Congress utilised its new influence in order to attack the party and destroy it.

Wartime Strike Wave

At the same time, the working class rose into determined struggles in order to overcome its losses during the war. The biggest strike wave began.

The new strike wave put forward demands of quite a far-reaching nature.

They demanded not only wage increases and bonus but also living wage, 8-hour day and social security.

All trades and strata of workers were drawn in these struggles.

They were extremely militant in their character.

In some areas, as in Travancore, they even defended the worker with arms in hand, as in Punnappra and Vayalar.

As a result of the weakening of imperialism and the rise of the colonial liberation movement, even the armed forces composed of Indians sympathised with the strikes.

The economic and political strikes got combined and in many cases the whole population joined in the strike struggles

by hartals as in the post and telegraph strikes and the Calcutta hartal.

Though the party had jumped into the new strike wave it still suffered from the remnants of the previous reformist outlook.

Hence we did not react swiftly to the new situation to put the party and the TUs in fighting trim.

As a result, the rightwing socialists or trotskyites and other elements stole the leadership as in the case of the Madras Binny strike. But the lag was soon overcome.

The serious strike wave frightened the bourgeoisie, because it immediately began to affect its profits. While it wanted to use the masses for a compromise with imperialism and for destroying the CPI, it also wanted to stop the advance of the working class both economically and politically.

The AICC of 1946 sympathised with the demands of the working class but warned it against strike struggles.

What was the workers' attitude to us in these strikes—economic and political?

They would strike unitedly and as our party cadres were the best and fearless organisers, they would welcome them. The typical remark of welcome would be: "Now quarrel is over. We can join in the common struggles, though for your own political reasons, you left us before."

A serious inner-party struggle had to be waged to overcome reformism but there were no serious difficulties in the way as the upsurge was helping us to overcome it. The development of the upsurge, however, to its logical conclusion was hampered in many cases.

Sectarian Adventurism

After the Calcutta congress of the party, the leadership failed to assess the situation correctly and in the name of bold leadership of working class struggles and its hegemony, it took to *sectarian adventurism, which became the main deviation of this period.*

It was facilitated by the fact that the strike wave had not

subsided. The bourgeoisie opened an offensive of suppressing the workers' struggle by the industrial disputes acts, essential services acts, the detention act, etc. Firing, killing, prisons and police rule was the main weapon of the Congress leadership to suppress the workers.

At this time, we should have been doubly careful in guarding unity of the working class because (i) we had not overcome the distrust of the masses towards us born out of the war period, (ii) the right socialists and the Congress had disrupted TU unity by starting rival organisations, (iii) the workers had national bourgeois illusions about the Congress and the socialists, (iv) sufficient time and opportunity had not been given for the worker to disillusion himself about the role of the Congress governments, (v) the new worker in the industry had not gone throughout the fire class-battles and had not tested by his own experience the various parties and their leaders, (vi) the bourgeoisie when faced with strikes was making concessions to the workers, which still further bred national bourgeois illusions, viz the concessions to railway workers in 1946, the grant of bonus payment of 4½ months wages as in Coimbatore, Bombay. etc., the application of DA scale in various areas. These were gains the influence of which we underestimated.

The leadership of the party turned sectarian and bureaucratic. Where TU comrades reported the mood of the masses correctly, it instituted a militarist-bureaucratic discipline in place of democratic voluntary discipline. The failure of strike slogans was attributed to failure of individual cadres to act; the latter were expelled and thereby the party and TUs weakened.

The outstanding example is 9th March 1949.

Weakening of Party and TUs

Unions were split in the name of isolating the reformists without seeing whether the masses walked out with us or remained with the reformists and rightwing socialists.

The concessions made by employers and their actual

influence were never assessed in order to give lead to the workers.

Slogans were subjectively evolved and did not flow from assessment of objective conditions.

Trade union and party work was almost made identical forgetting the warnings of the International.

The lessons of the RILU were perverted and wrongly applied as in the February 1949 document.

Mass TU work was given up in the name of *politicalisation* of the working class.

Unity of the workers was made a phrase, by giving calls of joint actions in terms of most rude, hostile, bitter criticism of those very forces with whom we called for unity.

To give a call of strike at all costs alone was considered the attribute of revolutionary trade unionism, without reference to the preparedness and mood of the masses, and the state of organisation, and the objective justifiability or appropriateness of the call.

These, in short, are some of the mistakes on the TU front made by the party which, coupled with the violent suppression by the Congress government, led to the disruption of our trade unions and the setback to the working class.

Attempts at Correction

The correction came in 1950. The left-sectarian adventurism was removed from the leadership.

But sectarianism in understanding of the situation and tactics appropriate to it had not been properly nailed down. The pronouncements of the Asian conference were sought to be mechanically and wrongly applied, and hence the inner-party struggle continued.

The reflection of this partial correction and partial continuation of the sectarian deviation can be found in the December 1950 letter on trade unions to party ranks.

While calling for re-organisation of TU work and struggles of the working class, both in its legal and illegal forms, it held the perspective of illegal union work as the main form,

advocated the 'lie low' policy in the towns in view of 'fascist repression'. This kind of approach was facilitated by the fact that savage repression against the party and the trade unions led by it continued in the Congress regime.

The letter, therefore, while opening the way for correct re-organisation of TU work left enough room both for sectarianism by allowing emphasis on mainly illegal TU work and on the other hand for reformism by talking of 'lie low' policy.

New Programme & Tactics

The adoption of the new programme and tactics of the party and the events following from it have now cleared the way for correct and proper work in the TUs.

At the same time one has to be watchful because in TU work the reflection of the inner-party struggle, the remnants of the various deviations, persists due to the absence of unification of ranks and common understanding being not yet achieved.

This reflection takes various forms. Because we have not yet been able to get the TUs of the AITUC going with live, direct contact with the masses, which was formerly broken, we are not able to assess the mass mind correctly and in time. Because the party has been deprived of cadres, we are not able to measure the situation in time and quickly by our contacts, by our studies of industry, finance, etc. Because of lack of mass contact, we are not able to measure the exact influence of the INTUC and the rightwing socialists and many a time have to depend on the spontaneous action of the masses in order to know the trend of their mind and the grip of certain demands and slogans.

This inability is used by the remnants of the various deviations in the party for factional ends. It hampers TU work, and repels new cadres coming to the party and the TUs.

When to Launch Struggles

Having seen the disastrous effects of irresponsible strike calls of the sectarians in the past, the genuine party worker wants

to exercise *caution* before launching such a call and struggle. Knowing the disruption and disunity in the TUs and the division of the workers under the three main organisations, INTUC, HMS and AITUC, our genuine worker wants to wait and see what the leaders of the other two organisations reacting to.

In the absence of real mass contacts and organised TU work, he does not know where this waiting and this caution should end and a struggle launched on his own, or where he should support others, because he is doubtful if even the others know the masses and are honest in their defence of workers' interests.

In such a situation when the masses act spontaneously or the other leaders launch struggles and masses respond, the sectarians come out of their hiding and use the caution of the TU leaders to attack them as reformists, deserters, etc. They use this not in order to see how to devise new means to correct *overcaution*, the legacy of their own adventurism, but to use it for factional ends. This is one malady.

Another malady is that when the genuine worker, seeing the crisis, wants to advance slogans of struggle and action in reply to the attacks of the bourgeoisie and the government, the remnants of reformists oppose him as sectarian, taking advantage of the fact that sectarians in the past have used struggle-slogans most irresponsibly. And when a struggle is launched but fails, the reformist attacks the genuine workers as sectarian-deviationists and uses the fact for his factional ends.

This happens because neither the hardened sectarian nor the hardened reformist has cured himself but uses this or that mistake of the genuine worker for his factional ends.

Since 1950 *there is no main deviation in the party*. But in one or the other unit, union or area, the remnants of both trends being there, TU work does suffer from them.

Live Mass Contact

What are the mistakes we are likely to commit now? Not having live mass contact and organised cadres working right inside the factories on a large-scale, we are not able to feel

the pulse of the workers and know their grievances in concrete. Hence we do not react swiftly when the masses want us to lead them in struggles. This can be corrected only by genuine TU work on a mass scale, in the residential areas, where we cannot enter the factories, and in the factories where we can get entry, if not by recognition at least through our TU membership.

Having the sectarian adventurist effects still in mind we are likely to be *overcautious* in leading the workers' struggles and *lag behind*.

The need for struggles forced on the workers by the attack of the crisis of the economy may again throw us into the arm of sectarian adventurers. The need for rebuilding TU organisation, trying for unity before struggles are launched on our own, the need for using legal means of the industrial laws before acting in defiance of them, the need for readiness to negotiate and conciliate where possible and win demands even through arbitration, is likely to be overlooked and land us into *running ahead* of the workers and the people.

Thus both mistakes have to be guarded against. However we cannot at present say that any one deviation is a main deviation in the party or that the party leadership in the TUs is suffering mainly from a deviation. Our main task is, therefore, to evolve correct methods of mass work, TU functioning, defence of workers' interests and struggles on the basis of unity as the key weapon as well as an immediate aim.

What steps should we take in order to correct the situation, build a strong TU movement and achieve the demands of workers?

All TU cadres must get into close contact with the workers, employed and unemployed, through mohalla-basti contacts or factory.

Formulation of Demands

Cadres must lay down minimum daily tasks on TU front, including all aspects of the workers' life.

They must equip themselves as outlined before.

They must keep track of the mass mind in its reaction to the *food situation* and the *crisis* and their day-to-day demands.

Demands in each trade and industry must be carefully formulated. Formulation of extravagant demands must be avoided.

In the name of *fundamental questions* and exposure of the bourgeoisie it is the sectarian habit to frame demands which are not reasonably attainable and make the worker look ridiculous in the eyes of his allies in the people.

All available means of unofficial and official conciliation should be tried and if possible a settlement achieved to mitigate the effects of the crisis on the workers' standard of living, employment and wages.

Not to settle on any account and to push the workers into strikes at all costs in the name of *steeling the workers in the fire of struggle* was the sectarian habit which led to fruitless strikes in some cases though it must be remembered that not all failures of settlement or strikes were due to that line alone.

Legal Formalities

The legal existence and formalities of a union must be guarded with care, though impossible and anti-working class conditions must not be agreed to secure recognition under the law—such as agreement to compulsory arbitration and no-strike clauses.

It may be remembered that in 1948 we lost the valuable recognition of the MES unions because under the influence of sectarians we refused to accept the obligation of holding a ballot before strikes and agreeing to certain other conditions in view of the services being concerned with military engineering.

In the event of failure of conciliation, measure the readiness of the workers for further action by means of meetings, or ballot, or where these are not permitted by consultation with leading cadres, and if they agree do not hesitate to

launch a strike. If they do not, do not launch a struggle just because you feel otherwise.

Before launching a struggle observe all the necessary laws if they are applicable to your industry regarding notice, etc.

Before and after launching the struggle cultivate non-working class opinion in your support. This must be carefully done especially in such trades as municipal services, transport, domestic, lighting, etc.

After launching the struggle keep ready for negotiation and try on your own to open avenues for it.

Whether the strike has to be half day, one day or prolonged depends on the preparedness of the workers and the unity of the leadership.

Be vigilant against blacklegs and provocateurs.

Guard the Cadres

Nowadays every strike is followed by banning of meetings, arrests of leaders, etc.

We must guard our cadres and leaders. Who and how many should depend on the state of the organisation.

Even in ordinary TU work cadres have to be guarded. Even when we have legal unions and do legally permitted work, there is victimisation by employers, unlawful detention by government etc. We must be vigilant against these attacks also, especially when workers launch strikes for their demands.

In strike meetings exaggerated reporting should not be done. Handbills should be sober, educative, simple, not jargonised, and to the point. They should be full of confidence and of militant and rousing nature but this should not amount to hurling boastful challenges, using language which can easily haul us under the law, as some of our handbills have been in the past.

When we are trying for unity, we have to be doubly careful in criticising the leaders and members of the rival organisations, or those who differ from us on the given tactic. The resolution of the working committee of AITUC of

May 1949 on the deserters is a model of how such a resolution should not be.

Defend the workers' struggle fearlessly but do not hesitate to settle or call off when necessary. False notions of prestige or victory and defeat should not blind us to the mood of the workers and their strength. There should not be a premature panicky call-off nor a pig-headed sectarian stick-on. The situation for one or the other has to be measured by experience and skill. There is no readymade rule for this.

Defence of workers' interests includes defence against police terror and violence of the employers' gangs. How to do it depends on the particular situation, readiness of the people to suffer and to act.

Armed clashes with the state forces should, however, be avoided under present conditions.

Forms of Struggle

Importation of satyagraha forms in strike struggles should not be encouraged, though today in some cases the workers and the middle class employees under the influence of past traditions easily take to such suggestions. If in certain circumstances such forms can help to initiate mass mobilisation, we should not hesitate to use them but with caution and care.

We have to guard against the provocateurs who try to disturb disciplined peaceful action by anarchic action to facilitate government repression.

But just because we ask for peaceful conduct of strikes and resistance, it does not mean, we should preach the principles and theory of nonviolence, as the bourgeoisie wants us to do.

« Above all, be guided by the masses, by their experience and skill while giving them also guidance from the standpoint of ours as a leadership.

Differentiation Between Big and Small Industries

In formulating and fighting for the demands of the workers do we make any difference between the Indian employer and the British, also between the small and the big?

Under the present circumstances, our first task is to defend the worker's standard of living and conditions of work, his wages, employment, etc., against every employer whether British or India, big or small. The starting point and level of demands is always conditioned by the fact that the employer is big or small, because the technical and employment conditions of large-scale industry and its profit capacity are generally better than that of small-scale industry. But the crisis affects the small more quickly and severely than the big.

In struggles, however, the big resists more severely than the small and can last out. The government machine protects the big more than the small. Our tactics must be guided by this but only as tactics to win demands and with as little suffering for the worker as possible.

Hence in order to win relief for us quicker, to move the public towards us and in order to defend the general interests of the country and the people, we should where necessary combine the demands of the employer against the state or the foreigner with our demands against him and propose joint campaign etc. But the political antagonism between the big and the small, between the Indian and foreigner as also our organisational-ideological prestige and strength have not advanced today to that level, where the national bourgeoisie will combine in a united front with us on the basis of common understanding. Hence we should not go into mechanical generalisation and application of experiences elsewhere regarding the differentiation between big monopoly and small industry or national bourgeois and foreign. Though we may not neglect to take note of the antagonism as in the case of leather, mica, smallpower engines, etc., today we must concentrate on protecting the worker and his interests first. Only when the workers grow strong and powerful will the bourgeoisie come to ask for differential treatment, which should then deserve our serious consideration.

We must remember that the antagonisms which raise the question mentioned above flow under conditions of Anglo-American drive for war.

Hence the crisis and its solution, our demands and their fulfilment raise directly the question of the peace movement. For this each industry and trade and each demand and struggle has to be properly placed in the context of the general class economy and specially the war economy and its effects, and our demand for peace and trade with all countries without discrimination.

Worker-Peasant Alliance

The question as to how to relate the workers' TU struggles with those of the kisans depends on the area and industry and the state of organisational and ideological preparedness of both the workers and the peasants concerned. While we should bear in mind the necessity for this and also the other points mentioned in the previous report, we need not elaborate on the question further in this report.

It must be remembered that no amount of detailed instructions can ever take the place of mass experience and the ability and skill to use it in building TU and defending the demands of the working class.

Some of Our Main Weaknesses*

Ajoy Ghosh

During the six years that have elapsed since the ending of direct British rule, India has witnessed events of far reaching significance. In the programme of the Communist Party, the election manifesto and the review of the general elections, the most important of these events have been dealt with.

The last general elections revealed that the Congress Party, which only a few years ago enjoyed unrivalled prestige and authority, among the people, had lost the backing of the majority. The process has continued, becoming accentuated in the months that have passed since the general elections, as pointed out by the political bureau of the Communist Party at its meeting held in August (1952).

Further, the movement of the Indian people for defence and extension of national freedom, for the complete destruction of the imperialist grip and of feudal exploitation, for a life of happiness and prosperity is becoming more and more linked with the battle which progressive humanity is waging for peace. The great response which the peace congress of the countries of Asia and the Pacific evoked among all sections of the people, the successful observance of the 'Asia Week' in many parts of the country, the collection of 50,000 peace signatures in Bombay within 10 days, the gigantic peace rally at Madras, the big peace conference held in August and September in several provinces, culminating in the all-India

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peace conference held at Jullunder—all these are indicative of the growing strength and sweep of the peace movement.

Opposition to the policies and methods of the government has spread to new strata and sections of the people, including sections of the national bourgeoisie itself. Mass struggles are growing in volume and intensity. The ruling party, the Congress, is in the midst of a deep crisis. Conflicts inside the Congress have sharpened.

Reviewing the events that have taken place since the elections, the political bureau of the Communist Party of India stated that “the developments of the last six months are not fortuitous. Nor can they be considered of a temporary nature. They will continue and grow, for they arise from deep-rooted economic and social causes”.

From what has been said the conclusion should not be drawn that the enemy is already on the verge of defeat or the tasks confronting us are comparatively simple. On the contrary, the enemy still holds much of the balance of power, still wields immense influence. He has still immense reserves and immense capacities for manoeuvring. His strength lies not only in the direct influence of the Congress Party itself, but also in the influence that feudal and communal reaction still exerts in many parts of the country. Further, its strength lies in the constitutional illusions that set in after the general elections, illusions about the possibilities of the ballot box, illusions that are being strengthened by the newly formed Praja Socialist Party which is trying to form a bourgeois-reformist ‘oppositional consolidation’.

The tasks facing our party are therefore immense. They have been described by the political bureau as “broadening the mass movement by helping the people win their immediate demands, of building their mass organisations and of enlisting the best sons and daughters of the people into the party while carrying out these tasks”.

The political bureau points out that the difficulties confronting the party today are of a specific nature. They are connected with the growth of the mass movement, with the

growth of the influence of the party and therefore with the growth of the responsibilities which the party has to fulfil.

Today, with the growth of the mass movement, with political awakening spreading to new strata, new sections, new areas and with the immense growth in the influence of the party, our tasks and responsibilities have grown manifold. We have to lead the people in the struggles for their immediate demands. We have to organise workers, peasants, agricultural workers, as well as youth, students, women, middle-class employees, artisans and handicraftsmen. We must wage struggle on the cultural front. We have to champion the cause of the people in parliament and in the legislative assemblies. We have to run a large number of daily and weekly journals. We have to produce literature on current national and international issues. We have to negotiate with other parties for a united front, to negotiate with the government and local authorities. We have to participate in elections to local boards and municipalities. We have to work among and establish contacts with all strata and sections of the people in order to formulate and champion their demands in conformity with the basic interest of the Indian people, with their democratic rights and national independence. We have to organise relief for the unemployed and the famine-stricken. We must develop a powerful movement for peace. All this work must be co-ordinated, directed and helped by party units in every area.

It would be no exaggeration to say that today men from every social strata who are moving in step with their people look to the Communist Party for help and guidance. Even in areas where no Communist Party units exist, people know the Communist Party as the party that fights for the poor, for the common man. They approach us to organise them, to tell them what to do.

To discharge even a fraction of the new responsibilities, to carry out even a part of the immense tasks, the party needs cadres—a vastly enlarged number of cadres. And here it should be remembered that the party is strong not only in the number of its members, but especially in their quality, in

their devotion to the party and in ideological training. We need effective agitators, journalists for party organs, educators, organisers of the people and their movements—cadres ideologically developed and politically trained who have capacity for initiative and leadership, who are able to apply the general line of the party in a flexible way in each area and constantly to raise the political and organisational level of the masses.

Of such cadres we have too few. And those few are overburdened with work. The result is we cannot undertake and carry out many of the innumerable tasks confronting us.

It must be realised that today we have reached a stage when success in organising the popular movement is inseparably linked with and even *dependent upon* the planned, organised growth of the Communist Party itself, its strengthening in those areas where it already exists, its spreading to new areas where as yet it does not exist. Without this the popular movement cannot be appreciably strengthened and even the existing movement cannot be properly guided and its achievements consolidated in the form of mass organisations. Today organisation becomes a most important political factor.

What we need today, above all, is a strong party—strong in its expanding membership, embracing a truly large number of cadres prepared to fight selflessly in the ranks of our party, strong in discipline, strong in politics—a party firmly entrenched among the masses, linked with them through a thousand ties forged through multiple forms of activities ; a party with live and active units in factories and workshops, in villages and localities, in each section of our people. These units must function in a way that they will be looked upon by the people among whom they work as their leaders in every sphere of life. Without a sufficiently large, sufficiently firm and sufficiently developed party core in every province and area, on every front of struggle, leadership of the masses is impossible of realisation. Most of our difficulties today arise from the absence of this.

The present position can be appreciated from the fact that

even in Madras state where we polled 2.6 million votes in the general elections and could have polled much more if we had contested more seats—even in this state our party membership is far less than 1 per cent of the votes polled by us. A similiar situation prevails in other states. And even this membership is not properly organised and only a fraction of it is ideologically-politically developed.

This is the biggest single problem facing the party. As the political bureau stresses, organisation more so than ever before has become a major political factor. It determines the tempo of the growth of the mass movement itself.

This is not yet clearly realised by most of our comrades. Many of them tend to look upon our present difficulties in the same way as they looked upon our past difficulties. In the past whenever difficulties arose in our work, whenever we received a setback or failed to advance as rapidly as we wanted, the explanation was sought mainly in terms of immediate political slogans and forms of struggle. The result was that while some slight progress was made with correct slogans and correct forms of struggle, the basic weaknesses, the weakness of the party itself, remained as before. Even the advance registered could not be consolidated.

Today, however, the difficulties are of a different nature. They arise primarily and above all from our organisational weakness. They arise *despite* correct immediate slogans and correct tractics as outlined in the political bureau resolution. Therefore the organisation problem itself has to be tackled as the biggest political problem before the party.

For this it is first of all necessary to achieve theoretical clarity with regard to party organisation and abandon the wrong ideas, the wrong notions that have prevailed till now.

It has been incorrectly held—though never specifically expressed—that organisation—party organisation—is a *byproduct* of economic and political struggles, i.e. if we give correct slogans and wage struggles correctly, the party will grow, almost automatically.

An equally wrong notion is that the party will grow along

with and as a result of the 'growth of the movement'. It is not realised that the 'growth of the movement' itself can take place in the correct manner and in the correct direction only under the leadership of the party and that this leadership itself can be exercised only if the party itself grows, in other words, that the growth of a real mass revolutionary movement depends to a great extent on the growth of the party, that without this the movement itself ends in defeat.

Another notion is that the party grows by building mass organisations of workers, peasants, etc. Our own history shows how wrong this notion is. Many times did we build mass organisations but we could not expand them, could not even maintain them in face of repression in most areas because we lacked sufficiently big, sufficiently firm and sufficiently developed Communist Party cores in the basic units of the organisations.

Still another notion is that the growth of the general anti-imperialist consciousness—which takes place in a colonial country almost spontaneously—is a sufficient basis for the growth of the Communist Party itself, that if the party deepens this consciousness, if it appears before the people as the most militant anti-imperialist party, that itself will enable the party to grow. It is not realised that the Communist Party can grow not merely by basing itself on anti-imperialist and national-revolutionary consciousness, but by *taking it further*, by imparting a *specific* consciousness to the working class and the advanced masses, Marxist-Leninist consciousness, socialist consciousness, which requires sharp ideological struggle against the theories and ideas of the bourgeoisie and mass popularisation of all-conquering ideas of Marx and Engels, of Lenin and Stalin.

Many wrong concepts about the party have appeared. This has led to the notion that the party's sole task is to conduct agitation on immediate issues and lead strikes and demonstrations. The organisational implication of this concept is that practically the entire day-to-day work of the party is carried on by 'wholetimers', the bulk of party members having

little to do except in periods of big mass struggles or big campaigns. This leads to bureaucratisation at one end and organisational looseness at the other. It leads to fossilisation of cadres and arrests their growth. It arrests the growth of the party itself.

Utterly wrong concepts about the nature of the tasks and role of the party are widespread. Mass political education on the basis of Maxism-Leninism, concrete exposure of the government, rousing women against their social degradation, mass popularisation of the five power peace pact appeal, creation of mass literature on current issues, expansion of the sale of party journals, working in and forming cultural, educational, sports and other bodies and associations, and even the building up of mass organisations and of the party itself—all are looked upon by many comrades not as struggles but only as certain 'activities'—and not of a revolutionary kind.

What is the source of all these wrong ideas? Where are their roots?

Basically they arise from the worshipping of spontaneity. They arise from a narrow, restricted, non-Marxist concept of class struggle. This narrowness is not something new. It existed in the past also.

If we broadly review the struggle waged by us in the past, we get the following picture. As in all other countries of the world, the struggle that developed in our country had three aspects, three fronts—economic, political, ideological.

On the *economic* front the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of their militant class organisations and the Communist Party waged numerous battles—in some of which the participants numbered hundreds of thousands. They displayed heroism, initiative and capacity for sacrifice in face of ruthless terror. Important demands and concessions were won as a result of these struggles and mass organisations were built in many areas.

On the *political* front, despite the many political actions organised by the working class, despite the struggle for basic agrarian reform and political rights that developed in Telangana

and Tripura, despite the growing influence of the Communist Party, the advance registered was far less striking. In the days of direct British rule even the working class in many important mining and industrial areas remained under bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influence and went into political action only under the direct impact of the national movement led by the Congress.

But it was on the *ideological* front that our weakness, the weakness of the movement led by us, was most strikingly manifested. Not only was Marxist-Leninist ideology not inculcated in the working class but also the bulk of the working class understood even national freedom in the way that it is preached by the bourgeoisie—the ending of direct British rule. With regard to the content of national freedom, with regard even to such a key issue of democracy as the structure of a democratic state, no mass political education was carried on by us. We not only failed to expose the treacherous character of the leadership of the national bourgeoisie but on many occasions glorified it in the name of building the 'united national front'. No ideological struggle worth the name was carried on against the pernicious theories of Gandhism.

It was assumed that political propaganda and agitation among the masses should not go beyond the general democratic framework, that Marxist-Leninist ideas are meant only for those who join the party or become sympathisers of the party. In practice even the latter were not adequately educated.

We translated a number of the works of Lenin and Stalin into Indian languages but without such introduction as would make them comprehensible to the worker or peasant. The literature produced by us in India was exclusively of an agitational nature. No attempt was made to produce literature on Indian problems from the Marxist point of view. Current events were evaluated only and exclusively from a general democratic point of view; their importance from the point of view of the ultimate aims of the working class were not taken into account. We did not even produce the history of the trade-union and peasant movements in the country, history

of the struggles which we ourselves had led, did not draw lessons from those struggles and equip our own cadres with those lessons, did not combat the bourgeoisie ideologically in their effort to obliterate in the working masses the real lessons of the struggles.

The result of all this was that not only the working class, but even a large number of our party members failed to develop Marxist-Leninist consciousness. Inevitably our work on the economic and political front also suffered; because, not merely must the class struggle be conducted simultaneously on all fronts, not merely are the three fronts of class struggle interrelated but also the ideological front occupies a key position in this interrelationship.

Almost all our weaknesses today, including our organisational weakness, can be traced to this failure, failure to pay attention to ideology, failure to emphasise the role of consciousness and organisation.

As Comrade Stalin teaches :

“It must be accepted as an axiom that the higher the political level and the Marxist-Leninist knowledge of the workers in any branch of state or party work, the better and more fruitful will be the work itself, and the more effective the result of the work; and vice versa, the lower the political level of the knowledge and the less they are imbued with the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, the greater will be the likelihood of disruption and failure in the work, of the workers themselves becoming shallow and deteriorating into paltry plodders, of their degenerating altogether.”

Correct political slogans, correct united front tactics, correct forms of struggle—all these are essential. But they are essential not merely for the higher committees but also for each unit of the party. This itself requires the ideological-political development of the entire party. Moreover correct political slogans, correct united-front tactics and correct forms of struggle, while they extend our mass influence and forge our links with the masses, do not themselves develop the party as such.

The party grows by raising the ideological-political level of its cadres. The party grows by inculcating Marxist-Leninist consciousness in the working class, among the agricultural workers, poor peasants and among the revolutionary intelligentsia who constitute an extremely important section in our country. The party grows by conducting political education among the broad masses in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. The party grows by conducting a sharp battle against all varieties of bourgeois ideology. The party grows by conducting struggle on all fronts and among all social strata.

The ruling classes and their spokesmen preach salvation for the country by means of their five-year plan and community projects. They parade their foreign policy as a policy of independence and dynamic neutrality. They create illusion about the efficacy of the ballot box. They try to efface from the memory of the people the lessons of the working class and peasant struggles of the past. Many of them join in the chorus of denunciation of the Soviet Union and People's China as 'dictatorships' where 'no freedom exists' in contrast to the capitalist countries. They sow hostility between people speaking different languages and divert the democratic movement for linguistic provinces into disruptive channels. In all this they are aided by the rightwing socialists who have given up all pretence to Marxism and present the exploded ideas of the bourgeoisie in a new garb in order to deceive and mislead the masses. The need for ideological struggle is therefore greater today than ever before.

But the strengthening of the party and its growth are not merely an ideological question, not merely a question of equipping our cadres ideologically and of conducting ideological struggle among the masses. It is also an organisational question, a question of restoring party forms and party discipline, which were seriously undermined in the period before the adoption of the programme of the party. On the question of organisation also, as on the question of the importance of ideology, wrong, anti-Marxist, anti-proletarian

ideas are prevalent at all level—ideas which Lenin combated in his celebrated work *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*.

Party forms are looked upon by many comrades as something mechanical and bureaucratic. Anarchistic concepts of inner-party democracy manifest themselves in many units and in an extremely harmful way. Many comrades regard their individual views as more important than the view of the unit to which they belong and even the view of the higher unit and freely expresses their differences outside the unit. Some comrades speak in the unit only in order to convert others to their own point of view and not in order that they themselves may also learn and get converted to the point of view of others. Some comrades, if their views are not accepted by the unit draw the conclusion that the unit is wrong and fail to cooperate wholeheartedly in implementation of the majority decision.

In many areas, either no reporting is done by higher committees to lower committees, or reporting is done only in general body meetings which become a substitute for the basic units of the party. Campaigns and struggles are not promptly and adequately reviewed, their lessons drawn and the party unified from issue to issue.

In some units past prejudices, a legacy of the period of inner-party struggle, stand in the way of unified functioning, prejudices which colour the outlook in determining organisational questions. This leads to lowering the quality of work.

Very often there is planlessness in work, failure to co-ordinate activities on various fronts, the tendency to entrust a few leading comrades with more work than they can do, the tendency to substitute in practice leadership of committees by leadership of individual comrades. Even in this way many jobs get done but without developing rank and file initiative, without developing the party units as the real leaders of the masses in the locality, without training and developing party cadres which is essential in order that the party may expand rapidly and grow into a mass force.

Therefore together with the task of developing the party we have simultaneously to undertake the task of organisational strengthening of the party—organisational check up, organisational purification.

Of all this we have done too little till now. Hence our difficulties. Not to see this, leads to attempts to discover shortcuts. Some people argue that if somehow or other we could form a united front with other parties in all the legislatures in the form of a bloc, abandoning the leadership to nominees of other parties, if somehow or other, by means of this or by means of other tactics, we could organise a few 'effective' actions, then the problems confronting us would get solved. They fail to see that such 'solutions' are not solutions but lead to the liquidation of the party itself. Others, while they talk of organisation, understand organisation in a narrow 'practicalist' sense, understand the organisational and political problems confronting the party in the old way, exclusively or mainly as a problem of 'forms of struggle', and in practice advocate tactics of passivity on the plea of organisational weaknesses. Their mental digits, their basic outlook, are the same. Hence, while speaking of the need for organisation, they fail to do anything concrete.

All these tendencies must be combated and rooted out. What Lenin taught in his immortal work *What Is To Be Done?* and in *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, what Stalin teaches on the role and importance of the party—must be made a part of the consciousness of our entire party. On this basis, on the basis of the *History of the CPSU (B)*, on the basis of the works of Comrades Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-chi and the documents of the fraternal parties, on the basis of the lessons of our own movement, work must be started inside our party for the re-education of the entire party, for the liquidation of all bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas with regard to the role and function of the party, with regard to organisation, and, in keeping with this, to change our methods and style of work. All this must be done with the utmost rapidity and while intensifying mass work, as emphasised in

the resolution of the political bureau. Struggle for immediate demands has assumed exceptional importance and must form the pivot of our mass activities.

We must ensure that all party units discuss not only their immediate tasks but also broad political issues such as the peace movement, the manoeuvres of the ruling classes, the tactics and slogans of other parties, the questions of languages and linguistic provinces, the question of the united front, etc. We have to reintroduce reporting at all levels of the party, from lower committees to higher committees, and from higher committees to lower committees. We must see that each party unit regularly reviews its activities, assigns suitable work for each comrade, checks up the work and improves its functioning by criticism and self-criticism. We must put an end to the present planlessness in work, an end to the looseness of discipline and to the scant regard for party forms.

Our journals must not simply be agitators but must also educate the masses in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism on all the problems facing the people. We must take steps for party education on a big scale and in every area, make education a key job for all party units and produce suitable literature for the purpose.

We must follow a bold policy of promoting cadres, of selecting cadres for the jobs which they can do best, of each unit checking up the work done by each of its members, of improving their work and of even removing from leading positions those who prove incapable of improvement.

We must activate the entire party and all its units and remove those who cannot be activated or refuse to do the assigned day-to-day work.

What has been said should not be taken to mean that we have no achievements to our credit. The party would not have been what it is today—a major force in our country—if its history had not been a history of bold leadership of mass struggles, of unflinching courage in face of heavy odds, of determined championship of the cause of the people. The party could not have withstood the fierce onslaught of the

government and frustrated the attempt to crush it if its cadres had not been deeply entrenched among the masses in many areas, had they not won their love and admiration by selfless and hard work. No party in the country can boast of such cadres as we have. Our discipline, our organisation, our devotion to work are the envy of every party.

But we cannot afford to ignore the fact that irrespective of our superiority to the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties in our own country, our record falls far short when compared to the record of the glorious communist parties of the Soviet Union and China, our achievements are far behind the achievements of the communist parties of France and Italy. Nor can we afford to ignore the fact that an economic and political crisis is rapidly maturing in India, that the responsibilities and tasks confronting us today are more gigantic and more complex than ever before, that they will become more complex and more gigantic in future.

Also we cannot afford to ignore the fact, as emphasised in the central committee's review of the elections, that despite the big headway we have made in the recent period, our position among the working class, among the agricultural workers and poor peasants—the classes which constitute the granite foundation of the proletarian party—is still extremely weak, that in the greater part of the country we have yet to secure a firm foothold, that even in those provinces where we are a major force, our effective strength is still confined to certain districts. Hence there can be no complacency, no sliding back, no resting on our oars. On the contrary, our efforts, our work must be intensified a hundredfold in all directions, in all areas and on all fronts. And for this, the party itself must be purged of all weaknesses and reforged in the fire of criticism and self-criticism.

This alone will enable us to carry out the responsibilities facing us.

Reporting on the Extended Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.I. Held from December 30, 1952 to January 10, 1953*

The Extended Plenum of the Central Committee

The Extended Plenum of the Central Committee was held in Calcutta from December 30, 1952, to January 10, 1953. It was attended by members of the Central Committee, members of the Central Control Commission and 61 delegates from the provinces.

This was the first all-India gathering of the Central leadership together with representatives of the Provincial Committees since the All-India Party Conference held in October, 1951. That Conference was the first positive step towards taking the Party out of the serious inner-Party crisis in which it found itself since 1950. Though a big step towards unification, that Conference had left unresolved several points of controversy which, it was felt at that time, would be solved only on the basis of acquiring a certain amount of experience in practical day-to-day activity.

The Plenum was meeting fourteen months after the All-India Party Conference. In this period the Communist Party had won a leading position in the political life of the country and had come to be considered by the masses as the spearhead of the democratic opposition to the Congress. The influence of the party had grown steadily among all sections of people and in all areas. The Party was now confronted with tasks and responsibilities bigger than what it had ever faced in its entire history.

*Covered by PARTY LETTER No 2 dated January 30, 1953

These tasks had to be carried out and these responsibilities had to be discharged at a time when mass opposition to the Government and to the reactionary vested interests had reached greater heights than at any period since 1947, at a time when the economic crisis had deepened and famine and mass unemployment were spreading all over the country, at a time when, against the machinations of the imperialist war-mongers who were striving to spread the flames of war, the peoples of the world were holding the mightiest rally for Peace at the historic Conference in Vienna.

Some of the developments that had taken place in the national arena since the All-India Party Conference were as follows:

1. The entire Party went into the election campaign immediately after the Conference. Not only Party members but tens of thousands of supporters and sympathisers plunged into the election campaign, popularising the achievements of the Party and its present slogans, rallying millions of people.

The successes of the Party in the elections showed how profoundly mistaken they had been who had seen only frustration and demoralisation among the people and who had thought that the Party had been isolated from the masses.

2. The manner in which the Congress manoeuvred itself into office in the states of Travancore, Cochin and Madras as well as the skilful tactics by which it sought to confuse the masses and divide their ranks showed that there was no ground whatsoever for the facile assumption that the Congress was finished. It had still immense influence, immense manoeuvring capacity. Advance could be made only by resolute exposure of the Congress, resolute struggle against its policies and methods, resolute building of popular unity in action.

3. In order to maintain itself in power the Congress was counting not only on its own influence and its own manoeuvres, but also on the disruptive tactics of the Praja Socialist Party. Further, the Congress was being objectively helped by the tactics of a number of other parties, who, after the elections, adopted a pronouncedly anti-Communist stand, thereby harming

the democratic movement. Some of these parties even went to the length of lining up with notorious communalists for voicing the demagogic demand of "sanctions against Pakistan", in an effort to gather support for themselves.

4. Despite all this, however, the very deepening of the economic crisis and the policies of the Government that accentuated the crisis and threw increasing burdens on the people in order to help the landlords and monopolists, were rallying increasing sections of people against the Government and the reactionary vested interests. Never since August, 1947 had there taken place so many mass actions, never was the urge for fight and for unity expressed in so many struggles, never was mass unity forged so spontaneously, wherever effective lead was forthcoming.

5. A characteristic feature of the struggles had been that new strata of people and new areas had gone into action. Even when the Plenum was meeting, three significant struggles were going on : the struggle of the people of Saurashtra against the Sales Tax measures, the strike of teachers in the Punjab and the strike of policemen at Madras. No reason existed to think, as some people thought, that after the elections the mass movement had received a setback, that reaction had seized the initiative.

6. The agrarian crisis had deepened as never before. The purchasing power of peasants had fallen catastrophically. Famine conditions were spreading from one province to another. And on the industrial sector, not only the small industries had been ruined but even big industries were now affected. Mass unemployment had become a common phenomenon. This was the result of the Government policy of trade dependence on Britain and America, of inflation which enriched the rich and robbed the poor, of refusal to lighten the burden on the peasantry.

7. Instead of reversing the policies that had led to these disastrous results, the Government was continuing these same policies. It was moving towards closer collaboration with imperialist Powers—now with Britain, now with America—

increasing its dependence on them as revealed in the agreements with the American imperialists and in the decisions of the Commonwealth Conference. It was imposing fresh burdens on the people. Its Five Year plan was not a plan of national reconstruction but a plan which would maintain India's semi-colonial economy intact, intensify the agrarian and industrial crisis and impose colossal burdens on all sections of people including industrialists and merchants, middle-classes and artisans. It was the monopolists' way out of the crisis, a Plan of throwing the consequences of the crisis on to the shoulders of the common people.

8. All these were intensifying and would intensify still further the conflict between the narrow clique of landlords and monopolists on the one hand and the mass of people on the other. It was also leading to sharp conflicts inside the Government circle itself. Possibilities were growing, therefore, of forging the broadest United Front.

9. In face of the attack of the Government and the vested interests, in face of the growing danger to India's sovereignty, the masses were building unity in action—against the food policies of the Government and for famine relief, against unemployment, against rising school and college fees, against evictions, for linguistic provinces, etc. Organisations of workers, peasants, students were reviving in all parts of the country.

10. Confronted with popular unity and due to its weakening base, the Government had on many occasions been compelled to make concessions and beat retreat before the people. The latest example was the declaration about Andhra Province. It was a serious mistake on the part of the Party not to fully publicise the victories won and use them for enthusing the masses, for instilling confidence in them, for demonstrating concretely that popular unity and popular struggle can hurl back the attack of the vested interests and the Government.

11. Despite the big advance made in the post-election period it was also obvious that on the whole the mass movement had still remained weak and was characterised by great unevenness. Most of the struggles still remained on the sec-

tional plane, although possibilities are greater than at any time before of mobilising all sections of people for support to each action. A real national upsurge for full freedom and democracy has yet to be developed. This has not yet happened, above all, because the working class has not yet been united, has not yet been made conscious of its leading role and because the Party still remaining weak, its effective strength is still confined to relatively small areas even in the States where it is a major force.

12. The developments in India were taking place as an integral part of the developments in the international arena whose features have been described with masterly precision and lucidity by Comrade Stalin in his latest work and elaborated in the reports of the historic Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. As explained by Com. Malenkov, the task of fighting against the warmongers and of preserving peace is the key task before the entire progressive humanity, a task which is inseparably linked with the fight for defence and extension of national freedom.

It was under these conditions that the Plenum was convened.

Preservation of Peace

The Plenum held that the task of fighting for peace is the key task before the Communist Party of India no less than the Communist Parties of other countries.

It would be wrong to think that because of the growing crisis in the capitalist world and because of the growing conflict between imperialist Powers, the danger of a world war, the danger of a counter-revolutionary war by imperialist States against the USSR and Peoples' Democratic States has receded. The fact is, as made clear in Comrade Malenkov's report, that the danger of world war continues and must be fought.

It is also wrong to state as was stated in the CROSS-ROADS version of the article "*Stalin Illumines the Path*" by Com. Ajoy Ghosh that even with imperialism remaining strong, world war is "fully preventible". The term "fully preventible"

can only mean that there can be a "guarantee" against such war even if imperialism remains. Such a formulation would lead to minimisation of the danger of war and, therefore minimisation to the importance of the struggle for peace.

In order to play its due role in the struggle for Peace, in order to become a bulwark of Peace and freedom. India, must free herself. And freedom means freedom from the shackles of British rule. A dependent and backward India, an India which is linked with the British Empire, can get easily dragged into war. It also becomes an arena of Anglo-American rivalry both of whom want to keep India backward and dependent. Hence it is necessary to intensify the struggle for severance of links with the Commonwealth and for confiscation of British capital. These must no longer remain abstract and general slogans but must be vigorously popularised and concretised in each area in relation to specific industries. Quit Commonwealth must be made a key slogan in political demonstrations. Also more opposition must be roused against participation in Commonwealth Conferences, the forthcoming coronation, ruination of India's industries by British imports, etc. All this helps the cause of peace.

At the same time it is wrong to think that by doing this alone, we make our contribution to the cause of world Peace. Such an understanding amounts to repudiation of the Peace movement itself. Quit Commonwealth cannot be the *key* slogan of the Peace movement even in India. The key slogans of the Peace movement are Five Power Peace Pact, cessation of war in Korea, etc. We have also to take up such specific questions as recruitment of Gurkha troops on Indian soil, transit facilities to them and use of Indian aerodromes and ports by French imperialists for war in Vietnam.

It must not be forgotten that the main instigator and organiser of world war is American imperialism, that this imperialism is not only threatening war against the Soviet Union and democratic States, not only enslaving one country after another but is also penetrating into our own country, striving to convert India into a war base and threatening our national

sovereignty. Hence the struggle for Peace, as well as the struggle for defence of national sovereignty demands vigorous exposure of and determined opposition to American penetration into our country. This struggle has to be waged here and now, not *after* we have liquidated British rule.

In recent months the Peace movement has made big advances and has secured the support of people from many walks of life. It should be noted, however, that *Party units* and mass organisations have done very little in the struggle for Peace. They have not gone into action even on such issues as germ war in Korea, massacre of war prisoners. This is the key reason why the Peace movement has remained weak. This must be remedied immediately.

Indo-Soviet and India-China Friendship

Inseparably connected with the tasks of preserving world Peace is the task of ceaselessly working for the forging of fraternal relations, and close contact between the Indian people on the one hand and the peoples of the Soviet Union, China and other Socialist and Peoples' Democratic States on the other. For, one of the main instruments of the warmongers in their aggressive designs of drawing the Indian people into the aggressive bloc is to spread lies and slanders against these Socialist and Peoples' Democratic States. It is therefore, the task of the Communist Party and other democratic parties in India to consciously organise a broad movement for popularising the achievements of the Socialist and Peoples' Democratic States as well as their peaceful intentions. Further strengthening of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Association, India-China Friendship Association etc, through the formation of the units of these organisations in factories, villages, towns, etc., is therefore, of urgent importance.

For Food and Famine Relief

India is today faced with an acute crisis of the production and distribution of food. Chronic famine has seized vast areas of the land; tens of thousands of people are unable to purchase

rations even at the very low quantum that is offered in ration shops. It is, therefore, the task of the Communist Party together with other democratic parties and elements to organise a broad movement for the securing of an adequate quantity of foodgrains at prices that are within the reach of the common people; the Party should come out with the demand that the Government should make proper arrangements to see that foodgrains are supplied to all sections of the people at rates that are within their reach; in the case of those areas and regions where famine has reached menacing proportions, the Government should be asked to give free rations to the people. It should be borne in mind that the struggle against famine, the struggle for adequate food at fair prices has become a struggle of all-national importance.

Urgent Relief for Peasantry

As part and parcel of the struggle for food and against famine, should also be launched struggles for urgent relief to the peasantry from the exorbitant burdens that have been imposed on them-by way of rent, interest and taxes. For at the root of the present crisis in food production lies the fact that the overwhelming majority of peasants are so rackrented, so overburdened, with debts and taxes that they cannot afford to carry on profitable cultivation. It is to cover up this crucial factor in the agrarian situation that the Congress is indulging in the demagogic talks of "Abolition of Landlordism" and gigantic plans of increasing agricultural production. The only effective answer to this demagogic talk indulged in by the Congress is to mobilise the entire peasantry for stoppage of evictions, drastic reduction in rent, reduction in the interest and the tax burdens and other forms of urgent relief for the peasantry.

For Employment, Against Wage-Cuts

The Party should also launch a mass campaign against the growing unemployment and against the efforts of the employers to transfer the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the workers. For, the intense crisis that has already

affected all the small and medium industries and has started affecting the big organised industries as well, is as menacing a factor in the country's present economic situation as the crisis in agriculture and food production. While it is a crisis affecting the industries as a whole and where therefore the employers are as much interested in solving the crisis as the employees, the employers are averse to adopt a policy of demanding those urgent steps which alone will save the industry; their effort on the other hand is to see that their own skin is somehow saved by resorting to a policy of wage-cuts, increasing workload and other forms of attacking the workers. The Party will, therefore, have to come out both as a champion of the defence of the interests of the employees as well as the fighter in the cause of protecting the national industries. This it can do only if it combines the struggle against retrenchment, wage-cut, increase in workload and other forms of attack on the working class with a nationwide campaign for the reversal of the present policy of the Government of helping the foreign imperialists and Indian monopolists and ruining the medium and small industrialists. The entire working class has to be mobilised not only in defence of its own specific interests, but also in defence of the interests of the industry as a whole.

Exposure of the Govt's Five Year Plan

The struggle for food, famine relief, agrarian reforms and unemployment is inseparably connected with the task of exposing the Govt's Five Year Plan as the Indian monopolists' way out of the crisis, a way of solving the crisis at the expense of the workers, peasants, petty-bourgeoisie, traders, industrialists etc. A sharp struggle should be waged against the idea sought to be spread among the people that this plan will solve the food shortage and that it will pave the way for the further industrialisation of the country; people should be made aware of the reality that, far from solving, the plan will intensify the food crisis; that, far from facilitating, the plan will put obstacles in the way of industrialisation.

In carrying on this campaign of exposing the Plan, care should, of course, be taken to see that it does not become abstract or negative : such specific projects as help the people in a particular area (like irrigation projects) should be taken full advantage of; demands for the inclusion of such projects in the plan (as Koyna, Nandi Konda, Ganga Barrage etc.) should be supported; corruption, nepotism etc. in the implementation of these projects should be exposed and sought to be removed.

While doing all this, however, it should never be forgotten that the plan as a whole is an anti-people, monopolists' plan and that mobilising the people against this plan is part and parcel of the struggle for food, famine relief, agrarian reform and employment.

For Indo-Pak Friendship

A vital question that is of great importance in the struggle for food and for employment is the campaign for free and equal trade relations with Pakistan. For, the partition of India into the Indian Union and Pakistan, the prolonged state of tension between the two new States, the reduction in the mutual exchange of Indian and Pakistani products to the mutual interests of the peoples of both of these States—these are some of the very important factors which have led to the intensification of the agricultural and industrial crisis of the two countries. These factors which lie behind the present shortage of foodgrains and raw materials in India are sought to be further intensified by the slogan of "Economic Sanctions against Pakistan" advocated by reactionary communal interests. A systematic campaign against this slogan and for the improvement in the economic relations between the two States is therefore of the utmost importance.

Formation of Linguistic States

The Government of India's recent declaration regarding the formation of Andhra State is one of the significant victories of the democratic movement during the post-election period. It shows the great possibilities that have been opened out for

the attainment of the long-cherished goal of the peoples of various linguistic areas for the formation of their respective linguistic States. It has also encouraged the peoples of these and other areas to further strengthen their movement for the formation of linguistic States. The Party should come out wholeheartedly in support of this demand and strive to make it as irresistible as was the Andhra Movement.

Other Tasks

Apart from the above tasks of international and national importance, the Party has also to seriously take up such questions as the demands of the refugees, those of scheduled castes and other oppressed minorities, etc. For, these are the sections of the people which the reactionaries of all sorts (including the Congress and its Government) are striving to make use of, in their disruptive game of dividing the democratic movement. Hence, the Party together with other left and democratic parties and elements, should take the initiative in winning these sections of the people away from the reactionary communal leadership and to draw them into the democratic movement.

The Party should also take up such questions as the defence of Civil Liberties; not only should the introduction of new repressive legislation be opposed, but, a broad campaign should be built up for the withdrawal of the already existing repressive legislations.

The Party should, furthermore, take full and effective part in all activities of an ameliorative or social service character. For, these are the activities through which thousands of people who are anxious to serve the masses can be drawn into the democratic movement. These are some of the most effective vehicles through which a sense of self-confidence can be created in the common people.

Re-Organisation and Strengthening of the Party

None of the above tasks can, however, be fulfilled if the Party itself is not properly organised. The tasks of ideologically

tempering and steeling every single Party Member and sympathiser, the tasks of restoring and further strengthening of the sense of organisational unity and iron discipline of the Party, is the key task. Furthermore, it is a task which should be taken up as an independent task, not as a task which will come by itself. Indifference to this task will cost the Party and the Democratic Movement dear. Attention of comrades is drawn in this connection to the article "*Some of Our Main Weaknesses.*"

It is necessary here to dispose of an argument usually advanced against the immediate taking up of this task. It is argued in certain circles that this task cannot be undertaken at present because the Party is not yet completely unified politically. The fact is that already sufficient *basis* for political unification of the Party has been availed in the documents of the Central Committee and in the policy articles which have appeared in the LPPD, New Times, Cross Roads and New Age. The task is to *carry forward* this unification. Failure to see this would mean that unless and until every minute detail of day-to-day tactics is worked out to the satisfaction of every single Party member, individual Party Members should be completely free to speak and act as they like—the "Principle" which has nothing to do with the Lenin-Stalin principle of party organisation. For, as Lenin and Stalin have repeatedly made it clear, the struggle for a correct political and tactical line is itself to be carried within the framework of a well-organised, disciplined Party organisation.

This task of restoring and further strengthening the unity and discipline of the Party is inseparably connected with a systematic and principled inner-Party struggle, struggle against wrong ideologies, incorrect tactics and non-proletarian forms of organisation and personal behaviour. It should never be forgotten that real and lasting unity of the Party can be brought about, real proletarian discipline enforced, only on the basis of systematic and principled inner-Party struggle, which, as Comrade Stalin has emphasised again and again, is the basic law of development of the Communist Party.

Extremely important in this connection is the need for the conscious development of the process of criticism and self-criticism, particularly criticism from below. Heavy responsibility lies in this connection on the shoulders of Party leadership at all levels, above all of the Central leadership of the Party, in consciously organising systematic criticism and self-criticism. Not only should the ranks be formally allowed to express their opinions; not only should they be encouraged to freely and fearlessly express their views, suggestions, complaints and criticisms; the leadership should also take careful note of every such view, suggestion, complaint and criticism made by the ranks and make use of them in improving the policy, tactics and style of work of the leadership.

Organisational Decisions of the Extended Plenum

Such in brief are the conclusions arrived at by the extended Plenum. These will be further elaborated in the two documents which the PB is now preparing—the Political Resolution and Organisational Resolution. These documents will naturally be subjected to further discussion and criticism in the forthcoming Conferences of the Party organisations at all levels which are to be organised in preparation for the Party Congress, which the Plenum decided should be held sometime in September-October. In the meanwhile, the following organisational decisions were taken by the Plenum in order to restore Party forms, bring about planned and disciplined functioning at all levels of the Party organisations and in order to properly prepare for the Party Congress itself:

- a) It decided that every District Committee should immediately undertake a scrutinisation of existing membership rolls. Those Party members who do not carry out their obligations as laid down in the Party Constitution (like regular payment of Party dues, attendance at meeting of Party units, acceptance and implementation of the decisions of higher committees as well as the majority in one's own unit, keeping of Party secrets, refraining from loose talks or gossip about inner-Party matters outside one's unit, working in a mass

organisation under Party's guidance, paying the dues of the mass organisation, fulfilling quotas, submitting reports of work done to one's unit, etc) should be given time to correct their mistakes and to start functioning as disciplined Party members. Those who refuse or are for various reasons unable to correct themselves should after being given sufficient opportunities to do so, be removed from the membership lists. This scrutinisation and revision of Party membership lists should be completed in three months, special care being taken to see that this process of scrutinisation becomes an occasion to activate the overwhelming majority if not the entire membership of the Party.

b) Together with this scrutinisation of existing membership should also be launched a big drive for the enrolment of militants and sympathisers, first as candidates and then as members. While it should be insisted that those who are admitted as candidates or Party members should be such as can stand the test of criteria for Party membership laid down in the Party Constitution, and while vigilance should be exercised that the Party is not swamped with unreliable elements, a firm struggle should be waged against all sectarian tendencies in the matter of admitting new members. Enrolment of militants and sympathisers into the Communist Party will alone enable the Party to transform the enormous political influence which it has gained during the recent months into a real striking force. Special attention must be paid to the task of enrolling workers and toiling peasants into the Party and educating them.

c) One of the means through which existing and potential membership is to be activated is the introduction of the system of taking, fulfilling and checking the fulfilment of quotas, member by member and unit by unit. Quotas regarding enrolment of members in mass organisations, collection of funds for the mass organisations and the Party, sale of literature and other forms of mass activity and of Party building should be a regular feature of Party work.

d) Leading committees of the Party at all levels, above all

the CC and PB as well as Provincial Committees should put an end to their present planless, chaotic methods of functioning. Regular meetings of the CC, PB, Provincial Committees and their Secretariats should be organised: systematic discussion of political and organisational problems through which the collective leadership of units is evolved should be consciously developed: members of the CC and PB should devote their attention to the work of the Central Committee and Polit Bureau and not remain mere provincial leaders; so should members of the Provincial Committees and their Secretariats function as provincial leaders and not remain just district leaders. Problems of mass organisations at the Central and Provincial level should not be tackled by one individual member of Central or Provincial Committee, but should be tackled by the entire PB or PC Secretariat together with the all-India or Provincial Fraction of the mass organisation concerned. At every meeting of the CC and PC, the PB and PC Secretariat should submit a report of the work done. Such a systematic functioning of the leading Party units has now become of key importance.

e) Regarding the rights of Party members, firm principles and rules have been laid down and they are as follows:

When taking disciplinary action against comrades, every unit must ensure that rights of Party Members are not infringed upon.

i) When action is taken against a comrade by his own unit, the comrade should be allowed to attend the meeting where his conduct is discussed;

ii) When action is taken by a higher unit, the comrade concerned should be given opportunity to explain his conduct before the Unit or its Secretariat, either in writing or by personal appearance if he insists on it. The comrade, however, cannot demand that he should be present when his conduct is being discussed and decision on it is being taken.

iii) Party Committees are authorised to remove comrades from position held by them in case of serious reports against them as precautionary measure and pending enquiry.

iv) In case of published writings by Party members, when no reason exists to doubt their authenticity and authorship, if such writings harm the cause of the Party and the movement or go contrary to the Policy and Programme of the Party, Party Committees of a higher level are entitled to express their criticism and disapproval either in inner-Party documents or in the open Press even without getting prior explanation from the comrade concerned. Where, however, disciplinary action is taken for published writings, the comrade should be given opportunity to explain his conduct.

f) While bringing about such a systematic and disciplined functioning of the Party at all levels, preparations should also be made for holding of the Third Party Congress, which will be held at the end of September or in the beginning of October. The PB will prepare a Political Resolution and an Organisational Resolution incorporating the main points which have emerged out of the discussions that have been carried on since the publication of the PB Resolution of August last. These two Resolutions will form the basis of Local, District and Provincial Conferences, which will be held in the months of May and June. The PB and CC will study the reports of these Conferences and make a political report after the provincial conferences are over. They will also try to prepare a broad Review of the development of the party since 1942. These documents will form the political basis of the Party Congress.

g) The basis of representation at the Party Congress will be one delegate for every 200 members which a province has on its rolls by April 30th, provided that every Province will have a minimum of three delegates.

h) The Central Committee has set up a Committee of three Comrades, E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Ranen Sen and Ramamurthi to study the proposals for amending the Constitution of the Party to be placed before the Party Congress. All Party Units are to be requested to send in their suggestions to the Central Headquarters for the consideration of the Committee.

Thus the Extended Plenum marked a definite phase in the evolution of a unified understanding on the concrete political and tactical questions as well as on the questions of organisation. The great merit in this effort at evolving a unified understanding consists in the fact that it was collective effort of the entire Party, beginning from the PB and CC at the top and ending with the lowest party units which actively participated in the discussions that preceded it. This is perhaps the first time when serious efforts are being made to see that Party Units at all levels play their due role in the evolution of Party policy. If the same efforts are made in the coming months when the entire Party will engage itself in the further discussion on and concretisation of the points emerging from this Plenum, the preparation for the Party Congress which are now being made can well become the basis for an unprecedented development of the Party's political and organisational work.

Let Us Work Together to Serve the People*

E. M. S. Namboodiripad

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE DELEGATES OF THE CONVENTION OF ALL INDIA SOCIALIST PARTY*

Dear Comrades,

Being a Communist, and, what is more, a man who left the former Congress Socialist Party to join the Communist Party, I know that I am hated by your leaders, most of whom were my colleagues for full 6 years—from 1934 to 1940—when I continuously occupied the position of one of the four joint secretaries of the Congress Socialist Party.

I also know that having heard the stories of how I “betrayed” the Congress Socialist Party and its leader Jayaprakash, how I acted as an “agent” of the Communist Party inside the Congress Socialist Party, etc., most of you have also developed prejudices against me.

Yet, I make bold to address you as comrades, firstly because your Party and my Party are two major forces in our country which, if only they unite, can transform the entire political situation in favour of freedom, democracy, social progress and lasting Peace.

Furthermore, I find that more and more of you are beginning to see that it is the gulf separating our two parties that is today acting as the most effective single factor enabling the reactionary classes of India, headed by the Congress, to carry on their anti-people rule. I am sure that the All India Convention in which you are now assembled would most certainly address itself to the task of reviewing the disastrous policy pursued by your Party, the policy which helped in

*Letter dated 26.4.1952

several States the process of installing those very same Congress Governments which the overwhelming majority of voters rejected during the last general elections.

Your Leaders Are Blindly Anti-Communist

Let me, at the very outset, make it perfectly clear that I am making this direct appeal to you because I am convinced of one thing: your leaders will not willingly give up this disastrous policy. For, blind anti-Communism has gone so deep into their minds that, unless you, the rank and file comrades of the Socialist Party, unequivocally tell them that you want to defeat the Congress in alliance with all the democratic forces in the country, including the Communist Party, they will offer one explanation or another for the fiasco suffered by their policy and continue on the same path of helping the Congress by fighting the Communists.

I may give you an example of this blind anti-Communism, an example drawn from my own personal experience. In the first National Executive of the Congress Socialist Party formed in October, 1934, at Bombay, there were four Joint Secretaries. One of these, Dr. Mohanlal Goutam, is today one of the acknowledged leaders of the Congress and what is more, connected with the most reactionary communal clique in the Congress (the Tandonites) which was too much even for a majority of the existing membership. A second of these, Mr. M. R. Masani, is today connected with one of the biggest monopolist groups of businessmen in India, the Tatas, and is one of the leaders of the reactionary group of American agents.

Furthermore, two other members of the first National Executive are today Congress Ministers, one of them a Chief Minister himself (Mr. Sampurnanand of U. P. and Mr. Naba Krishna Choudhry of Orissa).

I do not, however, find any Socialist waxing eloquent against the "betrayals" of these founders of the Congress Socialist Party; that is an honour reserved to me, who left the Congress Socialist Party to take my place among the people and not to climb my way up through business and ministerial intrigue.

Nor is this a solitary instance of the blind anti-Communism of your leaders. It is an indisputable fact that, in all their speeches and articles, they take an uncompromising stand against the Communists while they are not so categorical against the Congress. Even in the recent (Madras) resolution of the National Executive, they had declared that, while the policy of the Socialist Party is one of opposition to the Congress Ministry, the situation may be revised in case of a war or emergency; there are no such 'ifs' and 'buts' to their opposition to the Communists.

It is also significant that, in the speech which Com. Asoka Mehta made at Madras, explaining this resolution, he compared the Congress with a "leaky boat" and the Communists with a "crocodile". Just repair the boat, fill in the holes that make it leaky and it will be all right; but, as for the crocodile, there is no other alternative but to shoot it down! This would be understandable if spoken by a Nehru or a Rajaji, in fact, this is exactly what they are saying. But, Com. Asoka is saying this on behalf of you all!

I appeal to you to ponder seriously whether this is an outlook which helps the objective which you have in mind, whether you can smash reaction and go forward to Socialism without resolutely fighting and defeating the Congress. If you think, as I do, that this is a disastrous policy, which helps those very forces against which your Party and my Party are fighting, then you should say so to your leaders; you should ask them to change their policy.

The Story of the Congress Socialist Party

The main argument advanced by your leaders against a change of policy is this: Communists are dishonest, their object in appealing for United Front is to worm their way into other parties and devour them; if you start working with them, they will disrupt your own party.

They tell you that this was exactly what happened in the years before the Second World War, when there was United Front between the Congress Socialists and the Communists.

Now, I am personally connected with this. For, as I have already remarked, I was one of the founder-members of the Congress Socialist Party and worked as one of its (all-India) joint secretaries for the first six years of its history. It was through the experience gathered in the Congress Socialist Party that I ultimately became a Communist. Since this is pointed out, as an example of Communist "dishonesty", I must offer a personal explanation as to why I did so.

The group of radical Congressmen in my province who formed the Congress Socialist Party in May, 1934 (just before the preparatory meeting held at Patna in order to explore the possibility of forming an all-India Congress Socialist Party) had set themselves the objective of working inside the Congress and building independent class organisations so that the anti-imperialist movement in the country may be strengthened.

They found that the Congress Socialist Party formed, in the form of a Preparatory Committee at Patna in May 1934 and as a regular organisation in October of the same year, was an organisation suited for this purpose. They also found in the Meerut Thesis of the Congress Socialist Party a very powerful instrument in strengthening the anti-imperialist movement.

We Are Absolutely Loyal

It was to such a Congress Socialist Party that we, the Congress Socialists of Kerala, were loyal. It was our loyalty to such a Congress Socialist Party that made us leave that Party in 1940 to join the Communist Party.

The Meerut Thesis of the Congress Socialist Party had set before us three tasks : (1) Work inside the Congress in such a way as to turn it into a real anti-imperialist organisation; (2) develop trade unions, kisan sabhas and other mass organisations of the people in order that landlords, capitalists, etc., may be effectively fought; (3) work towards the coming together of the various groups of Indian Marxists in order to form a United Indian Party, basing itself on Marxism.

I can claim with justification that we, the Congress Socialists

of Kerala, have carried out these tasks far more effectively than your present-day leaders. And, if anybody is to be charged with betraying the Congress Socialist Party with its objectives and policies as they were formulated before Meerut and at Meerut, it is Jayaprakash, Asoka and Lohia and not we, who have to be so charged.

For, it was in Kerala and not in Bihar or Bombay, that the Congress Socialists could, through hard and patient work, win over the majority of Congressmen to a radical programme and organise really popular, militant and functioning Congress Committees; it was again in Kerala and not in Bihar or Bombay, that the Congress Socialists became the undisputed leaders of a network of powerful mass organisations embracing all the democratic classes and strata of people; it was finally in Kerala and not in Bihar or Bombay, that the Congress Socialist Party of 1934 remained till 1940, a United Party with no divisions or splits in it and, what is more, was the only Party known in the province as working with the basic principles of Marxism to guide them.

If I remember right, Com. Jayaprakash visited Kerala once in June-July 1934, then in April 1938 and again in October-November, 1938; Com. Asoka also visited us once in 1937 or so. Please ask them whether the Congress Socialists of Kerala did really succeed in making the Congress Socialist Party a real Party of the people, whether they have any other complaint against us than that we subsequently left the Party and joined the Communists. Please ask them why they themselves could not do in their own provinces what we could do in ours. They owe it to you that they answer this question: Why is it that they could not make the Congress Socialist Party a real party of the people in their own provinces which we, whom they, accuse of having betrayed the Congress Socialist Party, could do in ours?

It is because your leaders are unable to answer this question that they call us, the Congress Socialists of Kerala, and me particularly, "dishonest", "disloyal to the Party", "agent of Communists", etc.

It is “dishonesty”, “disloyalty”, etc. in their eyes to so work among the people as to be able to draw the majority of Congressmen in the struggle against the right-wing leadership of the Congress; to so build the mass organisations of workers, peasants, etc., as to draw ever larger masses of the people into the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and other reactionary forces.

You will perhaps ask me why we could not do all this and yet remain in the Congress Socialist Party, why we had to leave it and join the Communist Party. You will ask me whether this is not an act of “betrayal” on our part.

Why We Joined the Communist Party of India

My answer is that, as we went on working inside the Congress Socialist Party of which we were as much the founders as Jayaprakash, Asoka, etc., we came to realise that the Congress Socialist Party as such cannot develop as a party that fights for the aims and objects for which it was founded. It had either to become a real party of the working class, a party that acts as the vanguard of the working class and as the effective leader of the peasantry; or it would degenerate into a mere petty-bourgeois mouthpiece of the “left-wing” bourgeoisie that dominates the Congress.

You should please realise that, by the time the Congress Socialist Party was formed, India had already had a number of revolutionary groups basing themselves on Socialist ideology and seeking to organise the working class. Over a decade had passed since the first generation of Indian Marxists—those like Comrades Dange and Muzaffar Ahmad—had started propagating the ideas of Socialism. Six years had also passed since the first All India Conference of the various groups of revolutionaries basing themselves on Socialist ideology and seeking to organise the working class—the well-known Workers’ & Peasants’ Conference—was held at Meerut. The leading delegates to this Conference had already gone through the tortuous proceedings of that notorious example of imperialist attack on the rising working class movement and

Socialist ideology of India—the Meerut Conspiracy case—and come out of jail. Above all, those founders of the Indian working class and Socialist movement had formed themselves into two main groups—that of the Communists and the Royists—apart from smaller groups and individuals.

It was, therefore, natural that anybody who takes Socialism seriously in 1934 and after should try to understand these pioneers of the Indian Socialist movement. For, you cannot just brush aside the 12-years-long history of a movement, a movement in building which dozens of ardent revolutionaries have given their all, a movement which you are trying to take forward, and pretend as if you are building from the beginning.

And, just because we took Socialism seriously, we wanted to understand these pioneers of the Indian working class and Socialist movement. We were, of course, firmly convinced that their approach to the Congress was wrong; that was why we accepted the basic thesis of the Congress Socialist Party that the Socialists should work within the Congress. But we had great admiration for the people who had braved all odds to propagate the ideas of Socialism and to help the working class in its struggles. We, therefore, listened to, and tried to understand the points of view of both the Royists as well as the “officials” (as the Communist Party of India was then called in Socialist circles) when they met us at Bombay in October 1934 and later. As a matter of fact, we invited a Royist—Maniben Kara—to preside over the first All-Kerala Labour Conference held at Calicut in May, 1934; we also invited Communists like Dange and Mirajkar for various Labour Conferences. Furthermore, we came in touch with Communists like Comrade Sundarayya, Ghate and the late Bharadwaj, with all of whom we had long and continuous discussions, just as we had discussions with Royists like Dr. Shetty, Karnik and others. Our attitude then was one of “listen to everybody, think independently and decide for yourself”.

This attitude taken by us was not at all liked by the leaders of the Congress Socialist Party. I still remember the May,

1934, All-Kerala Labour Conference for which we had invited Maniben Kara. Masani who had also come for the all-Kerala Socialist Conference being held at the same time was displeased at this. He did not like that we should be “corrupted” like that. I also remember the many occasions on which leaders like Masani, Asoka and Achyut criticised us for our “liberal” attitude towards the Royists and the Communists. Above all, I have to mention the Labour Conference of the Congress Socialist Party (1938 April) which was attended by the late Com. Krishna Pillai as sole delegate from Kerala. He was entitled, according to the provisions in the Constitution of the Congress Socialist Party, to exercise as many votes as Kerala was entitled to, provided he paid the dues of all the Kerala delegates. When however, he wanted to exercise this right, he was sought to be “dissuaded” from doing so, because, it was feared, he would vote, on several issues, against the right-wing policies of Masani and others.

We, however, stuck to our position because we were doing nothing else than implementing the declared policy of the Congress Socialist Party. That policy laid down in the Meerut Thesis was one of trying to unify all the various Socialist groups and elements into a single party of Indian Marxists. This cannot obviously be done unless you come into direct contact and work with those various Marxist groups and elements. To take up the attitude that the Congress Socialists are the only real Socialists in India and that others are either nobodies or downright rogues—as was actually done by Masani and others—would be going against the Meerut Thesis itself.

We Were in A Majority

It should also be mentioned in this connection that we were not alone in the line that we took at that time. As a matter of fact, the majority of the Congress Socialists in the whole country were of that opinion. I will just mention some of the best known names of comrades who were in the Congress Socialist Party then—Karyanand Sharma, Kishori Prasanna

Sinha and others of Bihar; the late Panigrahi and others of Orissa; Biresh Mishra and others of Assam; Ramamurti, Jeevanandam and others of Tamilnad, etc. etc. I am here mentioning only those comrades who, like us, were all originally in the Congress and from the Congress came over to Socialism. I am deliberately leaving out those who had already become, or suspected to have become Communists—Comrades like Sajjad Zaheer, Dinker Mehta and others.

How is it that all these comrades who were like us and who can never be accused of being Communists trying to disrupt the Congress Socialist Party from within, came to join the Communist Party? The answer usually given is that they have become “agents of Moscow” “mortgaged their intellect and conscience to Russia”, etc. This, however, cannot stand the test of any logical explanation, because these are men who are respected in their respective provinces for their intelligence, selflessness and personal integrity. How is it possible that people who have spent their whole lives in courageous struggle against British imperialism and native reaction have debased themselves so much as to mortgage their intelligence and conscience to Russia?

May I also draw your attention to the fact that your own present leaders had regarded those comrades with great esteem so long as they were within the Congress Socialist Party and started denouncing them only when they joined the Communist Party? It, therefore, comes to this that, in the eyes of your leaders, anybody who remains in the Congress Socialist Party is a paragon of all virtues. While somebody who leaves it and joins the Communist Party loses all his virtues. Or, rather, your leaders call anybody, who does not mortgage his intellect to them, as people who have mortgaged themselves to Russia; they cannot agree that we who have decided to join the Communist Party after long deliberation, are as intelligent, selfless and of an independent disposition as they themselves.

Furthermore, may I mention the fact that Jayaprakash himself had agreed with us in those years? He, like us, had taken the Meerut Thesis seriously and taken the stand that it

is the job of the Congress Socialist Party to bring together the Communists and other Socialist groups into a single All-India Party of Marxists. Against the violent opposition of Masani, Asoka, Achyut, Lohia and others who were as violently anti-Communist as Sardar Patel himself and who formed themselves into a "Gandhian wing in the Congress Socialist Party", believing in *Ahimsa*, etc., Jayaprakash upheld the slogan of "unity of all Socialist groups". He had long and continuous discussions with the top leaders of the Communist Party and had started evolving formulas for the eventual merger of the Communist Party of India and the Congress Socialist Party into a single Party. Would you say that he had his "intellect and conscience mortgaged to Moscow" when he was doing all this and that he became a real patriot and Socialist only when he joined the "Gandhian wing in the Congress Socialist Party" and started attacking us as "agents of Moscow"? Again, if he is entitled to shift his position from that of a pro-Communist to that of an anti-Communist, are we not equally entitled to shift our position from that of pro-Communists to that of Communists?

You should also please remember that by the time we left the Congress Socialist Party and joined the Communist Party of India, those of our way of thinking formed the majority in the membership of the Congress Socialist Party. Whole provinces like Kerala, Tamilnad, Andhra, Orissa, Assam and large chunks of members of the Congress Socialist Party were against the policy of Jayaprakash, Masani etc.; there is no doubt that, if an all-India Conference of the Congress Socialist Party was held in 1939 or 1940 (as it was bound to be held according to the Party Constitution), the policy pursued by the top leadership of the Party would have been rejected; that is exactly why such a Conference was avoided in 1939 and in 1940.

The Slogan of "A United Party But No United Front"

This leads me to one of the arguments, advanced by your leaders today: "No United Front of the Communist Party of India and the Socialist Party so long as the Communist Party

of India remains and functions as a separate party; but we can have a single party if the Communist Party and other parties (including the Socialist Party) dissolve themselves to form a single party."

The above story of the Congress Socialist Party in 1934-40 shows that your leaders were not prepared to work with the Communists in a single party. If they were prepared to do so, why did they get panicky in those years at the fact that contacts were being established between the Communists and their own ranks? Why should they have been displeased at the shift that was taking place inside the Congress Socialist Party, the shift from Socialism in general to pro-Communism? If they could not tolerate Congress Socialists like us turning towards Communism in those years, how can they tolerate the presence of thousands of Communists in a common Socialist Party? How is it possible for me to believe that they are sincere in demanding the formation of a single party in which all others should be merged when I know for a fact that they were the very people who stoutly resisted the proposal to develop the Congress Socialist Party itself into such a party?

I grant that there were sufficient grounds for them to have opposed the proposal to develop the Congress Socialist Party itself into a single all-India Party. For, the main section of the leadership of the CSP was pursuing a policy which can never be reconciled to the policy pursued by the Communist Party of India. For, while the main section of Congress Socialist Party leadership was orientating itself on the bourgeoisie, on the Indian National Congress, as its basis in the national movement, the Communist Party of India was basing itself on the working class; while the preservation of the unity of the National democratic movement led by the bourgeoisie and represented by the National Congress was supreme for the Congress Socialist Party leadership, it was the development of the working class as an independent force emerging as the leader of the national democratic movement that was vital for the Communist Party of India; while, therefore, the effort of the Congress Socialist Party was always directed at rallying the workers, peasants and

the middle-class under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, the Communist Party of India tried always to organise the workers, peasants and the middle-class independently of the bourgeoisie so that they can, in an organised way, forge unity with those sections of the bourgeoisie who were fighting imperialism and its native allies. It was impossible for these two major trends to remain in the same party: they had to fight each other; one had to overcome the other.

It was, therefore, utopian on our part—on the part of those of us who were slowly coming to accept the position of the Communist Party of India—to think that the Congress Socialist Party, as it was then constituted, can accommodate Communists and others to form a single Socialist Party. It was equally utopian on the part of Jayaprakash to think that he with his essentially bourgeois reformist outlook on life can lead a party of Indian Marxists. It took some time for us as well as Jayaprakash to realise this and, when we realised this, we went our respective ways—Jayaprakash to his anti-Communist colleagues and we to the Communist Party of India.

Is it not clear that this is bound to happen again if attempts are made to form a single party, since there obviously are fundamental differences between your party and ours? How can we put trust in people who, in one breath, oppose United Front in action even on issues on which there are no differences on the ground that there are fundamental differences, while, in another breath, they call for the formation of a United Party? Would you call that honest? Would you mind my saying frankly that this call for a United Party is just another way of refusing to forge United Front in action?

We Are Not Opposed to Single Party If...

You know that Communists all over the world are forming united parties of the working class along with those Socialist Parties, or those groups inside Socialist Parties, with which there are more fundamental agreements than differences. Such, for example, are the (Communist-Socialist) Workers' Parties in Eastern Europe, as well as alliances between the Communist

Party of Italy and the Nenni Socialists. The extremely close relationships that have been established between the Communist Party of India and the Left Socialist Group in India are also of such a character. It is, therefore, correct for us to think of having one Party instead of a multiplicity of parties, provided there is such an amount of agreement as between those parties on fundamental questions that they can start the process of the merger of parties.

The question is: Does there exist today such an amount of agreement on fundamentals between our Party and yours that we can seriously suggest the dissolution of both and the formation of a new Party in which members of both join? An objective study of the position taken up by both parties will lead you to the conclusion that it will be dishonest to close our eyes to the fundamental differences that exist today between our two parties. For example—

(1) *Attitude to Internationalism*: Being a Party of the working class, our Party has its loyalty to the international working class movement. It considers that the working class in all the countries of the world have a common objective, common enemies to destroy and, therefore, have to pursue broad policies that are common. That is why the Communist Party of India was part of the Communist International so long as the latter existed; that is again why today, when there is no Communist International the Communist Party of India looks upon the brother Communist Parties as real comrades of the Indian Marxists. The C.P. of India, again, looks upon the solid achievements of the USSR, Eastern European People's Democracies and People's China in putting an end to the system of exploitation and in building a new social order, as the common heritage of the toiling people of the entire world.

This loyalty to the international working class movement is considered by your Party as treachery to India. It is "national", according to them, for their own Party to have its own international connections—connections with the Labour Party of Britain, the Socialist Party of France and similar reformist parties all over the world; but it is "anti-national"

on our part, so your leaders say, to have connections with the Communist Parties of the world including the most successful of them, the CPSU (B).

It is not my purpose here to go into the question as to which of these points of view is correct. That, if it becomes necessary, I will take up with you elsewhere. The point here is only to point out that there cannot be a common Party for those who are friendly to such parties as collaborate with Truman, Churchill & Co. as well as for those who are friendly with those who fight Truman, Churchill & Co. For, the decisive question today for anybody who is internationally-minded is: in which camp are you, in the camp of Peace, democracy and Socialism, or in the camp of war, fascism and imperialism? Your Party claims to belong to neither but the very fact that it is affiliated to the Socialist International which is itself part and parcel of the Marshall Plan, Atlantic Pact, Korean War, etc. goes to show that you are with the war bloc. And it is clear that either you have to convert us to your point of view or we have to convert you to ours before we can think of forming a common party.

(2) *Attitude to Democracy*: Similarly, our two Parties differ on the issue of democracy and dictatorship.

Being a party of the working class, our Party looks upon democracy as the extension of the rights of the toiling people and the restriction of the rights of the exploiters. For example, it is one of the highest acts of democracy for the people of India today to confiscate British capital, for the peasants to seize landlords' land and distribute it free to the landless and the land hungry, for the toiling and starving people to seize the hoarded stocks of food and cloth, and in various other ways for the common people to organise themselves and assert their rights. As a matter of fact, it is such actions of the common people, and the Committees of Action that they set up in the course of these actions, that developed into Soviets in Russia, to the People's Committees in Eastern Europe and China and to the Sanghams and Dalams in Telangana. These are *organs of the democratic action of the*

people because they are formed by the overwhelming majority of the people.

Your Party, however, looks upon these actions as “mob violence”. Soviet Democracy, which is the highest form of democracy in human history since it is democracy of the common people, is in their eyes, “totalitarianism”, because it is directed against a minority of exploiters. Bourgeois Parliamentary democracy, in which the millionaires enjoy all rights of exploitation and in which the workers and the peasants enjoy practically no rights is, to them, real form of democracy. They look with horror at the fact that peasants do not put reliance on the bourgeois democratic Parliament but organise their own revolutionary peasant committees and seize the land.

Now again, I am not arguing with you as to which of these approaches is correct. I only desire to point out that the differences between what you call “Democratic Socialism” and what we call “People’s Democracy” is the same that existed 35 years ago between Kautsky and Lenin—the difference between bourgeois Parliamentary Democracy and proletarian Soviet Democracy. Either you have to convert us to your point of view or we have to convert you to ours before we can think of having a common Party.

(3) *On the present situation in India:* Our two parties are also divided on various issues connected with the reading of the present-day economic and political situation in India.

While we think that India is a semi-colonial country with a dominantly feudal economy, you think that ours is an independent capitalist country; in other words, while we look upon the 1947 transfer of power as nothing but formal and the so-called “bloodless revolution in Indian States” as bogus, you look upon these two as the beginning of real democracy.

While, therefore, we consider it to be the main task of Indian revolution today to finally smash imperialism and feudalism, in which sections of the bourgeoisie may also participate, you oppose the building of such an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal United Front.

Again, while you propose nationalisation of all key and

large-scale industries *with compensation* to their owners, we propose confiscation *with no compensation* of British capital and effective control over other capital.

While we think it premature to think of forming governments that will "introduce Socialism", you think it "reformist" not to speak of "Socialism here and now". But while we think it proper and necessary not only to think of, but actually work for the formation of non-Congress Governments that will carry out a minimum programme to alleviate people's sufferings, you consider it a "betrayal of Socialism" to participate in such Governments.

There are any number of such differences as between our two Parties—differences of a fundamental as well as of a tactical nature. It will be dishonest to gloss over these differences, not to sharply bring out these differences, not to conduct discussions on them. It will be equally dishonest in the face of these differences, to propose the dissolution of the two parties in order to form a new Party.

It will, however, be correct and practicable to point out that, just as there are points of difference, there are also points of agreement. These are of course, related to urgent and not fundamental questions. They are nevertheless questions vital to the daily lives of the common people. For example, we agree that the Congress Government should be defeated; we agree that mass struggles have got to be organised against retrenchment, wage-cut, ejection of peasants, rise in prices of foodgrains, for civil liberties, etc. These, however, are hampered because we are not acting unitedly even on issues on which we are united. Why should this continue? Is not the discontinuance of this really the first step towards your own declared aim — dissolution of our two parties in order to form a new common Party?

Will You Lose from United Front?

You may ask me what guarantee is there that what happened in 1934-40 will not repeat itself in 1952 and 1953 if you work unitedly with the Communists now?

My answer is a counter question: What guarantee is there that a large number of your members will not leave your Party to join the Communist Party of India, RSP, KSP, LSG and other left parties and groups if you do not have any united front with us?

Please consider what happened to your party during the last 12 years when you had no united front with us. You will then find that, except for the years 1942-45 when you got a whole generation of new recruits, the last 12 years have seen a far greater amount of desertion from your Party than in the 1936-40 period of Socialist-Communist United Front.

Please examine the list of Party Members you had in 1944-45. How many of them are with you today? How many have joined us, the RSP, KSP, LSG and other parties and groups? Why are you losing such a large number of your membership in the years when there was no united front and how does it fit in with the theory that it was United Front that did damage to you in 1936-40?

United Front or no United Front, we, the Congress Socialists of Kerala, would have found on our own that we should join the Communist Party because, with the utmost efforts made by Jayaprakash & Co., they could not have prevented us from coming into contact with the Communists. Nor can they today prevent your coming into contact with us, finding out what we stand for and comparing it with what your Party stands for. For, just as we were then anxious, so too are you today anxious, to learn all about the various trends in the Socialist movement. If Jayaprakash & Co. think that you can be "immunised" against the "dangerous thoughts" of Communism by refusing to have United Front with us, he is as mistaken as others who tried to "immunise" the entire people against the "dangerous thoughts" of Communism by putting a ban on Communist literature and on the Communist Party.

If we wanted only to get recruits for our Party from among you, that does not require any united action between your Party and ours. I am sure that, if we approach you individually

and argue with you patiently, an overwhelming majority of you will some day join us, because the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, the basis of all our activity is a mighty, all-conquering force which cannot but convince you. We want Socialist-Communist United Front not for this purpose, but because only if we pool all the resources at the disposal of your Party and ours can we successfully combat our common enemy—the Congress Government and its reactionary patrons in India and abroad.

Please Think of People's Needs

I would earnestly appeal to you not to look at the question of United Front from the point of view of which of the Parties that constitute the United Front gains from it, but whether the United Front will help the common people in their struggle for a decent life and for full democracy. Can you fight the closure of mills, retrenchment, increase in the workload, enhancement in the prices of foodgrains, etc., without having a united trade union movement; can you fight the large-scale ejectment of peasants, the sudden fall in the prices of agricultural produce, the atrocious system of grain procurement, etc., for irrigation, seeds, manures, etc, and for drastic reduction in rents without having a united kisan movement; can you fight for democratic education without having united organisations of students and teachers; can you get the Preventive Detention, Press and other repressive Acts repealed and full civil liberties restored without having a united campaign for civil liberties; can you force the Government to demand that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from Korea, Vietnam, Malaya, etc., without having a united peace movement; can you, finally, have non-Congress Governments at least in those States where the Congress is a minority in the Legislature without having a United Democratic Front inside and outside the Legislature—these, dear comrades, are the crucial considerations which alone should weigh with you in answering the question of whether to have or not to have United Front.

I am sure that if you look at the question of Socialist-Communist United Front from this point of view, you will see that what matters today is not that your Party and ours differ on many issues, but that the two parties together can unleash such a powerful mass movement as will deal a crushing blow to reaction.

May I also suggest to you that it is just because your leaders do not pursue such a policy of forging unity for struggle to secure people's demands, that your Party has lost the majority of its membership both when it officially pursues the policy of United Front with Communists as well as when it is nakedly anti-Communist.

It will be good for you, for us and for the people of India as a whole, if you realise, and try to make your leaders realise, that your Party can become stronger and stronger only if it takes up the people's problems and seeks solutions for them in co-operation with all other parties that are prepared to co-operate with you.

I appeal to you to take such a reasonable attitude which our common people expect of you.

Bombay, April 26, 1952

With warm greetings,
E. M. S. Namboodiripad

Resolutions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India*

Political Resolution

This Resolution was adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India in its meeting of March, 1953; in the light of the discussion in the Extended Plenum held at Calcutta in December, 1952 and in the light of further discussion in the Central Committee. It is to be made the basis for immediate work and for discussion at the forthcoming Party Conferences.

Central Committee

1. In the first week of October, 1952, appeared Comrade J. V. Stalin's classical work, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, a work which armed the international working-class movement with a clean understanding of the world situation, of the basic laws operating in Socialist and present-day capitalist societies, of the tasks ahead and of the way these tasks are to be carried out. Events that have taken place since then have brilliantly confirmed the analysis made in this work and in the documents of the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union guided by and based on this work.

2. The unity of the Socialist world has been further consolidated, its might has further increased, further advance has been made along the path to Communism in the USSR. The world-wide mourning on the occasion of the sad death of Comrade Stalin—the brilliant continuer of the work of

*Held in Bombay in March 1953.

Marx, Engels and Lenin and leader of progressive mankind—was, at the same time, a most impressive demonstration of the solidarity of the Socialist and democratic forces, their determination to strengthen the battle for Socialism, democracy and peace, their determination to carry out the behest of their departed leader.

The deepening crisis of the capitalist system finds direct expression in declining production even in America and Britain and in decline in volume of international trade. Inside the imperialist camp conflicts and contradictions have sharpened still further—as revealed in the inability of the American imperialists to make the bourgeois governments of Europe accept all their terms for the formation of a “European Army”, in the British Commonwealth Conference and its appeal to America to reduce tariffs, in the exclusion of Britain from the America-New Zealand-Australia talks. A number of dependent, semi-colonial countries which in the past obediently carried out the orders of the American imperialists are now, under the pressure of masses and in face of growing economic-political difficulties, showing signs of resistance. The trade agreement between Ceylon and China, between Egypt and the Socialist countries, the nationalisation of tin mines by the Bolivian Government, the measures taken by Burma against the Kuomintang bandits, the refusal of Iran to yield to threats, are some indications of the change that is taking place. Nehru's concern at the attempt to include Pakistan in the MEDO, his condemnation of the NATO are also significant pointers.

3. The liberation movement of the enslaved peoples has recorded new victories as in Vietnam, has extended and deepened and is striking heavy blows at the entire colonial system. The struggle intensifies in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. All efforts on the part of the British to crush the struggle of the people of Kenya have failed. Malaya continues to defy the British. The fight for human rights continues in South Africa. The struggle against colonial oppression rapidly spreads, embraces all progressive sections of the

colonial peoples, increasingly assumes the character of war of national liberation in several countries, with the Communist Parties playing a growingly important role. The struggle gets more and more closely linked with the world struggle for democracy and peace. The rapid advance of China in every sphere exercises profound influence over the countries of Asia and Africa, over the entire colonial world.

4. The immense successes registered by the World Peace Movement, its ever-broadening sweep, were demonstrated in the Peking Conference and in the Congress of the Peoples for Peace held at Vienna, the most representative of all Peace Conferences ever held, whose declarations embodying the world-wide aspiration of peace, are finding increasing support from all strata of people in all countries, including India, where the Peace Movement has made significant advance in recent months and is being joined by people belonging to all political parties and to all walks of life. The universal condemnation of the American move to use the Kuomintang troops for attack on People's China shows that not merely the broad masses but even a number of bourgeois governments view with apprehension measures calculated to extend the flames of war. The bold and concrete proposal made by Premier Chou En-Lai to end the war in Korea has evoked such universal response that even the American imperialists, who only a few weeks ago talked about making Asians fight Asians, have had to reckon with it and re-open negotiations.

5. All this, of course, does not mean that the drive towards war has already been halted or the war plans have been given up. On the contrary, that drive continues, those plans continue to operate—as seen in the attempt to intensify the embargo on trade with China, the increased American aid to the French imperialists in Vietnam, the ruthless measures of the British in Kenya, the pressure by America on European countries to speed up their “defence” preparations, the provocative acts by British and American air forces over Democratic Germany and Czechoslovakia, the American

attempt to frighten peace loving people by successive atom-bomb explosions, etc. The war danger is still great and the struggle for peace continues to be the key task, a task that has to be continued with even greater vigour. For, it must not be forgotten that the crisis of imperialism is getting deeper, the fiasco of their policies is making the imperialists more desperate and attempts to solve the crisis by means of war will be intensified. At the same time, the fact must be noted that the difficulties in the path of imperialists have increased, the contradictions in their camp have sharpened, the dependent countries show more and more resistance, the colonial liberation movement has spread and become stronger, the fight for peace has won the support of immense sections—all of which *increase* the possibility of maintaining peace, increase the possibility of ending the war in Korea, increase the possibility of giving the Peace Movement a still broader sweep, of isolating the most adventurist elements in the imperialist camp and of foiling their plans.

6. The cessation of war in Korea, the banning of atomic weapons and germ warfare, the conclusion of a Pact of Peace between the Great Powers will immediately lead to the easing of international tension, the utilisation of world resources for peaceful purposes and the development of world trade. This will help all peoples, including the Indian people, to rebuild their economy. It will lead to a steady fall in the prices of necessities of life and be a big step towards mitigating the present situation of starvation, high prices and scarcity.

7. India's struggle for peace is inseparably linked with the struggle for India's full and unfettered national freedom which means, first and foremost, freedom from control of the British, who continue to be the dominant imperialist power in India. Only as a fully independent country can India make effective contribution to the cause of world peace and act as a bulwark of freedom and democracy. India's continued membership of the British Commonwealth, the holding of key positions in India's armed forces by British officers and

“advisers”, India’s participation in the so-called defence deliberations, the granting of training and transit facilities on Indian soil for Gurkha soldiers recruited by the British—all these not merely constitute infringement of our national sovereignty and restrictions on it, but also a grave danger to peace. Britain is not merely an imperialist power; Britain is also the partner of American imperialism in the aggressive North Atlantic Bloc and is herself waging war against the Malayan and African peoples. Further, British control over India’s economy, keeping her backward and dependent, facilitates the penetration of American imperialism into India, converts India into an arena for the conflicts of the imperialist powers and enhances the danger of India’s being dragged into war. Hence it is essential to intensify the struggle for a break with the Commonwealth, for the expulsion of British officers and “advisers” from the Indian army, for liquidation of all vestiges of British control over our economy through the confiscation of British capital. While carrying on general campaigns on these issues, each concrete manifestation of subservience to and link up with the British must be exposed and people rallied against it. The forthcoming Coronation of the British Queen is an occasion when mass opposition must be organised against India’s participation.

8. While waging this struggle against British imperialism, and as an inseparable part of the fight for peace and defence of national sovereignty, India must also resist the rapid penetration of American imperialism that is taking place in various spheres. Aspiring to secure world domination by unleashing a world war, the American imperialists are striving to bring the Government of India under their control by means of “aids” and agreements and are also linking themselves up with extreme reactionary elements and with Rightwing Socialist leaders. They are buying over corrupt politicians, securing control over a number of newspapers, poisoning the cultural life with decadent literature and films. They are carrying on a virulent campaign of lies and slanders against the USSR, New China and People’s Democratic countries through

agencies like the "Democratic Research Service" and "Freedom of Asia" societies. They are also penetrating into some vital sectors of India's economy like oil and are trying to get a foothold in strategic industries. A large number of American specialists have been imported although there is no dearth of suitable Indians for the work. They have even been granted diplomatic immunity and are paid huge salaries. A vigorous campaign of exposure against all this, as well as against the importation of American agents in the garb of "experts", has to be carried on.

9. The struggle for peace has to be directly linked with the democratic and anti-imperialist traditions of our national movement—which expressed themselves in the stand taken by us on the issue of fascist aggression in Abyssinia, Spain and China—with the demand that the policy of the Government of India today must be the continuation of that policy. We have yet to undertake a concrete and thorough exposure of the policy of the Government of India in relation to the war in Korea. Immediate and broadest mass mobilisation is needed behind the demand that the Indian Government must give full support to Premier Chou En-lai's proposal. It must be clearly recognised that it is not enough to rouse the people against those moves of the imperialists which threaten to *extend* the war. As long as the war in Korea continues, the danger of extension of the war, the danger of the world being taken by surprise and plunged into war will remain. Hence the need to rally the people behind the slogan that the Government of India must demand immediate cessation of war in Korea. Equally important is the task of rallying the people for the demand to stop transit facilities to the British and the French in their predatory war against the Malayan and Vietnamese people.

The vicious propaganda carried on against the Soviet Union and China by imperialist agents and Right-wing Socialists must be combated, a powerful movement built for friendship with these countries. The spontaneous homage paid to Comrade Stalin by all sections of the people in India shows the

volume of sentiment of friendship with the USSR that exists in our country—a sentiment which is a powerful asset in the struggle for peace and democracy. The tributes paid by delegates who visited the USSR and China also show the immense possibilities that exist of broad mobilisation and consolidation of the friendly sentiment of the Indian people for the new world against which the imperialists are striving to unleash war.

10. An integral part of the struggle for peace, as well as for national independence and national sovereignty, is the struggle for the development of trade relations with Socialist and Democratic countries. The one-sided trade of India, its link-up with the crisis ridden economy of Britain and America, the unequivalent trade imposed on India by these countries, are leading to deepening of the crisis of Indian economy, failure to get the much-needed capital goods and perpetuation of our colonial conditions. The Government of India hypocritically declares that it has “no objections” to the development of trade with the USSR and China, but that it is for individual businessmen to establish such relations. The fact, however, is that no large-scale development of trade between India on the one hand and the Socialist and People’s Democratic countries on the other is possible unless trade agreement is arrived at a *governmental level*. This is precisely the kind of agreement that was reached between People’s China and Ceylon—an agreement which has been of immense benefit to the Ceylonese people. This agreement resulting from the visit to Peking of a Trade Mission, headed by the Trade Minister for Ceylon, enabled Ceylon to procure rice from China and sell rubber to China on mutually advantageous terms. Hence it is necessary to give wider publicity to the trade agreement between Ceylon and China, to explain how the agreement came about, the role played by mass organisations and the common people in this (See *New Age*, March 1953).

11. With the deepening of the world capitalist crisis and the shrinking of the capitalist world market, the exploitation of colonial and dependent countries by imperialists has been

intensified and they have become arenas of sharp conflicts among the imperialist powers, above all between Britain and America. India, where British imperialism continues to hold a dominant position and where American imperialism is effecting fast penetration, is one of the main arenas of this conflict.

12. As a result of India's trade and economy being linked with imperialist powers who are interested in keeping her backward and dependent, India is ruthlessly robbed and plundered. Through British investment in key sectors of India's economy, through British control over exchange banks, insurance and shipping companies, through imperial preference and India's membership of the Sterling Bloc, Britain continues to drain away the wealth of India. The weapon of unequivocal trade is wielded both by Britain and America to further impoverish the Indian people, deny them capital goods and ruin their industries. The steep fall in the prices of commodities which India exports, without a corresponding fall in the prices of commodities that she has to import from Britain and America, has accelerated this process, has ruined vast masses of people, especially the primary producers, the peasants. Huge quantities of raw materials have to be exported at ruinous prices to meet the interest and profit charges of British capital in India, to pay for the food imports from America, to pay for military equipment, rolling stock and other goods which India has to buy. This is leading to an ever-widening gap between exports and imports, squandering of the sterling resources and increasing dependence on foreign powers. The entire economy is cracking up.

13. India's main export commodities—jute and tea—are facing a catastrophic situation. The price of raw jute has fallen steeply hitting the peasants! The deepening crisis in capitalist countries and India's tie-up with their economy have led to the sealing of part of jute looms, reduction of hours in the jute mills, and closure of a large number of tea gardens. The British, who dominate these industries, are trying to solve the crisis at the cost of the workers.

14. Crisis manifests itself not in these industries alone, but in practically every industry—especially industries producing consumers' goods which constitute the bulk of our industries. All these years, the Indian Government, controlled by landlords and monopolists collaborating with imperialism, argued that the crisis of India's economy was a crisis of *under-production*, that there was scarcity because there were not enough goods, that the way to India's prosperity lay through "harder work", that what were needed were not basic social changes but more sustained labour. "Produce or perish" was their slogan. All these myths are being exploded by hard reality. The handloom industry, which produced over one-third of the cloth consumed in this country and which supported nearly 10 million people, is facing extinction because it is unable to dispose of the cloth that has been produced. The large-scale textile industry, which maintained itself by the ruination of the handloom industry and by huge exports, whose production has not reached even the 1938 figure, is already facing difficulties due to the accumulation of stocks. This is happening when the per capita consumption of cloth stands at less than 10 yards as against over 16 yards in 1938. In other words, long before even the 1938 level of consumption has been reached, symptoms of a crisis of "over-production" are visible. Same is the situation in sugar, footwear, coir, engineering and many other large and small industries.

15. Mass unemployment is becoming the characteristic feature in all industrial centres affecting not only the industrial workers but also middle-class employees. The British and Indian monopolists are resorting to restriction of production in order to maintain high prices, increased work-load and rationalisation, forced leave and shorter hours, lock-out and retrenchment. The attack on the working class has been intensified. The Government has come to the rescue of Big Business by heavy reduction of export duty, direct subsidy of Rs. 4½ crores out of State Exchequer to the sugar magnates, reduction in the price of sugarcane. It has abolished the food subsidy, withdrawn cheap foodgrain concession to

tea-garden workers and resorted to drastic curtailment of credit facilities during the busy season to bring down prices of raw materials. It has refused to promote a price policy which would enable the people to buy manufactured articles at cheaper rates. It has even refused to take measures to prevent foreign monopolists who have invested capital in India from competing with and killing Indian industries. It has permitted free flow of foreign goods which are ruining many Indian industries. All this further deepens and intensifies the crisis.

16. At the root of the crisis of "over-production" lies the catastrophic crisis in our agrarian economy. The production of foodgrains per acre has sharply declined, according to the Report of the Planning Commission itself. Famine conditions have become chronic in many parts of the country. Scarcity conditions prevail in vast areas. With prices of commercial crops having fallen steeply, with subsidiary industries like handlooms having been ruined, the distress of the peasant masses has intensified. Indebtedness of the peasants has increased to colossal proportions. Tens of thousands of peasants have sold away and are selling away their land, their cattle and all their belongings at incredibly low prices due to scarcity and famine conditions. Their properties are passing into the hands of rapacious landlords and money lenders. On top of this, the Government in many States resorts to coercive measures and sells away by auction the lands of peasants who are unable to pay arrears of land revenue and debts.

The crisis in agriculture is also seen in the huge accumulation of stocks of fertilisers with the State and Central Governments because the pauperised peasant masses are unable to buy and use them. This is leading to further stagnation and decline of agriculture.

All this has meant a rapid shrinking of the home market and the complete collapse of the market in many areas. The fact that food prices continue to remain high due to shortage of production, the fact that the mass of the people have to spend the bulk of their income to purchase food, the fact that

the prices of manufactured articles are kept at a high level—all these further intensify the crisis.

The agrarian crisis has grown into a national crisis. It has meant shortage of food for the nation, shortage of raw material for the industries, widening gap between exports and imports, increased dependence on foreign powers and increased threat to our national freedom and sovereignty. It has facilitated the penetration of aggressive imperialist powers into our country.

17. Thus, at the end of the six years of Congress rule, the country faces a situation as serious as ever in its history. This situation is the direct result of the policies of the Nehru Government—of its refusal to break with the British Commonwealth and confiscate British capital, of its refusal to undertake basic agrarian reform. The much-boasted Five-Year Plan which is being implemented by the Government does not mean a reversal of these policies. It is a continuation of those very policies and an effort to solve the crisis at the cost of the people and in the interest of foreign imperialists, Indian monopolists collaborating with them and landlords.

18. Refusal to mobilise India's resources in money, which have accumulated and are accumulating in the hands of the princes, landlords and monopolists, refusal to stop the drain of India's wealth by the imperialists by means of unequivalent trade and export of huge profits of British capital invested in India, have made it impossible to undertake really big plans for the rapid development of India's industry and agriculture, so very urgently needed to overcome centuries of backwardness and arrested development, and fight poverty, unemployment and famine.

The demagogic claim that the Five-Year Plan seeks to create a firm basis for India's economic development by first concentrating on the improvement of agriculture is belied by the last two years of its operation. The Plan refuses to make fundamental democratic transformations in land relations, which alone will smash the fetters on agricultural production and release the creative energies of India's millions of peasants.

The land policies advocated in the Plan will lead and are leading to large-scale evictions of peasants from their lands. All these will accelerate the pauperisation of the peasantry. The Plan provides for the continuation and execution of a few irrigation projects which had already been undertaken by the State Governments as part of the postwar reconstruction schemes planned by the British imperialists. Even those projects in the Plan which, taken by themselves, are useful, are proving so costly to build, thanks to bureaucratic inefficiency and rampant corruption, thanks to the employment of a large number of costly American "experts" and refusal to utilise and encourage the talents of Indian engineers and technicians, that the bulk of the people will not be benefited from them.

The Plan leaves the entire field of industrial development to private capital. But just because it not only fails to solve the problem of the internal market but actually intensifies it, and also because of its abject dependence on British and American imperialism for capital goods, there cannot be any real industrialisation. On the other hand, as the experience of the last two years of the working of the Plan has clearly demonstrated, these policies cannot even prevent the stagnation and underutilisation of existing production capacity and save the existing industries from collapse. Under the Plan, the imperialists and monopolists are free to intensify their attacks on the workers and our people and other industrialists. They are free to continue to make huge profits by the systematic loot of the entire people and to mount attacks on the workers by freezing wages, dearness allowance and bonus, by rationalisation and other methods of intensification of labour.

Above all, the financing of the Plan is to be done by increased taxation on the common people, by foreign borrowing and by deficit financing. All this would lead to increasing burdens on the common people, and to increased grip of the foreign imperialists and Indian monopolists on India's economy.

In a number of States, even the execution of the schemes

already undertaken has come up against the wall of lack of finances, and work on many schemes has been slowed down, and many more minor irrigation schemes have been altogether abandoned. The crisis reflects itself in the budgets of the States and the Centre, which have already become deficit. It reflects itself in the steep fall in the passenger and goods traffic earnings in the railways as a result of which even the programme of rehabilitation of the railways to a level that the existing volume of passenger and goods traffic can be effectively served is being given up.

19. In every sphere the Government continues the reactionary policies of the past. It refuses to abolish the princely States and reconstitute the provinces on a linguistic basis on the false plea that this will lead to the break up of the unity of the country. It refuses to concede the demand of Part 'C' States for representative government. It increases the cost of education compelling many students to discontinue studies and making it impossible for the poorer classes to receive education. It permits foreign concerns in India to discriminate against the Indian personnel and treat them as inferiors in relation to Whites. It postpones enactment of the Hindu Code Bill. It spends colossal sums for the military and police and gives repeated concessions to Big Business but has no money for the upliftment of the people. It imposes new burdens on the people on the plea of financing its plans and projects. It re-enacts the Security Measures in the teeth of popular opposition and wants to set up, as in Bengal, special tribunals to try political cases. It resorts to ruthless terror to suppress the people whenever all other methods fail and the masses refuse to take the new burdens lying down.

20. Against these policies and methods of the Government, against the growing offensive of landlords and monopolists, against the attempt to shift the burden of the crisis on the people, mass resistance has grown rapidly during the last one year. Innumerable struggles and mass actions have taken place in this period—greater in volume and intensity than at any time since August, 1947. Actions have taken place not merely

on economic issues and against tax burdens, but also for civil liberties, for linguistic provinces, for cheap education etc. The participants in the struggles have been not merely workers and peasants, but also students, teachers, patwaris, sweepers, Government employees, policemen, merchants, industrialists, etc. Further, struggles are breaking out even in areas like Saurashtra where the democratic movement has hitherto been weak. Almost in every struggle broad popular sympathy was revealed. Working-class struggles have not only been numerous but in many of them workers following different trade unions stood together and fought together. The unemployed workers' immense demonstration at Calcutta rallied workers belonging to various organisations and was supported by all sections of people. Doggedly fought peasant actions have taken place in several provinces together with mass demonstrations of peasants in cities. Mass organisations of workers, peasants, students are growing all over the country and united factory committees have been formed in several places. Popular urge for unity is also expressed in united famine relief committees. In Bengal the opposition parties have organised a number of joint demonstrations. Popular opposition to the Government expresses itself in the speeches of Communist and democratic deputies in the Legislatures, where even many Congressmen have started taking a critical attitude towards several of the measures of the Government.

21. A specific character of the struggles today is not merely that they are the result of worsening condition of the life of the people but that they are taking place in the background of growing isolation of the Congress, its rapidly weakening mass influence. Vast numbers of those who hitherto followed the Congress evince sympathy for the struggles and even directly participate in them as in the linguistic province movement in Andhra and anti-sales tax agitation in Bombay and Saurashtra. In several States Congressmen have opposed the tax measures of the Government and sharp conflict has developed inside Congress Committees on the policies of the Government. In the Praja-Socialist Party—whose leadership has abandoned all

pretence to Marxism, is pursuing an anti-struggle policy and is striving for coalition with the Congress—a growing number of a rank and file are getting drawn into united action. Due to its weakening position and due to growing mass opposition, the Government has been compelled on several occasions to concede popular demands, to beat, retreat and refrain from carrying out its anti-popular measures. The fact that in the budgets presented in February-March this year, there has been generally absence of fresh taxation proposals, despite growing deficits, is entirely due to the opposition to taxation measures of the last year. In many instances sentences of death on political prisoners have been commuted, punitive police posts removed and political prisoners released. In many centres working class and peasant masses have been able to beat back the economic offensive and win concessions.

22. The deepening economic crisis, the worsening conditions of the people because of the policies of the Government, and the growing opposition of the people against the policies of the Government, have their repercussions inside the ruling classes and their party—the Congress Party. Conflict between the Central and State Governments over allocation and share of the revenues are growing, despite the increase in the States' share as a result of the recommendations of the Finance Commission. The reactionary stand of the Government over the question of formation of linguistic states, together with the significant victory of the Andhra people, not only have given impetus to the movement for linguistic states, but has led to many Congressmen coming out openly against the policies of the Government and the Congress leadership. As a result of the abolition of the office of Rajpramukh in Kashmir, the demand has been more and more loudly voiced even by Congress elements for the abolition of the office in all the States where it exists. The growing discontent of the masses is also intensifying the conflicts among the factional groups inside the Congress. As a result, vacillation and indecision grows in the ruling class.

23. What we are witnessing today is not merely the

maturing of an economic crisis, but along with it the initial stages of the development of a political crisis. The conflicts that are developing within the ruling classes and inside the Congress are but the symptoms of that political crisis that is developing. The various methods adopted by the Congress—manoeuvres like decontrol, minor concessions, attempt to create illusions through the Five Year Plan and community projects, etc.—are all getting rapidly exposed. The Congress finds it already difficult to rule in the old way—on the basis of promises for the future. With the deepening crisis, with the development of mass opposition to the present policies of the Government, conflicts will sharpen on the issues as to which policies to follow or with whom to forge alliances, etc.

24. The weakening influence of the Congress, however, has not, in all areas and States, led to a corresponding strengthening of the democratic forces. In several parts of India, where democratic forces are comparatively weak, communal parties, allied to feudal reaction have also gained ground and are striving to divert mass discontent into disruptive channels. With the demagogic slogan of sanctions against Pakistan, they utilised the just indignation of people against the communal policies of the Pakistan Government. Utilising the sentiments of the people for the unity of India, they mislead them into the belief that the Instrument of Accession of Kashmir is disruptive of this unity and with the slogan of “full accession” they seek to reimpose on the people of Kashmir the rule of the Maharaja and to nullify the Agrarian Reform.

The activities of these communal reactionaries constitute a menace which should not be underestimated. They have far-reaching plans of a counter revolutionary character—plans to impose on the Government even more reactionary policies, both in the national and international spheres. There are powerful groups inside the Congress sympathetic to them, who, frightened by the growing opposition of the masses, would like the Congress to compromise with the communal reactionaries in order to build a “united front” against the democratic movement. Ruthless and systematic exposure of

the communal parties, and united front of all democratic forces, including Congressmen with progressive views, to wean the masses away from the "movements" launched by them must be undertaken in order to combat this menace.

25. The recent talks initiated by Nehru with Jayaprakash Narayan with a view to form a coalition with the Praja-Socialist Party are the result of the growing crisis inside the ruling classes. Nehru, who only a year ago refused to countenance the idea of a coalition and claimed that the Congress alone represented the country, took the initiative for such a coalition because of his realisation of the growing weakening of the mass base and influence of the Congress.

In the face of the failure of the Congress, by its manoeuvres, to prevent the weakening of its influence, it is an attempt to widen its influence in order to continue its reactionary policies directed against the people and the democratic movement.

The P.S.P leadership is also anxious to effect such a reactionary coalition because it is also facing a crisis and all the manoeuvres of the leadership—the Praja and Socialist Parties' merger, etc.—have only accentuated the crises instead of resolving it. It seeks to camouflage its reactionary aims by putting forward a programme. But the programme itself exposes its reactionary aims. It does not demand the abolition of landlordism without compensation and distribution of land to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants. It does not ask for reduction of rents and occupancy rights to the peasants. Instead, it asks for compulsory consolidation of holdings, which will only lead to large-scale eviction and expropriation of small holders. It does not demand the recognition of trade unions but compulsory amalgamation of trade unions under Government auspices. It does not demand minimum wage, stoppage of retrenchment and unemployment relief, but speaks of trade unions becoming socially responsible agencies. It does not demand linguistic states or greater provincial autonomy; instead, it negates them with the demand for units based on language and also administrative, financial and economic convenience, and of regional (multi-state)

Governors, regional High Courts, etc. It keeps silent over the question of repeal of repressive Acts.

With the record of breaking of all its pledges to the people by the Congress, and with the policies it is pursuing, no coalition with it can be thought of by any Party that is interested in serving our people and fighting for democracy. Equally wrong is it for anyone to think that such a coalition can fight the communal reactionaries. For, communal reaction derives its strength from the anti-popular, anti-democratic policies of the Government and it cannot be fought successfully without simultaneously fighting and defeating the reactionary policies of the Congress Government.

A number of trade unions have already formulated proposals whose implementation would help the industry. It is necessary to do this in relation to all industries and to concretise these proposals further, to popularise them vigorously among the workers as well as among the general public.

26. Experience of the last one year shows that the ruling classes cannot shift the burden of the crisis on to the masses without launching a ferocious attack on their democratic rights and civil liberties. This is precisely what is being now advocated by the most reactionary sections and elements in the Congress—sections and elements many of whom sympathise with the forces of communal reaction and would like the Congress to forge “united front” with them with the object of launching a vigorous attack on the people, suppress mass organisations and the Communist Party. The struggle for the defence of civil liberties, the struggle to end the repressive and anti-labour laws and measures, therefore, acquire immense importance in the present situation.

27. It is necessary to abandon all complacency about the present situation and get rid of erroneous ideas with regard to the development of the mass movement. As already stated, numerous struggles have taken place in recent months, but it will be a mistake to focus attention only on them, to select examples of the big struggles, collect them together and make this the basis of the assertion that the mass movement has

already extended far and wide, has already reached a high level. Such methods will lead to wrong conclusions and wrong tactics. The growth of the mass movement cannot be measured merely in terms of individual struggles, strikes and demonstrations or the number of participants in these struggles. There is no doubt that, with the worsening condition of the people, struggles will break out in all parts of the country. Despite this, however, the mass movement as a whole will remain weak unless these individual struggles are co-ordinated, fought vigorously and in such a manner as to bring about the broadest democratic mobilisation, united mass organisations built on their basis and led so as to become part of a developing nationwide struggle for reversal of the policies of the Government. With the maturing of the economic crisis, with the maturing of the political crisis, the issue of replacing the present Government by a Government of the United Democratic Front will assume increasing importance. It is this perspective that has to guide us today in our entire activity.

28. It must be remembered that despite its weakening mass base, the Congress has still immense influence and is by far the single most powerful political organisation in the country as a whole, that our effective influence is still confined to limited areas, that our position in the working class, and especially in major industries, is still weak, that mass organisations, though stronger than before, are not yet either sufficiently strong or sufficiently widespread, that a powerful democratic front has yet to be built, that the Party itself has yet to overcome the weaknesses which prevent it from carrying out the role of unifier and leader of the democratic movement. It would be a dangerous illusion, therefore, to think that mere deepening of the economic crisis and mere worsening of the condition of the masses will give rise to a powerful mass movement.

29. The three inseparably linked tasks on the carrying out of which will depend the success of the democratic movement are—the building of the Democratic Front, the building of mass organisations, the building of the Party. In the measure

that these tasks are carried out in an integrated and co-ordinated manner, the attempts of the Government to shift the burden of the crisis on the people will be defeated, the mass movement will strengthen, grow and achieve its aim.

30. The growing burden on the people, the worsening condition of their life, the increasingly anti-popular policies of the Government both in national and international spheres, as well as the attempt of communal reactionaries to utilise the popular discontent for disruptive purposes, make it essential that all democratic and progressive parties and elements come together. The possibilities of such unity are immense today and a key task of the Communist Party is to translate these possibilities into reality. This demands, above all, the abandonment of sectarian outlook and sectarian methods—in relation to slogans, in relation to attitude towards non-Party elements, in relation to method of running mass and democratic organisations. The very fact that the Communist Party has acquired a key position in the political life of the country, the very fact that it is looked upon as the most powerful force in opposition to the Congress, demands that the Party acts as the unifier of the people, gives expression to their deep urge that all democratic forces must come together and fight unitedly in defence of their rights and demands. The galvanising influence of United Front even on a limited basis was revealed during the elections and every effort must be made to see that United Front between opposition parties is forged even in areas where it has weakened since then. Further, the development of the United Front movement involves drawing into struggles and into common activities the large mass of Congressmen, P.S.P followers and progressive individuals. Too little of this has been done as yet. The tendency to look upon all those who do not yet support all our slogans or participate in mass actions organised by us as reactionary, the tendency of not evolving such forms of activities into which all who want to serve the people and relieve their distress can be drawn, the tendency to ignore concrete issues on which immediate unity irrespective of

political views is possible—all these tendencies persist and hamper the development of a broad United Front movement in every province and every area.

31. Further, the development of the United Front through the widening of the mass movement is hampered because of the abstractness of our agitation, the habit of substituting concrete exposure by general denunciation, the indulgence, quite often, in stereotyped speeches in Assemblies, Parliament and from public platform, stereotyped writings in our papers. Too often we speak only for those who are already convinced that the present Government is a reactionary Government. Too often we fail to make use of existing legislations—Tenancy Legislation, Social Security Act, Payment of Wages Act, etc.—to ameliorate the conditions of the masses and secure for them concessions, forgetting that these legislations have been enacted as the result of mass struggles and are a weapon in the hands of the people. Too often the tendency is to narrate only the hardships that the people are suffering and to ignore the successes that their struggles have won in the mistaken belief that reference to such successes will breed “reformist illusions,” while the reality is that, in order to inculcate confidence in the masses, confidence that unity and struggle can win demands, it is essential that each success won by the people, no matter how small, is widely publicised and made the basis for further advance. There is also the tendency to pay scant attention to such work as adult literacy, cultural and sports activities, co-operatives, medical relief, etc.—work which is absolutely essential, work which can mobilise vast sections and enable the Party and mass organisations to forge close links with the people. It is very often forgotten that in Tripura, one of the most powerful bases of the Party today, it was on the basis of a literacy campaign that the Party grew in the first stage. Similarly, in Malabar literacy campaign played a big role in the growth of the Party and of the kisan movement.

In areas where famine conditions prevail not only is it necessary to demand relief from the Government and organise relief on the basis of unity of democratic organisations, but

it is also necessary to mobilise the people for such work as deepening of wells, repair of tanks, etc.

It is necessary for every Provincial Committee to undertake a critical examination of the plans and projects undertaken by the Government in the province, make a factual and concrete exposure, put forward the demand for such projects as will help the people, and mobilize them for their implementation.

It must be noted that, despite the various laws that have been enacted, the untouchable masses are in practice denied equal rights even now. Hitherto many Party units have paid little attention to this issue. It is necessary not merely to agitate for more comprehensive laws against untouchability, but also to wage a concrete battle against all forms of discrimination.

32. Struggles for the immediate demands of the people through all forms—petitions, signatures, strikes, hartals, demonstrations, marches, civil disobedience, etc. —struggles against the attacks of the Government and the landlords and monopolists are the most important tasks facing the mass movement and the most effective weapons for building the democratic front. Through these struggles are to be built the mass organisations with their units embedded in the people. In these struggles will be trained and steeled cadres coming from the masses.

The rapidly deteriorating situation on the agrarian front where big struggles are looming ahead demands that utmost attention is paid by every Provincial Committee to the task of strengthening the Kisan Sabha organisations and forming agricultural workers' associations, wherever necessary. Broad peasant unity has to be built in action against eviction, against unjust taxes, for reduction of rent, for moratorium on debts, for adequate wages, for relief against famine and drought, for fair price for agricultural products, for specific irrigation projects and similar demands.

Working class struggles, especially struggles in major industries, against the offensive of monopolists acquire increased significance in the present situation. Vigorous defence by the

working class of its rights, vigorous struggle by the working class against retrenchment, wage-cut and other forms of attack encourage all classes and sections to wage their own battles. Also mass action by the working class gives form and direction to the growing radicalisation of the people as already seen in several provinces. It is a most powerful weapon to forge the Democratic Front.

On the working class front, despite the growing struggles in the recent past, despite the growing sense of unity of the working class, the full unfolding of the trade union movement is prevented by the existence of parallel unions in the same factory and industry. The fight for trade union unity and for the realisation of the slogan of "One union in one industry and one central trade union organisation" has to be waged. The existing united factory committees must be strengthened, and such factory committees must be organised in every industry. In the struggles that are breaking out more and more, the question of united resistance to the offensive of the Government and employers will come to the fore, and must be fully utilised by the setting up of joint elected committees for the conduct of struggles and negotiations. The question of recognition of unions assumes tremendous importance and must be fought for. An integral part of the struggle for recognition of trade unions is the struggle against the Industrial Relations Acts in Bombay, Madhya Bharat and Madhya Pradesh. The development of a wide movement against the Acts in these States in particular and in the country generally is a major task on the working class front.

There is a widespread tendency to neglect important and vital industries in industrial areas and to concentrate on small and diffused industries. This tendency must be given up and the Party units must immediately undertake planned work in major and important industries.

The problem of combating mass unemployment has become a key problem before the working class. The development of a wide movement, by means of rallies and conferences, marches and demonstrations, hartals and strikes

is the most important task. United committees for fighting retrenchment and unemployment must be organised. Such a wide movement cannot unfold itself fully, unless the organised working class employed in factories are brought into the movement. Apart from mobilisation, it is of utmost importance that relief and solidarity campaigns are organised.

In these campaigns and struggles, political consciousness must be inculcated in the working class—the consciousness of its role of hegemony. It must lead to the working class coming out in action in support of the struggles and demands of other sections of the people—peasants, students, industrialists and merchants. This will forge popular unity and defeat the attempt of the Government to crush the struggles of workers as well as other classes in isolation.

33. Each struggle, each campaign, each mass action must be used not only to popularise slogans but also and above all, to build organisations—of workers, peasants, students, youth, women. It must be remembered that one of the main reasons why the growth of mass movement is lagging behind the growth of mass discontent is that such organisations are still weak and in many places non-existent. It must be remembered that united mass organisations form the basis of the Democratic Front and that without such mass organisations being formed all over the country, it is impossible to develop a countrywide mass movement.

In the past a key weakness of organisations of workers, peasants and other classes has been the weakness of the basic units like factory committees, primary Kisan Sabhas. The strength of mass organisations depends not only on their total membership but on the manner in which this membership is organised—above all, on the firmness and organised functioning of the basic units. Without them neither the mass base of the organisation can be expanded nor even the existing base activated. Hence the necessity to focus attention on this work and draw into organisational work rank and file workers, peasants, agricultural labourers.

Further, the waging of struggles and the conducting of

campaigns have to be co-ordinated with the work of increasing the circulation of Party journals and sale of literature. At present at all levels and in all units of the Party there is total under-estimation of the importance of this work—an under-estimation which springs from idealisation, of spontaneity, from minimisation of the role of consciousness. This expresses itself in the tendency to look upon the work of sale of journals and literature as not the work of the Party as a whole and of all its units but only of comrades specifically entrusted with that work. This tendency must be sharply combated.

34. The Party has also to bring to the forefront in every State alternative immediate slogans and demands which will rally all democratic sections, parties, groups and individuals, unite them and become the common programme of the United Front. In order to ensure the democratic participation of our people in all activities in the State and in order to unleash their creative energies, the programme should demand the repeal of all repressive laws and the release of all political prisoners, the immediate formation of linguistic states, the abolition of the office of Rajpramukh, the break up of the former princely States and the integration of their various linguistic regions into the adjoining linguistic states, the abolition of all distinctions between Part 'A', Part 'B' and Part 'C' States by the conferment of full legislative and executive powers on the elected representatives of Part 'B' and Part 'C' States, and the abolition of the Upper Houses in the States as well as at the Centre.

The programme should include the banning of the import of all those goods that compete with the indigenous goods. We should demand a ceiling to be put on profits—of six-and-a-quarter per cent as was accepted by the Congress itself. We should demand that all export of profits by foreign firms be banned and that the profits of the industry be ploughed back into the industry determined by the Government. Prices, wages and profits in protected industries should be fixed. Minimum wages must be fixed statutorily in all industries and unemployment relief must be afforded to the unemployed

workers. We should demand that longterm trade agreements be concluded with the Soviet Union and other democratic countries.

In the field of agriculture, we should demand that the compensation that is being paid to zamindars and jagirdars be stopped immediately, that all rents paid by peasants to landlords be substantially reduced, that all evictions be stopped and all peasants evicted from land be reinstated, and that the landlords shall not be given the right of resumption of cultivation. We should demand that the tax burdens on the peasants be reduced.

The programme should include the demand that military expenditure be reduced by 50 per cent and that expenditure on Security and Administrative Services be substantially reduced, both at the Centre and in the States.

We should demand that, with the resources thus mobilised, a big programme of irrigation and development of industries be immediately undertaken by mobilising the creative energy of the people, by encouraging the talents of Indian engineers, technicians and workers.

35. It must be admitted that, despite the fact that many Party units have recently taken up the question of struggle for peace seriously, there is still a gross underestimation of the key importance of this task. There is widespread belief among the masses that due to the immense sentiment in favour of peace in India, due to the widespread sympathy of the Indian people for the USSR and China, and due to the declared policy of the Nehru Government of remaining neutral in case of war, the danger of India being dragged into war is not serious. Such a belief is wrong. It is based on an under-estimation of the desperate measures which imperialists and their agents will adopt in case of a serious international crisis or when their war plans have advanced further. Reliance on spontaneity in this, as in other matters, will be fatal. What the situation demands is *active* mobilisation of the Indian people for peace, active mobilisation of the organised working class and peasantry in the peace movement, transformation of the vast peace senti-

ments into a powerful *movement* for peace and a network of peace committees, enlisting of the people of India to play a positive role in stopping the existing wars.

Failure to do this will mean not only failure to discharge our international duties, but also betrayal of national honour and interest.

36. The imperialists and reactionaries are fully conscious that trade wars and conflicts between India and Pakistan enable them to further tighten their grip on these countries and hence they do their utmost to embitter relations between the two countries.

It is a victory of the progressive forces that, despite all the attempts of the imperialists and feudal reactionaries, both outside and inside the Congress, an Indo-Pak Trade Pact has been arrived at.

But the Party must be vigilant and take the lead in fighting for maintaining and strengthening this Pact, forging peaceful relations in all spheres, opening up ways of freer movement and cultural intercourse between the two countries. It is along this path that imperialist conspiracies against peace and democracy can be fought, reactionary communal forces defeated and democratic unity of the people ensured.

37. The work of our comrades in the State Legislatures and the Parliament has strengthened the mass movement. Nevertheless, it has suffered for lack of co-ordination with the mass movement and struggles outside. This weakness must be rapidly eradicated by our comrades inside the Legislatures by bringing to the fore the issues of the mass movement in such a way that our legislative work is a reflection of and direct aid to the mass movement outside. For this purpose, it is necessary not only to undertake concrete exposures of the policies and legislative and executive measures of the Government, but also ourselves initiate legislation on the burning problems of the people. The introduction of such Bills can and must become the rallying point of a wide mass movement in support of them.

Our comrades have been returned to many Municipalities,

Local Boards and Panchayats. Despite the limited powers that these bodies enjoy, it is necessary to pay serious attention to them and utilise all possibilities for helping the people. The Provincial Committees must help in the drawing up of programmes for whose implementation our comrades must fight.

38. Despite the growth of the general influence of the Party, our effective organised influence is confined, in almost all States, to a few areas and districts. Without a countrywide Party, without a wide Kissan Sabha, without a firm base in the most important working class areas, it is not possible to grow into a countrywide national political force. While strengthening our position in the areas where we are already a force, it has become urgently necessary to spread to new areas and sectors. Provincial units must carefully and urgently plan out and execute this task.

It is necessary to create mass political literature and transform our newspapers into national political journals, reporting not merely struggles in their own provinces, but in other provinces as well.

The fulfilment of all these tasks demands the rapid strengthening of the Party and the undertaking of political education as a key political task. For the development of the Party is the key factor in determining the growth of the mass movement. It is of utmost importance that the entire Party be armed with the perspective of the fast maturing of a profound economic and political crisis, of the struggles that are looming large and of the perspective of co-ordinating them into the political struggle for the replacement of the present Government by a Government of the United Democratic Front. The Party must acquire a correct understanding of the direction in which things are moving, a sense of urgency, revolutionary zeal and passion and give up all complacency and sense of self-satisfaction.

The Party must become the decisive national force—politically, geographically and in a class sense—i.e., by Party units in each area and State acting as the leader and organiser

of the people, by the Party spreading to new areas, and by its basing itself and drawing its main strength from the working class and the toiling peasants. Advance is to be measured no longer, as in the past, in terms of the "general political influence" nor even in terms of mass mobilisation on specific issues only, but in terms of the growth of organisation in general and growth of the Party in particular, in terms of circulation of literature and newspapers, in terms of collection of funds, in terms of the strengthening of mass organisations and the Party itself.

It is only through such all round growth that the Party will be able to discharge its duties and responsibilities to the people.

RESOLUTION ON PARTY ORGANISATION

The Extended Plenum of the Central Committee in its meeting of December, 1952, discussed the Organisational Resolution placed before it by the Central Committee. On the basis of those discussions and in the light of further discussion in its meeting held in March, 1953, the Central Committee has finalised the following draft. It must be made the basis for immediate reorganisation of Party work and also for discussion for the Party Congress.

Central Committee

1. The general elections and the developments that have taken place since then have sharply brought out the key role of the Communist Party in the present situation. During the elections it was seen that, while discontent against the Government and the desire to replace it by a popular government was widespread, strong opposition to the Congress could be put up only in those areas where the Communist Party had already become a strong force and led big struggles. It was also in these areas that lakhs could be set in motion against the Congress Government and the elections developed into a mass political campaign. In areas where either there was no Communist Party or the Party was weak, the democratic

opposition to the Congress also proved to be weak and generally ineffective. In several such areas, the discontent of the people was utilised by communal and feudal reaction to strengthen its own position at the cost of the Congress. The elections, therefore, not merely showed widespread opposition to the Government, but also revealed the fact that this opposition can be transformed into a mass democratic movement only if there is a strong Communist Party.

2. This is also revealed by the events of the post-election period during which opposition to the Government has spread to new areas and to all strata of the people. In the innumerable struggles and mass actions that have taken place in this period, it has been seen that for effectively guiding these struggles, for uniting the broad masses in support of these struggles, for building mass organisations on the basis of these struggles, strong units of the Communist Party are absolutely essential. In the absence of strong units of the Party, mass discontent with the Government either does not grow into a powerful movement or reactionary and communal elements succeed in giving popular discontent a wrong direction, divert it into disruptive channels. The Jammu Praja Parishad agitation, which has become the rallying point of forces of extreme reaction, is an instance.

3. It is obvious, therefore, that the growth of the democratic movement does not depend merely on the deepening of the economic crisis or the growth of popular discontent. It depends on the form and direction that is given to this discontent, the manner in which the masses are led, the extent of democratic unity that is forged, the slogan round which the people are mobilised. This demands, above all, a strong and disciplined Communist Party, entrenched among the people, especially among the basic masses—the workers and peasants—and able to forge popular unity in action. The growth and success of the popular movement depends today, first and foremost, on the Communist Party and its growth—ideological-political and organisational—its strengthening in areas where it exists, its spreading to areas where it does not exist,

the correctness of its slogans, the maturity of its leadership, the degree of political organisational unification of the Party, the quality of its cadres at all levels and in all areas. Of all factors that determine the growth and strengthening of the democratic movement, this is the most important and even decisive factor. Because of the rapidly maturing crisis in the country and because of the frantic efforts of imperialists to spread the flames of war, this factor has acquired all the greater importance.

4. The Communist Party is looked upon today as the spearhead of the democratic opposition to the Congress, as the vanguard of the struggle against the Government, as the unifier of the democratic forces. It has already acquired a key position in the political life of the country. In recent months, the Left Socialist Group, the U.P.R.S.P and a section of the Kamgar Kisan Party have joined the Party, thereby considerably strengthening the Communist movement and the position of the Party. Large numbers from the Socialist Party and followers of the Congress have joined the Party, many more want to join. There is a big swing towards the Communist Party, and the Party has acquired great prestige and authority among the masses. It is already a major force. From this situation it has got to go forward and become the *leading force* of the nation. To the extent that the Party is able to do this, to that extent it will be able to advance the movement for full freedom, democracy and peace.

5. In order that we may carry out this task, it is first of all necessary to have a clear understanding of the nature of the difficulties that have to be overcome, the nature of the problems that have to be solved.

In the main, the problems confronting the Party today are problems connected with the growth of the mass movement, growth of the influence of the Party, growth of the responsibilities that the Party has to carry out. The organisation of the Party has not kept pace with this growth. There is thus a tremendous and even growing gap between the influence of the Party on the one hand and its effective organised strength

on the other. The concrete form in which the problem presents itself is a problem of cadres. In every State, the Party is unable to cope with the immense tasks facing it because of lack of cadres. This difficulty, however, has been further aggravated because legacies of the inner Party development after the Second Party Congress have not yet been fully liquidated due to which the Party has not been able to mobilise fully even its existing strength.

6. It should not be thought, however, that all that is needed to strengthen the Party and enable it to carry out its tasks is to restore the functioning as it was before the Second Party Congress. It must be remembered, firstly, that because of the position it has acquired, the Party today has to act as a national political force and the organisation has to be one which enables the Party to play this role. It must be remembered, secondly, that the question of proper kind of organisation is closely linked with the question of (1) struggle against bourgeois, petty bourgeois and feudal ideologies; (2) classes which form the main base of the Party; (3) principles of democratic centralism of which criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from below, is a vital part. However, as we all know, in these respects the situation inside the Party, even in the pre-Second Party Congress period was highly unsatisfactory. In fact, many of the shortcomings from which we are suffering today are due to the fact that certain basic weaknesses were allowed to persist throughout the history of the Party.

7. In this connection, one should note what Comrade Stalin stated about the manner in which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union grew into a mass Communist Party :

“The principal task in the first period of development of our Party, of its Russian section, was to create cadres, Marxist cadres. These Marxist cadres were manufactured, forged, in our fight with Menshevism. The task of these cadres then, at that period —I am referring to the period from the foundation of the Bolshevik Party to the expulsion from the Party of the Liquidators, the most finished representatives of Menshevism the main task was to win for the Bolsheviks the

most active, honest and outstanding members of the working class to create cadres, to forge a vanguard. In this respect, the struggle was waged primarily against tendencies of a bourgeois character—especially against Menshevism—which hindered the formation of cadres and their fusion into a single unit, as the core of the Party. At that time it was still not the immediate and urgent task of the Party to establish extensive connections with the vast masses of the working class and the toiling peasantry, to gain control over these masses, to win a majority in the country. The Party was not yet matured enough for that.

“Only in the following stage of development of our Party, only in its second stage, when these cadres had grown, when they had become the core of our Party, when the sympathies of the best elements among the working class had already been won, or almost won—only then did it become an immediate and urgent task of the Party to win over the masses, *to transform the Party cadres into a real mass workers' party*. During this period the core of our Party was obliged to combat not so much Menshevism as the ‘Left’ elements within the Party, the ‘Otzovists’ of all kinds, who were attempting to substitute revolutionary phraseology for a serious study of the distinctive features of the new situation which arose after 1905, who by their over simplified ‘revolutionary’ tactics were impeding the conversion of the cadres of our Party into a genuine mass party, who by their activities were creating the danger of the Party becoming divorced from the broad working-class masses. It need hardly be shown that had the party not resolutely combated this ‘Left’ danger, had the Party not overcome this danger, it could not have gained control over the vast toiling masses.”

(Stalin : *On Training and Consolidating Marxist Cadres in the National Republics and Regions*, Report delivered on June 10, 1923)

8. It is obvious that in our country today the tasks that the Bolshevik Party carried out in two stages—the task of

forging cadres and the task of winning over the masses—have to be carried out *simultaneously* and in an integrated manner. Unless the Party leads masses in their daily battles, it cannot draw them towards itself. At the same time, unless the best elements from the masses are drawn *into* the Party, are trained and developed, and the Party itself as an organisation, strengthened, the mass movement will suffer in tempo and sweep. For us, therefore, both the tasks are equally important. Nevertheless, we have to be conscious of the fact that the difficulties we are facing are rooted in our past. The Bolsheviks could grow into a mass party in the second stage precisely because in the first stage they had, through determined struggle against alien trends and alien ideologies, forged a sufficiently strong, sufficiently firm and sufficiently large Marxist-Leninist core of proletarian cadres. This was not done by us except to a very limited extent. A determined struggle was not carried on by us against bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and feudal ideologies in the mistaken belief that our revolution being a national democratic revolution, such ideological struggle is not a factor of key importance for the development of the Party in our country. Again, the bulk of our Party members came from the middle classes, both in cities and in rural areas. This was inevitable in the initial period. But these Party members were not developed ideologically, nor were they used, in a planned way, to inculcate Marxist-Leninist ideology in the working class and toiling peasantry. While as the result of our Trade Union and Kisan Sabha activities and our anti-imperialist and Socialist propaganda, we drew towards ourselves the finest elements from these classes, we generally paid little attention to their ideological-political development, failed to transform their elemental anti-capitalist and anti-landlord hatred, their democratic anti-imperialist consciousness into *Socialist* consciousness. Thus we failed to forge them into cadres of a Marxist-Leninist Party. Not that this work was not done at all, but it was done in a totally inadequate manner and to a very limited extent.

9. Another of our weaknesses was that Marxist-Leninist

principles of Party organisation were not consistently applied. The Lenin-Stalin methods of functioning a Party play a big role in forging cadres, in raising their consciousness, in promoting their growth. However, democratic centralism was understood and practised by us in a formal manner. Democratic centralism implies not merely subordination of lower committees to higher committees and of minority to majority. It also implies collective functioning, active participation by the entire Party and all its units in evolving and concretising of slogans and tactics. This demands criticism and self-criticism on the widest scale, especially criticism from below. It is thus that correct tactics are evolved, mistakes get rectified, the Party gets more and more united and cadres grow into maturity, develop initiative and capacity for leadership. Comrade Stalin taught : "We understand democracy as the raising of the activity and class consciousness of Party masses, as the systematic attraction of Party masses in practice, not only into discussion of work but into leadership of work." The prevalence of the "leader-follower" pattern inside the Party, in all our phases, the prevalence of the practice of broad political questions being discussed only in higher committees and lower units concerning themselves only to "immediate practical work" and implementation of directions given from above, led to the arresting of the growth of cadres and their fossilisation.

10. All this it is necessary to grasp today in order to take firm steps to liquidate our weaknesses. The question of the building of a mass Party must not be understood in a narrow sense as merely a question of recruitment of new cadres. Recruitment, of course, is vital and necessary, but together with it are necessary the reorganisation of the Party on a proper basis, the drawing of the entire Party into the task of evolving policies, the undertaking of Party education and the nursing and promotion of cadres. Then only the cadres recruited will grow and mature. It is through all this that the basis will be laid for the development of a mass Party.

11. Despite the considerable improvements that have taken

place in the inner Party situation and in the functioning of Party units in recent months, it must be admitted that the Party as an organisation is still in a seriously defective state. Leading Party Committees—from the Central Committee to the District Committee—do not yet function as *leading committees*, rapidly evolving slogans and policies in a fast-developing situation, helping the lower committees to solve the problems confronting them, intervening where necessary. The Polit Bureau and the Provincial Secretariats, on whose effective functioning depends, to a great extent, the work of the Central Committee and Provincial Committees, have not yet been able to organise the work of their own members and function collectively. Functioning is still individual, i.e. individual members of the PB and Provincial Secretariats are “in charge” of particular fronts—the PB and the Secretariat leaving the guidance of the front almost entirely to these comrades. Quite often Fraction Committees exist on paper and the PCM in-charge functions for them. In some other cases Fraction Committees are practically autonomous bodies with little guidance from the corresponding Party committee. Same is the position in many districts also. The number of comrades working in the All India and most Provincial centres is too small to carry out even the minimum tasks that the Centre has to discharge. Hence the lower committees and fronts do not get the guidance and help they need. All this results in lack of co-ordination, lack of plan in work, lack of effective leadership.

12. It is not enough to argue that all this is due to lack of cadres and immensity of work! That, of course, is true. But even the shortage of cadres cannot be overcome without proper organisation of the *existing* cadres at all levels of the Party—from CC to cells. For this, it is necessary, first of all, to get rid of certain erroneous notions. It is necessary to understand that Party organisation and Party building are the key tasks today and that these tasks will not get carried out automatically as a result of mass work and mass activity—even of the most intensive type. There is a widely prevalent notion that the Party is built “from below”, the notion due to which

even members of leading committees pay scant attention to the work of their own committees and prefer to devote themselves exclusively to work in particular areas, or on particular fronts—in their “own bases”. This notion is totally wrong. It has nothing to do with principles of Party organisation. *The Party is a sum and system of organisations and the strengthening of the Party means, first and foremost, the strengthening of the Party organisations*—their being built up in such a way that they can carry out their political and organisational duties. This demands not merely that a sufficient number of CCMs, PCMs and DCMs are available for the proper functioning of these committees, but also that a sufficient number of other cadres are available to help them in their work. Without this no real improvement is possible. Without this Party work at all levels will suffer and Party units will fail to become what they should be—*political leaders of the masses in the areas where they work.*

13. Some comrades who regret the present state of affairs argue that the weakness of our organisation is due to “lack of political unification”. They—their number is few—argue further that due to this, the time has not yet come to enforce strict discipline in the Party, enforce observance of Party forms. These comrades are mistaken. The fact is that sufficient basis for political unification has already been laid and a large measure of political unification has already been achieved on the basis of various documents of the CC and PB and as the result of experience of mass work. To argue that as long as “full political unification” is not achieved, one should be permitted to violate Party forms and Party rules should be held in abeyance or at least “relaxed”—to argue like this is to betray utter ignorance of what political unification means and how it is achieved in a Communist Party. Political unification is achieved as the result of *collective work* by the Party, through Party *units* applying the general line of the Party to the given situation and further concretising, amplifying it in the course of activity through constant discussion, criticism and self-criticism, through regular

review of lessons of struggles, etc. And for this strict adherence to Party forms and strict discipline are essential.

14. This, of course, does not preclude the existence of differences on many concrete questions. Such differences exist and will arise in future also, particularly in view of the rapidly developing situation which will pose new problems. They will have to be resolved—not by glossing over the differences (as is very often done today) but by sharply formulating them and by means of discussion, by means of principled inner Party struggle. Comrade Stalin taught : “It may be said without exaggeration that the history of our party has been a history of inner Party conflicts, a history of resolving these conflicts and of gradually strengthening the Party in the process of resolving them”, and “that the resolving of inner Party differences by means of struggle is a law of development of our Party.” But principled inner-Party struggle, inner-Party struggle that strengthens the Party, can take place only on the basis of observance of Party forms. Also real strengthening of Party discipline takes place through inner-Party struggle to root out wrong tendencies, wrong outlook, wrong tactics.

15. The question of full restoration of Party forms and enforcement of discipline should not be isolated from the question of proper organisation of the work of the Party. In fact, the main aim of restoration of Party form and enforcement of discipline should be to organise Party units at all levels in such a way that they are able to discharge their duties and responsibilities effectively. It is obvious that unless on the basis of restoration of Party forms and enforcement of discipline, Party Committees in general and leading Party Committees in particular—the Central Committee and provincial Committees—are able to organise their own work in such a way that they can help lower units with concrete political lead, prompt slogans and solution of difficulties, co-ordinate and guide work, intervene where necessary—the Party will not get fully unified and even real discipline will not get restored. Help and guidance are essential because of

the complexity of the situation and also because, due to shortcomings in our work in the past, most of the lower units in every province are very weak. At the same time help and guidance must have as their object the development of *initiative* by the lower committees, they must be helped to grow so that they may solve the problems facing them.

16. This means that the Central Committee and the Provincial Committees have to function as real guiding and leading political bodies. It is they who have to set the example and show how the entire Party has to be organised from top to bottom so as to discharge its tasks.

With regard to the Central and Provincial Committees, the practice must be as follows :

a) The Central Committee must meet at least once in three months;

b) The PB must meet once every month, and it is obligatory for all PB Members to attend the meeting;

c) At least five Members of the PB must work at the Party Centre;

d) The PB should tackle the problems of the mass movement by discussion with members of the All India Fraction Committees which must meet periodically;

e) In Provinces, all major political organisational problems should be dealt with by the PC which must meet at least once in two months;

f) Problems of mass organisation and of mass movements should be, when they are of a basic nature, decided by, the PC in consultation with Provincial Fraction Committees. Other problems should be tackled by the PC Secretariat in consultation with Fraction Committees;

g) At each meeting of the CC and PC, the PB and Secretariat should make a report of the work done; and

h) There must be regular check-up of work done.

17. As regards districts and taluqs, they should have Secretariats only with the approval of the PC.

18. The Provincial Committee should hold extended meeting of PCMs, DC Secretaries and Fraction leaders for reporting.

The same should be done when the PC reports on major political and organisational decisions taken by it or reviews major campaigns. Reporting from higher committees to lower committees and from lower committees to higher committees is essential for real unification of the Party.

19. General Body meetings held for reporting should not become a substitute for cell functioning, which will happen if the GB meetings become forums of discussion. Only questions can be asked and clarification sought in GB meetings, which, as far as possible, should not be confined to Party members alone but should also include sympathisers. Cell functioning must become the normal feature of Party life and the present practice of holding GB meetings should be gradually eliminated.

20. The District Committees must undertake the task of scrutinisation of the entire existing membership and revise the Party rolls, if needed, under the direction of the PCs. It must be seen that every Party member carries out his tasks and obligations as laid down in the Party Constitution. It is especially necessary to emphasise the following :

A Party Member must—

- 1) Pay Party dues and levies;
- 2) Attend meetings of his unit regularly;
- 3) Accept Party discipline—decisions of higher committees and of majority in his unit—and carry out the work assigned;
- 4) Keep Party secrets and not indulge in loose talks or gossip about inner-Party matters outside his unit;
- 5) Work in a mass organisation (unless exempted for special reasons) under Party's guidance and pay the dues of the mass organisation of which he is a member and
- 6) Submit reports of his work to the unit.

Names of those who do not conform to the above criteria, despite every effort of the unit, should be removed from the Party rolls after informing them and giving them opportunity to explain their conduct and they should be considered no longer as party members.

21. It must be emphasised that the aim of scrutiny is not to purge the Party, but to improve the functioning and to activate the entire membership. For this, and for extending work, it is also necessary for the Party Committees to evolve multiple forms of activities—educational, cultural, sports, etc. Assignment of work should be done, not bureaucratically but after taking all concrete factors into consideration. Nevertheless, it is necessary to ensure that those who cannot be activated in any way and for any type of organised work, which helps the Party and the movement, do not remain Party members.

22. Names of those who do not pay Party dues and levies for three successive months or do not attend three successive meetings of the unit without leave for the same period, should be removed from Party rolls and they should be informed. The decision taken by any unit to this effect is subject to endorsement by the higher committee to which the comrade concerned can appeal.

23. All Party units must complete the scrutiny before *July 1, 1953*.

24. Simultaneously with this, vigorous efforts should be made by all units to enrol new members into the Party. The criteria for new members should be the same as laid down above.

25. The urgent necessity and immense *possibility* of rapid expansion of the Party must be kept in mind. Along with other reasons, one main reason for the failure of the Party to grow is the deep rooted sectarian attitude on organisational matter—both with regard to those who have been in the category of "militants" for a long period and with regard to new members seeking admission into the Party. This sectarianism must be abandoned in order that the Party may grow and carry out the immense tasks confronting it. At the same time, utmost vigilance has to be exercised against the swamping of the Party with undesirable elements. A policy of rapid promotion of cadres must be initiated.

26. Special care must be taken to enrol members from the working class and toiling peasants and special attention must

be paid towards their *ideological development*. Without this we cannot become a real mass working class party.

27. As far as possible separate cells should not be formed of candidate members and candidates should be placed in the same cell as full-fledged Party members. Where, due to absence of Party units, cells have to be formed with candidate members alone, special attention must be paid by PCs and DCs and Local Committees towards their functioning and development.

28. The present chaotic and planless method of work must be abandoned. Fixing up of targets and quotas with regard to sale of Party publications, Party papers and Marxist literature, with regard to enrolment of members to the trade union and other mass organisations, with regard to collection of Party Funds, with regard to collection of signatures to the Peace Pact Appeal, etc., and the checking up of work done by each unit and by each member, regular discussion on work done and how to improve it—all these must become the normal practice of every unit of the party.

29. Each unit must impose a regular levy on its members in consultation with each and taking into account his capacity to pay. The DC must pay at least 10 percent of its income to the PC and the PC 10 percent of its income to the CC. Every Party member must, besides paying dues and levies, collect funds for the Party.

30. Communist MPs and MLAs must submit accounts of their pay and allowances to the CC and PCs respectively. The CC will decide what contributions the MPs will make to the CC and the PCs will decide what contribution the MPs and MLAs will make to the PCs and DCs. Both the CC and the PCs in deciding on the levy will take into consideration the requirements of the MPs and MLAs for themselves and their families.

31. On the question of disciplinary actions and rights of Party members, the following procedures should be followed. When taking disciplinary action against comrades, every unit must ensure that rights of Party members are not infringed upon:

i) When action is taken against a comrade by his own unit, the comrade should be allowed to attend the meeting where his conduct is being discussed;

ii) When action is taken by a higher unit, the comrade concerned should be given opportunity to explain his conduct before the unit or its Secretariat, either in writing or by personal appearance if he insists on it. The comrade, however, cannot demand that he should be present when his conduct is being discussed and decision on it is being taken;

iii) Party Committees are authorised to remove comrade from positions held by them in case of serious reports against them as a precautionary measure and pending enquiry:

iv) In the case of published writings by Party members, when no reason exists to doubt their authenticity and authorship, if such writings harm the cause to the Party and the movement or go contrary to the policy and programme of the Party, higher Party Committees are entitled to express their criticism and disapproval either in inner-Party documents or in the open press, even without getting prior explanation from the comrade concerned. Where, however, *disciplinary* action is taken for published writings, the comrade should be given opportunity to explain his conduct.

32. Enforcement of the above rules is essential, but together with that it is necessary to end resolutely the unhealthy attitude, trends and practices that persist in many Party units and among many comrades—cynicism, tendencies towards forming of groups, indulgence in loose talk, mutual bickering, etc. Such things are always harmful and disruptive, but they are more than ever so today because of the immensity of tasks that the Party faces and the vast number of people who are being drawn towards the Party. Anti-Party trends, attitudes and practices not merely weaken the unity of the Party and prevent mobilisation of its strength but also repel the new elements that want to join the Party. All Party units must exercise utmost vigilance and ensure that these harmful tendencies are rooted out.

33. It is necessary to put an end to the divergence between

decisions and their practical execution—a divergence which can be seen in the work of every unit of the Party. Many decisions are taken which often remain on paper. This is sometimes due to the fact that all factors are not soberly assessed when taking the decision and afterwards when it is found that the decision cannot be implemented, it is quietly dropped. Quite often the failure to implement decisions arises from not taking decisions seriously not creating organisational guarantees for implementation of decisions. Such things breed cynicism, create contempt for decisions, give rise to frustration and helplessness, and strengthen tendencies of indiscipline and disruption. It is essential, therefore, that each meeting of every unit starts with a report from the Secretary explaining what decisions were taken in earlier meetings, how they were implemented which decision could not be implemented and why. Without such check-up no progress is possible.

34. The full unfolding of criticism and self-criticism is an imperative necessity in order to root out the weaknesses and shortcomings from which the Party is suffering today. In this criticism from below is of great importance—criticism not merely with regard to political formulations but also with regard to organisational methods and policies, personal habits and deeds that harm the Party, weaknesses of Party journals etc. Such criticism, it is necessary to emphasise, should be free and frank and at the same time helpful. Criticism from below must not only be permitted, but actively organised and encouraged by higher committees. Bureaucratism manifests itself today quite often, not in the old form but in the form of scant attention paid to criticism from below—an attitude which discourages criticism.

35. With a view to answer questions on Party policy, clarify issues, review campaigns and also get suggestions and criticism from comrades and units, the Central Committee has started issuing *Party Letters*. Such *Party Letters* are being issued by the Bengal Committee also. All Provincial Committees must of the same.

36. One of the gravest weaknesses of the Party today is

that lower units, and especially cells, have not yet been drawn into active political life of the Party, into the task of live political discussion. In these units and even in DCs generally only such immediate issues as allocation of work, tasks in relation to campaigns, are discussed. Questions of broad politics-policies and methods of the Government, tactics of United Front and attitude towards other parties, work of the Party in the Legislature, defects of Party journals, etc—are left for discussion in higher committees only in the mistaken belief that they alone are “competent” to discuss such questions. At best lower committees demand from higher committees that on such and such issue “the line” should be given without themselves discussing what the line should be and sending their view to the higher committee. Lower committees express themselves on political issues only when discussion on such issues has already taken place in higher committees and lower committees have been asked to express their opinion. This practice must be ended. It is necessary that lower committees are encouraged not merely to participate in political discussions but even initiate them.

37. Another weakness is that even in respect of the area in which the Party units like DCs, Taluq Committees and cells function, they generally discuss only such subjects as are directly connected with the fronts and spheres where the Party is already active. Developments taking place in other parties, the methods to draw Congressmen, PSP followers and others into joint work; local issues like sanitation, water supply, primary education on which broad mobilisation is possible are either not discussed at all or discussed in a cursory, desultory manner leading to no practical activity by which the Party can broaden out, forge popular unity and link itself with the masses. This prevents Party units from becoming leaders of the masses in areas where they work.

38. Still another shortcoming is the absence of plan of work which is revealed in inadequate utilisation of the capacities and talents of cadres. Quite often effective agitators and organisers are allowed to sink themselves in particular

spheres merely because they started work there, while at the same time, major industries, areas and fronts where for greater results can be achieved, are neglected. The tendency to move in a groove, to follow routine pattern not to evaluate, from time to time, the progress achieved as a whole and to modify methods of work accordingly, is widespread at all levels of the Party.

39. There is also the prevalent notion of considering that the task of Party building is the specific task of higher committees only and not the task of *all* Party units and *all* Party members. There is the tendency which can be described as "frontism"—comrades working on particular fronts thinking that they are carrying out their Party duty *solely* through work on the front. These comrades do not understand that Communist working in a trade union, for example, has to be not merely a good trade unionist (which, of course, is essential) but also a populariser and builder of the Communist Party. In this connection, the following observation of Comrade Togliatti should be noted:

"Another shortcoming to which serious attention should be drawn is the all-too-frequent practice of carrying out the Party policy only in the course of largescale undertakings, campaigns, conferences. In the day-to-day concrete activity, in the day-to-day intercourse between Communists and non-Communists and in the current activity of the branches, it is often difficult to see the line of the Party, to see elaborate organised activity of the Party which would help to convince, to win over and to increase the number of Party members, sympathisers and citizens who would understand us and who would contribute to our activity. We must find ways and means to eliminate this shortcoming which hinders our struggle for working class unity and peace."

*(For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy,
28-11-1952)*

40. Party building it must be emphasised again and again, takes place in sharp struggle against theories of spontaneity,

theories which often manifest themselves in recognising the importance of every kind of activity—except such activity as builds the Party itself, as strengthens the Party organisations, as brings new members to the Party, as helps the Party to overcome its organisational and financial and other difficulties. The formula that the Party is the highest form of organisation is repeated quite often but its implications are not understood. It is not understood that in the final analysis the work of each unit and each comrade is to be assessed by the extent to which it helps to draw the masses towards the Party, and the best of them into the Party. This is the acid test of the effectiveness of our work as a whole and it is this test that must be applied continuously and systematically by every unit when reviewing its work, when checking it up, when evolving ways and means to improve work. In other words progress is to be measured not merely by the growth of “general political influence” but by the growth of mass organisations, circulation of newspapers, collection of funds and, above all, growth of the Party itself.

41. In view of the immensity of tasks confronting us the question of Party education acquires great importance. Several Provinces have already run Party Schools. It is necessary that every PC should form an Education Sub-Committee and this Sub-Committee must run both short-term and long-term schools—on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism as well as on Party policy. The Central Committee must prepare a study syllabus on Marxism-Leninism and make it available to the PCs as soon as possible. Emphasis must also be laid on the task of self-education. At present even the bulk of Party Members coming from the intelligentsia pay scant attention to their own study. Many of them do not read even the current publications of the Party and the international journals.

42. Further, it must be remembered that in order that the party may acquire a firm base in the working class and peasantry, education of cadres from these classes is a key task. This task, in view of the general cultural backwardness of the

country, involves not only education in Marxism, but also and as a step towards it, *general education*, general raising of their cultural level, including literacy. This task had to be undertaken by the Chinese Communist Party also, as it had to train a large number of cadres coming from the ranks of the peasantry.

43. Together with all this, and as a part of the task of strengthening the Party, it is necessary for each *individual* comrade to improve his own functioning, to re-examine his own work to remould his own life. Collective functioning *helps* each comrade to carry out this task better but no amount of collective functioning, collective check up, collective discussion can be a *substitute* for conscious effort by each comrade to raise his consciousness and improve his work.

Naturally, all the weaknesses and defects in our organisation cannot be removed in a short time. It demands not merely adoption of certain resolutions and issuing of certain circulars, but prolonged, sustained efforts. The point to grasp is that a serious beginning has to be made in this sphere—the most neglected sphere hitherto. The political aim of the Party, as put forward in the Party Programme, will not be realised unless the Party puts before itself an organisational aim also—its growth into a mass political Party—and makes a sustained effort to realise that aim, steadily in the course of its work. The rapidly maturing economic and political crisis in the country makes the serious undertaking of this task all the more urgent. On our ability to carry out this task will depend the success of the movement for freedom, democracy and peace.

Political Resolution of the Third Congress of the Communist Party of India*

1. The signing of the Armistice in Korea on July 27, 1953 was a mighty victory for the heroic Korean people and their allies, the Chinese People's Volunteers, for the forces of world peace, a great success for the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other democratic states, and a heavy blow against the aggressive imperialists led by America and their plans for world domination.

2. The American imperialists, when launching the war of intervention against the Korean people, had expected quick victory, which, they hoped, would facilitate extension of the war against the People's Republic of China. They had hoped that the demonstration of their military might would consolidate the aggressive alliance they had forged, cow down opponents, shatter the patriotic resistance of the freedom-loving peoples and compel the vacillators to line up behind them, thus making possible the undertaking of new military ventures against peace-loving and democratic states as well as against colonial peoples struggling for independence.

These hopes were shattered by the heroic people of Korea and their allies, the Chinese People's Volunteers. Their success has exploded the myth of American invincibility, caused panic and confusion in the imperialist camp and heightened the courage and confidence of the freedom-loving peoples. It has been rightly hailed as a great victory for the peace forces

*Held in Madurai from December 27, 1953 to January 4, 1954.

in every country. The truce in Korea, concretely demonstrating the possibility of defeating the plans of the warmongers, has given a powerful impetus to the world peace movement.

3. The growing might and the powerful peace policy of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the People's Democracies, the smashing of the much-vaunted monopoly of the U.S. imperialists in the field of atom and hydrogen weapons, the increasing power and sweep of the struggles of the colonial peoples, the scotching of the American-inspired fascist provocations in Berlin, have further strengthened the struggle for peace.

4. The world peace movement, the independent mass movement of hundreds of millions in all countries, have grown into a powerful and vital force of great importance in the struggle against the outbreak of a third world war. The appeal of the World Peace Council that all disputes should be settled by negotiations and peaceful means is being endorsed by vast numbers of people in every country. The demand for the cessation of the war in Vietnam, the demand for the freedom of the colonial peoples, the demand for the abandonment of measures to re-arm German imperialism and for peaceful re-unification of Germany on a democratic basis, the demand that the Chinese People's Republic should be accorded its rightful place in the council of nations; above all, the demand that the Great Powers should meet and resolve all differences peacefully—these are becoming the demands of vast masses in every country.

5. As a result of these developments, as well as the increasingly rapacious demands made by American imperialists who, because of the fiasco of their policies and the growing crisis of their economy, are resorting to more and more desperate and provocative tactics; conflicts and contradictions are sharpening inside the imperialist camp, particularly between American imperialism and the British, and in the relations between the imperialist powers and dependent countries. The American move to form the so-called European Defence Community with a re-armed Germany as its core,

the attempt to convert the UNO into a docile instrument of its aggressive policy, the blatant support to the gangster methods of its henchman Syngman Rhee, the effort to sabotage the Korean peace negotiations, the exclusion of neutral Asian nations like India from the Political Conference on Korea, are meeting resistance not only from the mass of people but even from a number of bourgeois governments. In defiance of the American ban, a number of governments have established trade relations with the USSR and with other democratic countries.

6. Significant in these respects is also the role played by the Indian Government on a number of important international issues in the recent period—a role appreciated by the peace-loving masses and states. The Indian Government's denunciation of the atom bomb, its help in ending the hostilities in Korea, its condemnation of the tactics of Syngman Rhee, its opposition to the American move to transform Pakistan into a war base, are factors helping the cause of peace.

The cause of peace has been further strengthened by the growing bond of friendship and of cultural relations between the people of India on the one hand and the USSR and Chinese People's Republic on the other. The conclusion of the recent trade agreement between India and the USSR on mutually advantageous terms carries forward this process and can also help to reduce India's dependence on imperialist powers.

7. While there has been in recent months a certain amount of relaxation of international tension and a considerable extension of the possibility of maintenance of peace, it would be a dangerous mistake to believe that the policies of the warmongers have been totally defeated or that the war plans have been abandoned, even temporarily. The fact is that efforts to sabotage the Korean peace negotiations have intensified; the re-arming of Germany is being speeded up, creating a centre of aggression in the very heart of Europe; the policy of atomic blackmail is being continued. Further, foiled in Korea, the American imperialists have redoubled their efforts in other parts of Asia as seen in the military coup in Iran and

in the increased support to the French imperialists against the Vietnamese people. Above all, the intrigues in Kashmir and the proposed military alliance with Pakistan have brought the preparations for acts of aggression to the very threshold of India.

8. Rightly resented by all sections of people in India, including Congressmen, this alliance has far-reaching reactionary aims directed against the USSR and the Chinese People's Republic and also constitutes a serious menace to India. It is also a serious threat to the peace and national independence of Pakistan itself. Entrenching themselves in Pakistan with the help of its reactionary and corrupt leaders, building military bases there and securing control over its economy and political life, over its armed forces, its manpower and resources, the American imperialists want to bring pressure on the Indian Government to compel it to line up with them and give them similar concessions in India also. The success of American attempts in this sphere would inevitably mean India's sovereignty and freedom being reduced to a fiction, colossal war burdens on the Indian people, a ruthless attack on the forces of democracy and peace in India. Further, it will aggravate the relations between India and Pakistan, will encourage chauvinistic communal sentiments, will be a perpetual threat to the democratic movements in each country and will facilitate the strengthening of the imperialist grip over both. American moves in Pakistan, therefore, constitute a grave menace to the Indian people, a menace against which the entire country must be mobilised.

9. Hence a most important task before the Communist Party and before every patriotic party, organisation and individual today is to expose the manoeuvres of the American warmongers, to rouse the people against the menace that threatens them, to bring about the broadest unity of popular forces on this issue and on its basis develop a powerful campaign to defeat American intrigues against the Asian peoples, to defend the cause of freedom, democracy and peace. Mass organisations especially organisations of workers and

peasants, whose part in the struggle for peace has hitherto been extremely inadequate, have to play a big role in this task. For, it is the active participation of broad masses on which will depend the strength and sweep of the movement. While conducting this campaign it is necessary to guard against the danger of reactionary elements utilising the situation for fomenting Hindu-Muslim hatred, for sowing hostility against the people of Pakistan and giving such slogans as trade war against Pakistan. It must be emphasised again and again that it is not the people of Pakistan that are responsible for the Military Pact, that, on the contrary, they will have to bear heavy burdens as a result of the Pact, that democratic forces and elements in Pakistan are opposing the Pact and their own reactionary leaders who are leading them into it, that, therefore, the task of the Indian people is to develop their own campaign in such a way as strengthens the forces of freedom and democracy in both countries and thus defeat the plans of the American imperialists.

10. The rapid penetration of American imperialism that is taking place in various spheres of our economy and political life also constitutes a grave danger. The American imperialists are not merely seeking to exert pressure on India by creating a base in Pakistan; they are also linking themselves up with extreme reactionary elements both inside and outside the Congress and with Right-wing Socialist leaders. They are buying over corrupt politicians, securing control over a number of newspapers, poisoning cultural life with decadent literature and films. They are carrying on a virulent campaign of lies and slanders against the USSR, China and People's Democratic countries through agencies like the "Democratic Research Service" and "Freedom of Asia Societies" and the "Anti-Communist Front". They are also penetrating into some vital sectors of Indian economy and are trying to get a foothold in strategic industries. The importation of a large number of American "specialists" in India, although there is no dearth of suitable Indians for the work, the granting of diplomatic immunity to them, enhances the danger. Exposure of all

these and rallying of people against them have to be undertaken as part of the struggle to defend peace and freedom.

11. Another menace to India comes from the continuation of foreign pockets on Indian soil, some of which, especially Goa, are being fast built up as war bases. Here again can be seen the hand of the aggressive imperialists of America, who, as part of their aim to secure world domination by means of threats, blackmail and war, are striving to secure footholds in every part of the world and transform them into bases of aggression against the freedom-loving peoples. Similarly, the French pockets on our territory are being used for the transport of troops and supplies for the dirty war against our brother Asian peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Further, French imperialism in India is directly recruiting Indians to its army for fighting the liberation forces in Indo-China.

12. All these developments and the position of key importance held by India in international affairs today bring out sharply the vital significance of the struggle for peace for the people of our country, the imperative need to broaden, extend and strengthen the peace movement, the necessity of India playing a positive role in the effort to end and prevent wars and the need to intensify the campaign for a Pact of Peace between Great Powers, for prohibition of atomic weapons of mass destruction, for settling of all international disputes by means of negotiations, for liquidation of aggressive military bases maintained in a foreign country by any power and for recognition of the right of every nation to full freedom. It is evident today that in view of the aggressive aims and policies pursued by the imperialists, who are trying to secure mastery of the world, no country can preserve its freedom or prevent aggression by a mere declaration of a policy of neutrality and non-involvement in wars. This lesson must be brought home to our entire people. It must also be pointed out that India's freedom cannot be defended by relying on British imperialism against American imperialism.

13. Certain acts and declarations of the Nehru Government

in the recent period, particularly since the defeat of the Americans in the Korean war, have been helpful to peace and all peace-loving people have appreciated and supported these acts and sentiments. This must continue and all acts of the Government which help the cause of peace should be firmly supported. Yet, the situation does not warrant that democratic forces should give general, overall support to governmental policies even in the international sphere. This is because the Indian Government does not follow consistently a policy of peace and democracy. The foreign policy of the Government is subject essentially to the influence of British imperialism and is not averse to making concessions to them and also the Americans in practice, several times even where in words the Government expresses disagreement with them, as in the case of the Korean war prisoners. On certain matters, it even goes further. It rebukes those who openly denounce American intrigues in Kashmir. Arch warmongers like Dulles and Nixon are allowed, under the plea of diplomatic usages, to broadcast their message of hatred against the Soviet and Chinese peoples. Above all, the Government of India says little about the colonial wars that are being waged by the British imperialists in Malaya and Africa, about the military dictatorship established in Guiana by the British in violation of the Constitution framed by themselves, about the war against the Vietnamese people. It continues to give transit facilities to the Gurkhas who are being recruited by the British for the suppression of the valiant Malayan people. Therefore the necessity, while supporting all the positive measure, to intensify pressure on the Indian Government in order to make it pursue a consistent policy of peace remains and even acquires greater importance than before.

14. It must further be realised that the defence of India's freedom and sovereignty and the foiling of imperialist efforts to drag India into war cannot be effected by mere denunciation of American imperialism and its intrigues. The example of Korea shows the immense strength that even a small country can acquire in a short time on the basis of abolition of imperialist rule and feudalism, a strength against

which all the power of the warmongers proves of no avail. If today, more than six years after the transfer of power, India, a country with vast resources and manpower, is being made the object of American pressure and blackmail, that, to a great extent, is due to the fact that the American imperialists hope to achieve success by taking advantage of the backwardness of India's economy, the serious crisis in her agriculture and industry, the utter dependence of India on foreign imperialist powers for her defence requirements and capital goods and the British stranglehold over our economy and foreign trade. Also they want to use as their tools the feudal elements—traditional traitors to India's freedom—who still occupy an important position in the economy, political life and military apparatus of India.

15. Thus the question of defeating the war plans of the American imperialists and India's struggle for peace is closely linked with the question of India's struggle for full and unfettered national freedom, which means, first and foremost, freedom from control of the British who continue to be the dominant imperialist power and of liquidating feudalism. This demands a break with the British Empire, removal of British officers from India's armed forces, breaking of the British stranglehold on India's economy by the confiscation of British capital and the intensification of the struggle for the complete liquidation of landlordism—through which alone conditions will be created for the rapid economic, political and military strengthening of India. A fully independent and powerful India will be a mighty bulwark of freedom, peace and democracy. Also the serious weakening of aggressive British imperialism, the partner of America and oppressor of the colonial peoples, the building up of a fully free India outside the Commonwealth and outside all imperialist influence, will be a great factor for world peace and the freedom of all Asian and colonial peoples. Hence the necessity to intensify the fight against British imperialism, for quitting the Commonwealth and for the confiscation of British capital; hence the necessity of opposition to every manifestation

of subservience to British imperialism like participation in economic, political and military conferences under its aegis; hence the necessity of mobilisation of people against British atrocities against the colonial people and the creation of mass demand that the Indian Government must openly condemn them. Any slackening of this struggle, any failure to conduct it with vigour and determination will mean weakening the movement for freedom and peace.

16. Linked with Britain and America, our country has already felt the impact of the growing crisis in the economies of these countries. There can be no doubt that the effect will be all the more disastrous as that crisis deepens.

Despite every effort made by the imperialist powers headed by America to avert the crisis of their economy by means of militarisation, the artificial boom produced by the Korean war has definitely ended. Stocks are accumulating in America, where the decline in production is no longer confined to consumers' goods alone but has also affected some of the heavy industries. International trade shows symptoms of stagnation and decline. Already, a number of bourgeois economists and political leaders are making gloomy forecasts about an impending depression.

With the deepening of the world capitalist crisis and the shrinking of the capitalist world market, the exploitation of colonial and dependent countries by imperialists has been intensified and they have become arenas of sharp conflicts among the imperialist powers, above all, between Britain and America. India, where British imperialism continues to hold a dominant position and where American imperialism is effecting fast penetration, is one of the main arenas of this conflict.

17. As a result of India's trade and economy being linked with imperialist powers which are interested in keeping her backward and dependent, India is ruthlessly robbed and plundered. Through British investment in key sectors of India's economy, through British exchange banks, insurance and shipping companies, through imperial preference and India's membership of the Sterling Bloc, Britain continues to drain

away the wealth of India. The weapon of unequivocal trade is wielded both by Britain and America to further impoverish the Indian people, deny them capital goods and ruin even their few established industries. Our export market for raw materials being totally at the mercy of the British and American monopolists, they play havoc with it by manipulation of prices and stocks to suit their interests and the consequent ruin falls mainly on the shoulders of our peasant producers who are the worst victims of the imperialist manipulations of the market as was seen in the April 1952 crisis. Huge quantities of raw materials have to be exported at ruinous prices to meet the interest and profit charges of British capital in India, to pay for the food imports from America, to pay for military equipment, rolling stock and other goods which India has to buy. This is leading to an ever-widening gap between exports and imports, squandering of the Sterling resources and increasing dependence on foreign powers.

As a result of this unequivocal trade, denial of much needed capital goods, increasing ruination of national industries due to foreign competition and growing penetration of foreign capital in fields where Indian industries already exist, contradictions between imperialism and the Indian bourgeoisie are becoming sharper and even sections of the big bourgeoisie have begun raising their voices on these issues.

18. The crisis manifests itself in practically every industry, especially industries producing consumers' goods which constitute the bulk of our national industries. All these years, the Government of India, controlled by landlords and monopolists collaborating with imperialism, argued that the crisis of India's economy was a crisis of *under-production*, that there was scarcity because there were not enough goods, that the way to India's prosperity lay through "harder work", that what was needed was not basic social changes but more sustained labour. "Produce or Perish" was their slogan. All these myths are being exploded by hard reality.

As is admitted by both Government and employers, production went on the up-grade and in textiles and in sugar

reached the targets of the Five-Year Plan. But the result was, not abundance of goods for the consumers but accumulation of stocks of unsold goods. Like the textiles and sugar industries, every consumer industry—engineering, soap, edible oils, etc—faced a crisis of the market, despite millions being in want of these goods. A crisis of “over-production” in the midst of poverty has come. As a result, mass unemployment has become the characteristic feature in all industrial centres, affecting not only the industrial workers but also the middle classes.

19. Instead of forcing the monopolists and large-scale industries to reduce prices and take less profits in order that the consumer may buy goods and the factories may be able to keep production and employment going, Government permitted the monopolies to cut workers’ wages, reduce employment, carry out rationalisation and closures. While big business got relief in the form of reduction of export and excise duties, the consumer was left at the mercy of the market. Even the small fall in the prices of their goods was done away with by the abolition of food subsidies, causing price rises in the market and starvation to many. The Government has not even shown courage enough to take measures to prevent foreign monopolists who have invested capital in India from competing with and killing Indian industries. It has permitted a free flow of foreign goods which are ruining many Indian industries—not only small-scale and cottage industries, but also several large-scale industries. All this further deepens and intensifies the crisis.

20. At the root of the crisis of “over-production” lies the catastrophic crisis in our agrarian economy. The production of foodgrains per acre has sharply declined, according to the Report of the Planning Commission itself. Famine conditions have become chronic in many parts of the country. Scarcity conditions prevail in vast areas. With the fall in prices of commercial crops added to the ruin of subsidiary industries like handlooms, the distress of the peasant masses has intensified. Indebtedness of the peasants has increased to

colossal proportions. Tens of thousands of peasants have sold away and are selling away their land, their cattle and all their belongings at incredibly low prices due to scarcity and famine conditions. Their properties are passing into the hands of rapacious landlords and money-lenders. On top of this, the Government in many States resorts to coercive measures and sells away by auction the lands of peasants who are unable to pay arrears of land revenue and debts.

21. All over the country, the ferocious eviction offensive of the landlords continues, resulting in concentration of land in their hands, dispossessing the peasants of lands and swelling the ranks of the agricultural workers. The Government which pretends to be the protector of peasants and whose Ministers give their blessings to *bhoodan*, refuses to take adequate steps to stop the eviction offensive. Unemployment among agricultural labourers has increased to colossal proportions and it has led to depression of the wage levels of agricultural labourers in the countryside and pressure on the employed workers in the towns. The demand for land for cultivation has also increased tremendously. All this has given the landlords greater opportunity to exploit the tenants and agricultural workers, thus accelerating the process of pauperisation of the rural masses.

All this has meant a rapid shrinking of the home market and the complete collapse of the market in many areas. The fact that food prices continue to remain relatively high due to shortage of production, the fact that the mass of the people have to spend the bulk of their income to purchase food, the fact that the prices of manufactured articles are kept at a high level—all these further intensify the crisis.

22. The agrarian crisis has grown into a national crisis. It has meant shortage of food for the nation, shortage of raw materials for the industries, a widening gap between exports and imports, increased dependence on foreign powers and an increased threat to our national freedom and sovereignty. It has facilitated the penetration of aggressive imperialist powers into our country.

23. The ruling classes in India had hoped that by means of the Five-Year Plan prepared in collaboration with imperialism, they would be able to solve the crisis at the cost of the people, stabilise their economy as well as strengthen their political position. While the foreign and Indian monopolists have reaped colossal profits as a result of the operation of the Plan, their basic aim has not been realised. The failure of the Plan is evident to all today, including the framers of the Plan who now announce that it will have to be "revised". Abandonment of a number of projects earlier undertaken, deficit budgets in most States, a mounting volume of unemployment all over the country, signalise the fiasco of the attempt to strengthen or even stabilise the economy of the country within the framework of the imperialist-feudal system.

24. It is obvious today that *abolition of landlordism and removal of the burden of debts* by freeing the vast peasant masses of our country from the heavy exploitation of the landlord and usurious moneylender alone will smash the fetters on our agricultural production and release the creative energies of India's millions of peasants. That alone will assure for the national industries a vast expanding market and ensure capital formulation on an ascending scale. Abolition of landlordism and handing over of land to peasants and agricultural workers are thus the prerequisites not only for the development of our agriculture but also for the industrialisation of the country.

The *confiscation of British capital* will not only free our economy from the grip of the British imperialists and ensure the possibility of independent development unhampered by the fetters of imperialist monopolists, but will place in the hands of the state of powerful public sector with vast resources, which will ensure the possibility of effective control over the entire economy and thereby secure the possibility of successful planned development.

A *democratic State* alone will be able to unleash the immense creative energies of the millions of our peasants, workers and the intelligentsia, and utilise the economic power

and resources of the public sector obtained by the confiscation of British capital for a planned development in the interest of the entire people.

The experience of the last three years has fully demonstrated that the prerequisites of planned development of our economy in the interest of the people are the smashing up of feudal relations in our agriculture, confiscation of British capital and the establishment of a democratic state.

25. It is, however, precisely these basic economic and political changes that the Nehru Government, dominated as it is by monopolists and landlords, refuses to undertake. It tinkers with the problems confronting the people, imposes heavier and heavier burdens on the masses and abandons, when confronted with the opposition of vested interests, even such moderate measures as fixation of ceiling on existing landholdings. All this leads to intensification of the misery of the people, intensification of the crisis.

26. In every sphere the Government continues the reactionary policies of the past. It refuses to abolish the States headed by Rajpramukhs and reconstitute the states on a linguistic basis on the false plea that this will lead to the break-up of the unity of the country. It refuses to concede the demand of Part 'C' States for responsible government and even refuses to set up legislative assemblies in Tripura, Manipur and Kutch. It increases the cost of education, compelling many students to discontinue their studies and making it impossible for the poorer classes to receive education. Medical and public services are severely neglected. It is not implementing even the restricted social security schemes. It permits foreign concerns in India to discriminate against Indian personnel and treat them as inferiors in relation to Whites. It refuses to undertake or shelves the enactment of social reform legislation. It spends colossal sums for the military and police and gives repeated concessions to big business but has no money for the uplift of the people. It imposes new burdens on the people on the plea of financing its plans and projects. It re-enacts the security measures in the teeth of

popular opposition and wants to set up, as in Bengal, special tribunals to try political cases. It resorts to ruthless terror to suppress the people whenever all other methods fail and the masses refuse to take the new burdens lying down.

27. Against these policies of the Government, against the growing offensive of the landlords and monopolists, mass resistance has grown rapidly during the last two years. With the living conditions sharply deteriorating as a result of the growing crisis of Indian economy and with the weakening of the political influence of the Congress, people throughout the country have been coming out in struggles against every attempt to impose new burdens on them. This was seen in the sharpest form in Calcutta when the struggle against the increase in tram fare imposed by the British-owned company developed into a mighty united battle of the entire people. The new phase that has opened in the people's opposition to the reactionary policies of the Government and the offensive of the feudals and monopolists has certain specific features which should be noted.

a) The struggles are mainly taking place on issues affecting the day-to-day life of the people, such as taxes, food subsidy, wages, bonus, retrenchment and victimisation, evictions, rent, famine relief, etc. and are motivated by concrete demands against the State, the landlords and the monopolists.

b) These struggles are taking place not only in Provinces and areas which are politically advanced and where the Congress is weak, but embrace areas and provinces which have been the traditional strongholds of the Congress and areas which had seldom before come out in big struggles against the Congress Government. The anti-sales-tax struggles in Saurashtra, the struggle in Rajasthan against Octroi Tax and the students' struggle in U.P. are examples.

c) Not only does this new wave of mass struggles embrace new areas hitherto untouched by the mass movement, but it has drawn in new classes and sections of the people as well, such as teachers, traders, Government servants, etc. However, despite this extension of the struggles to new areas

and classes, the general character of great unevenness of the level of the movement still remains.

d) A new feature in this period is the growing participation of women not only in the struggle for existence but in the political fight also.

e) The struggles, even when they embrace only one section of the people, evoke the sympathy of other sections and sometimes, especially against repression, the entire people of the area move into action, as was seen in the U.P. university students' struggles, thus transforming it into a militant anti-Government struggle.

f) The Congress masses do not remain unaffected by these mass struggles. Even sections of Congressmen break away temporarily from the leadership under pressure of the people to join the struggle. The continued failure of the Congress Government to solve people's problems, the growth of mass unemployment and distress in the life of the people, the repression and attacks on the working class, peasantry and other sections of the people, the failure to implement a land policy in the interest of the peasants, etc. are all leading to a critical examination of the policies of the leadership by rank and file Congressmen, which makes possible the widest mobilisation and struggles on concrete issues.

g) The new wave of struggles is remarkable for the urge for unity among all sections of the people. Anti-communism is no longer able to divide the masses where the issue is understood by all, is concrete and well-justified and where the Party is able to take correct steps to forge the unity of the people.

In spite of the split in the trade union and student movements, in spite of the fact that large masses of peasants are outside the AIKS, workers, peasants and students are uniting among themselves in factories, villages and educational institutions, regardless of their political affiliations.

The growing urge for united action and united organisation is making even disruptionist leaders and groups move in the direction of unity in the trade unions, kisan sabhas and united

committees on specific issues. All this was seen in the glorious struggles of the working class (defence workers, Bumpur, Assam tea gardens, etc.), in the struggle of the Saurashtra people, in the anti-sales-tax struggle in Bombay, in the anti-tram fare enhancement and food struggles of Calcutta and Bengal.

h) The working class plays an increasingly important part in the new wave of struggles. The struggles of the working class have been the most numerous in the country as a whole. Province-wide and even country-wide struggles of different sections of workers have begun to take place, as in the case of all sections of workers for Puja bonus in West Bengal and of the defence workers, teachers, bank employees etc. Doggedly fought struggles have been conducted by workers in small industries also. On several occasions, the working class has also gone into action on general issues affecting all classes as in Bombay against the withdrawal of the food subsidy, but this has not yet become a general feature.

i) Although, as yet, the struggles are mainly taking place on the immediate day-to-day demands of the people, struggles for political demands have also developed and are developing. Several big actions have taken place on the issue of civil liberties; in Tripura a powerful movement has grown for a democratic government. The victory of the Andhra people has not only given an impetus to the movement for linguistic states, but has led to many Congressmen coming out openly against the policies of the Congress Government and leadership.

j) These struggles are being reflected in and carried into chambers of the legislatures also. Determined opposition to the reactionary policies of the Government put up by the central core of democratic opposition inside Parliament and the State legislatures, when backed by the struggle of the masses outside, is often making sections of Congress legislators support the demands and sentiments of the fighting people. This has led to situations in which struggles outside have had their inevitable impact on the legislatures and sometimes led to ministerial crises. Rajaji's Government in

Madras being compelled to give up many of the taxation measures it proposed in 1952, the veritable revolt that threatened to break out inside the Congress Legislature Party in Bombay over the issue of surcharge on land revenue in 1952, the differences in the West Bengal Cabinet that came out openly over the issue of the policy to be adopted towards the agitation against the enhancement of tram fare, are but some of the examples of the tremendous impact of the struggles of the masses on the legislatures and the ruling party.

k) Due to the unity and militancy of the people and the weakening position of the monopolists, landlords and government, many of the struggles succeed in winning concessions—concessions which, though not big in themselves, heighten the confidence of the masses in their own strength and further weaken the Government.

1) The Communist Party has played an important part in leading these struggles, which has resulted in the growth of the influence and prestige of the Party.

Under the impact of these developments, mass political consciousness is rapidly growing and the Congress is losing ground even in those areas where its influence was preponderant only a few years ago. This can be seen in the results of the Municipal Elections in Uttar Pradesh and in the mass actions that are taking place even in the strongholds of the Congress.

As a result of all this, as a result of the growing fiasco of the Government policies, as a result of the increasing strength of the mass movement, contradictions sharpen inside the Congress, Congress organisations get increasingly split into warring factions, conflicts develop between Congress Ministries and Congress Committees—each blaming the other for the growing isolation of the Congress—conflicts develop inside Congress Legislature Parties and even inside Congress Ministries, conflicts develop between the Congress and its allies, leading, especially in States where the Congress is weak, to governmental instability and even ministerial crisis. The defeat of the Government in Travancore-Cochin sharply reveals this process.

28. All these make it unmistakably clear that what we are witnessing today is not merely the maturing of an economic crisis but, along with it, the initial stages of the development of a political crisis. The results of the general elections were not merely an expression of the loss of faith of the people in the present Government, of the process of people starting to consider it their enemy and of its being returned as a minority party in some legislatures, but also contained the possibility of the growth of a political crisis—a possibility that is growing into a reality as the result of the deepening of the economic crisis, the failure of the Government's economic and political policies and the growth of the wave of mass struggles.

29. Faced with this situation, sections in the leadership of the Congress strive for coalition with such a party as the Praja-Socialist Party but as yet these moves have not succeeded.

The attempts made by Nehru to strengthen the Government by forming a coalition with the Praja-Socialist Party have ended in a fiasco because the PSP leadership is finding it more and more difficult to carry through its reactionary policies in the face of the growing opposition of the rank and file, and even sections of middle leadership, as a result of the growing struggles of the people and their growing urge for unity with the democratic forces. In these conditions, the persistence by the leadership of the PSP in its policies of disrupting the democratic movement, of manoeuvres to bring support to the Congress rule as against the unity of the democratic parties, is bound to lead to the PSP as a party meeting with further fiasco.

The development of the mass democratic movement has meant also a weakening of the influence of the reactionary communal parties. In Kashmir, they suffered a serious defeat. In the Punjab and PEPSU, the strengthening of the democratic movement has led to a split in the Akali Party—an influential group, having broken away, is co-operating with the democratic forces on democratic issues.

30. It will be wrong, however, to think that the Congress is already a spent force or that it is no longer capable of sowing illusions among the people. It has still great influence, great reserves and great manoeuvring capacity. In particular, we should not ignore the considerable strength that Pandit Nehru's personality brings to that organisation. Note should be also taken of the fact that although the internal policy of the Government is getting rapidly exposed among the people as an anti-people policy, through its foreign policy it is still able to gather considerable support. Moreover, the powerful influence that Gandhian ideology is still able to exercise over masses of people, including sections of the working class, an influence which expresses itself in various ways such as a belief among some sections in the efficacy of *bhoodan*, resort to satyagraha forms of struggle as a substitute for mass action, acts as a fetter to slow down the process of mass awakening, restrict struggles and dissipate energy.

The PSP leadership also is still able to create illusions among sections of the people disillusioned with the Congress. Under the cover of "anti-totalitarianism" and neutrality, the right-wing Socialist leadership slanders the Land of Socialism and the People's Republic of China and the People's Democratic Republics of Eastern Europe. Under the cover of anti-communism, it tries to disrupt the united movement of the working people and to prevent a broad alliance of the people against feudalism and imperialism. It tries to stem the tide of growing struggles and the mass urge for unity by launching struggles as in Pardi and Azamgarh, but restricting them to the satyagraha form.

Equally wrong will it be to think that communal forces have lost all influence. By raising communal slogans, as on the question of Indo-Pak relations and the question of full accession of Kashmir to India, they were able to utilise the discontent of the masses against the policies of the Congress and divert the masses from the democratic movement. Similar attempts will be continued and it will be a mistake to under-estimate their danger.

31. Nonetheless, the objective conditions are such, the crisis is so deep and the mass urge for unity so great today that these retarding influences can be overcome by the Communist Party playing its role correctly as the bold leader of mass struggles, as the champion and defender of the rights of the people, the unifier of the democratic forces in the country.

Already the Party has played a most important role in the last general elections and emerged as the spearhead of the democratic opposition to Congress rule. By putting forward and working for the unity of the trade union, peasant, student and other movements, by its role in the struggles that have developed in every State since the elections, by the determined and consistent opposition that its members have put up in the legislatures, the Party has influenced considerably the course of development since the last Party Conference in October, 1951. In the crisis that has developed in Travancore-Cochin State leading to the dissolution of the Legislature, in the crisis that has developed in Hyderabad, in PEPSU and in many other States, the role of the Communist Party and the struggles that its members have led outside the legislatures have been of decisive importance.

32. In order that the Party can play its role in the developing situation, it is necessary that there is a clear understanding of the perspective and direction of the movement. In every struggle, even though the demand might be a simple economic demand affecting the day-to-day life of the people such as evictions, rent, wage, bonus, rationalisation and retrenchment, the masses engaged in the struggle see by their own direct experience that the struggle has got to be carried on against the determined opposition of the Government which comes out as the defender of the existing social order.

Not only do the people fight for their immediate day-to-day demands against landlords and monopolists, but they are also coming out in struggles against unjust taxes and levies imposed by the Government, i.e. on demands that are directly addressed to the Government. Also the consciousness

grows among the people that this Government which comes to the aid of the exploiters whenever the people rise in struggle, this Government which imposes new burdens on the people, is a Government which has already lost the backing of the majority of the people.

It is the maturing crisis and the growing consciousness and militancy of the people which must determine the slogans and tactics of the democratic movement.

33. With the development of the crisis and the struggle of the masses against the attempts to shift the burdens of the crisis on to the masses, the Congress Governments are more and more resorting to heavy repression as was seen in Calcutta during the struggle against tram fare increase and in the agrarian struggles throughout the country. Democratic and civil liberties are being more and more attacked. The Congress does not flinch even from establishment of President's rule, dissolution of legislatures and crushing whatever democratic rights the people had won. Events in PEPSU and Travancore-Cochin are clear pointers of the determination of the Congress to maintain itself in power by every means at its disposal—including an attack on democratic forms. There can be no doubt that as the crisis deepens and the economic and political difficulties facing the Government increase, the tendency to resort to such methods will also increase. There can also be no doubt that the imperialists will utilise this situation to strengthen their grip over the country and the Government.

In these conditions, the struggle for day-to-day demands, the struggle against taxation and high prices, against evictions, against mass unemployment, the struggle for the preservation and extension of civil liberties and democratic rights, the struggle for defence of freedom and sovereignty—all get more and more interlinked and can grow into the common struggle for the replacement of the present Government by a Government of Democratic Unity, a government formed by a coalition of different democratic parties and groups on the basis of a common minimum programme to be decided

according to the circumstances, which will give immediate relief to the people. Already in States like Travancore-Cochin, Andhra and Tripura it is possible to raise this as a practical slogan. With the strengthening of the mass movement, with the maturing of the crisis in different ways in different areas, situations will arise when this can be raised as an immediate slogan in state after state. It is this perspective that has to guide our activity. Achievement of a Government of Democratic Unity is the objective towards which all struggles of the masses have to lead.

34. It must be remembered that the slogan of a Government of Democratic Unity is a slogan which demands the organisation and unleashing of mass struggles on the widest scale. It will be realised only in the course and as the result of determined struggle to defeat the economic and political policies of the ruling classes and by repelling their attack on the standard of life, rights and liberties of the people. Hence the most important task today is to unfold such a movement on the basis of the struggle for the immediate concrete demands of the workers, peasants, students and other classes and sections and build powerful mass organisations and strengthen the Party. The importance of the struggle for economic demands led by mass trade unions and kisan sabhas acquire far greater importance than ever before precisely because of the growing crisis. Its through these struggles, as the history of the last two years proves, that the strength will be generated and the unity forged which alone can be a guarantee of victory. Then only, even the conflicts in the Congress can be utilised to the advantage of the masses. Failure to see this will lead to the giving of abstract slogans, diverting mass attention from immediate tasks, reliance on top negotiations and manoeuvres and weakening of the mass movement.

35. The three inseparable tasks on the carrying out of which will depend the success of the democratic movement are: the building of the Party, the building of the mass organisations and the building of the Democratic Front. In

the measure that these tasks are carried out in an integrated and co-ordinated manner, the attempts of the Government and the ruling classes to shift the burdens of the crisis on to the people will be defeated, the mass movement will get strengthened, grow and achieve its aim.

36. The growing burdens on the people, the worsening condition of their lives, the increasingly anti-popular policies of the Government as well as the growing threat to the freedom of India demand that all democratic forces are united. The possibilities of such unity are immense and are growing and a key task of the Communist Party is to progressively forge this unity. For this, it is necessary to attain clarity on the nature of the unity that has to be forged and the method of forging it.

37. The Democratic Front is the united front of all classes and elements whose interest can effectively be furthered only by the elimination of imperialism and feudalism. It can be built only by developing the broadest mass movement on the basis of struggles for immediate economic and political issues confronting the people. It is obvious that at a time when the masses are under the influence of different political parties, when even the working class is split, united front agreements between parties and organisations regarding demands and slogans of struggle on each issue are powerful factors in drawing people into common action. Such united fronts help in bringing even masses following the Congress into common struggle. Hence, it is necessary for the Communist Party to continue and intensify efforts for such agreements on each issue. At the same time, it should be remembered that the growth of the United Front depends above all, on the independent role of the Party in uniting and mobilising the working class and the working people.

38. Experience has also shown that the formation of united committees for the specific purpose of conducting of such united struggles, as was formed for example to conduct the struggle in Calcutta against increase in tram fare, committees whose constituents are the various parties, organisations and

elements and where decisions are taken by common consent, help the strengthening and further unfolding of the mass movement. It also helps the building and growth of united mass organisations of workers, peasants and others. It is this coming together from issue to issue and jointly leading the mass struggles and the working in common mass organisations that will create conditions for a closer united front.

39. Further, united front does not mean merely the united front of the Communist Party and Left parties but, above all, united front of the masses, including masses still under the influence of the Congress. Hence the development of the united front movement demands the drawing into struggles and common activity of the large mass of Congressmen, Praja-Socialists and progressive individuals. The tendency to look upon all Congressmen and all PSP members as reactionary because of the reactionary policy of the Congress leadership and disruptive policy of the PSP leadership must be combated. With the growth of the crisis, with the growth of mass struggles and growing disillusionment of the masses about the policies of the Congress and PSP leaderships, possibilities already exist for drawing disillusioned Congressmen and PSP followers into struggles and common activity and these possibilities will develop in future.

40. While developing such common activity and while resorting to all forms of mass struggle, it is necessary to guard against one deviation. Instead of endeavouring to transform satyagraha struggles into mass struggles where this form is resorted to by others because of the backwardness of the masses, there has been a tendency among some Party comrades to themselves limit the struggle to satyagraha as an alternative to mass action. This tendency is harmful and dissipates mass energy and should therefore be combated.

41. The development of the united front and unity through the widening of the mass movement is often hampered because of the abstractness of our agitation, the habit of substituting concrete exposure by general denunciation, the indulgence, quite often, in stereotyped speeches in Assemblies,

Parliament and from public platforms, stereotyped writings in our papers and, above all the failure to distinguish between the platform of the Front and the Party forum. Too often we speak only for those who are already convinced that the present Government is a reactionary Government. Too often we fail to make use of existing legislation—Tenancy Legislation, the Social Security Act, the Payment of Wages Act, etc.—to ameliorate the conditions of the masses and secure concessions for them, forgetting that this legislation has been enacted as the result of mass struggles and is a weapon in the hands of the people. Too often the tendency is to narrate only hardships that the people are suffering and to ignore the successes that their struggles have won in the mistaken belief that reference to such successes will breed “reformist illusions”, while the reality is that, in order to inculcate confidence in the masses, confidence that unity and struggle can win demands, it is essential that each success won by the people, no matter how small, is widely publicised and made the basis for further advance. There is also the tendency to pay scant attention to such work as adult literacy, cultural and sports activities, co-operatives, medical relief, etc.—work which is absolutely essential, work which can mobilise vast sections and enable the Party and mass organisations to forge close links with the people.

42. In areas where famine conditions prevail, not only is it necessary to demand relief from the Government and organise relief on the basis of unity of democratic organisations, but it is also necessary to mobilise the people for such work as deepening of wells, repair of tanks etc.

It is necessary for every Provincial Committee to undertake a critical examination of the plans and projects undertaken by the Government in the Province, make a factual assessment of their effects in consultation with the people directly covered by them and put forward the demand for their correct implementation or amendment or replacement as will help the people and mobilise the masses for their implementation.

43. Despite the various laws that have been enacted, the untouchable masses are in practice denied equal rights even now. It is necessary not merely to agitate for more comprehensive laws against untouchability but also to wage a concrete battle against all forms of discrimination and utilise all the existing laws.

Similarly, despite the equality of treatment guaranteed in law, the Muslim minority is, in practice, being discriminated against in various matters. It is necessary to fight against this and champion their just demands.

Special attention is to be paid to the questions of the tribal people and concrete demands for their economic rehabilitation and cultural uplift, for democratic liberties and for local regional autonomy are to be formulated and campaigned for.

44. The rapidly deteriorating situation on the agrarian front demands that utmost attention is paid by every Provincial Committee to the task of strengthening the Kisan Sabha organisation and forming agricultural workers' associations wherever necessary. Broad peasant unity has to be built in action against evictions, against unjust taxes, for reduction of rent, for moratorium on debts, for adequate wages and for employment, for relief against famine and drought, for fair price for agricultural produce, for specific irrigation projects and similar demands. The Provincial Committees must immediately undertake a concrete study of the question of distribution of land held by landowners above ceiling and put forward concrete demands.

45. In order to save their profits being affected by the crisis of their landlord-capitalist economy, the big monopolists have launched an attack on the wages and working conditions of the workers. With the help of the Government, they are thwarting the gains of social security legislation reaching the workers. With the help of ILO experts and foreign advisers, they are introducing rationalisation methods to increase the work-load and reduce the total earnings of the workers. With the help of Tribunals, they are freezing the

payment of bonuses and wage-increases despite rising living costs. They hope to break the resistance of the workers by using the pressure of the unemployed rushing to the towns from the countryside. They hope to use the division in the trade union organisations to disrupt the workers' struggles. When everything fails, they use terror and violence.

Under such conditions, the unity of the trade union movement, unity in conducting struggles to defend the workers must be worked for and achieved. The struggle for trade union unity is hampered on our part by the remnants of sectarian understanding. Though trade union unity is accepted in principle, it is looked upon as a temporary tactic and not a fundamental principle of the trade union movement, without the realisation of which the working class is disarmed before its enemies.

Formal acceptance of the principle of unity and continuation of sectarian understanding results in characterising the unions of the INTUC and the HMS, even where they are mass unions, as gangsters' unions and just agencies of the employers. It is not realised that many of the leaders of the INTUC and the HMS are often compelled to take up positions of struggle because of the pressure from their own following, whose most elementary demands the leaderships are not able to satisfy. The attitude has even led to our comrades remaining indifferent to the struggle called by the INTUC and the HMS leaders in certain instances and has affected the merger and unity of trade unions even where genuine feelings for unity have been expressed in common mass actions.

A firm struggle against sectarianism must be carried on and work in all unions, wherever the masses are, must become the regular feature. The tendency to undertake such work with a view of "exposing" the leadership, as the primary objective, must be combated as it leads to disruption of the trade union. Instead, our comrades working in all mass unions must ceaselessly strive to activate the mass of workers around their immediate demands. Failure to activate the mass of workers, failure to bring even the minimum of trade union conscious-

ness to every worker by enrolling him in a union and mere concentration on verbal "exposure" of the leadership often leads to our comrades demanding the formation of rival trade unions and keeping the unions as closed groups. There is the most harmful tendency that thinks that the building of the Party and realising the Party Programme require separate trade unions, directly functioning under Party members who make the policies of the unions according to their own fraction decisions, irrespective of the will of the majority in the unions. Such an understanding has led to unions being reduced to Party groups, to absence of democratic functioning and ultimately, to loss of mass basis. All these manifestations of sectarianism must be firmly combated.

The setting up and functioning of united factory committees is part of our work for the development of trade union unity. The existing united factory committees must be strengthened, and such factory committees must be organised wherever possible, in the setting up of which even the works councils should be utilised. In the struggles that are breaking out more and more, the question of united resistance to the offensive of the Government and employers will come to the fore and must be fully utilised by the setting up of joint elected committees for the conduct of struggles and negotiations. The question of recognition of unions, in present conditions, ceases to be merely a question of the working class. With the State forces interfering in strikes, meetings and demonstrations, the struggle for the right to strike and recognition of unions becomes a vital part of the struggle for the democratic rights of the people as a whole. The struggle develops into one of combating reactionary Government laws such as the Industrial Relations Acts in Bombay, Madhya Bharat and Madhya Pradesh. The development of a wide movement against the Acts in these States in particular and in the country generally is a major task of the working class front and in the discharge of that task the working class not only defends itself but leads in the defence of the whole people against all reactionary laws, for their rights and living.

46. Working class struggles, especially struggles in major industries, against the offensive of the monopolists, acquire increased significance in the present situation. Vigorous defence by the working class of its rights, vigorous struggle by the working class against retrenchment, wage-cut and other forms of attack encourage all classes and sections to wage their own battles. Also, mass action by the working class gives form and direction to the growing radicalisation of the people as already seen in several States.

With the development of the crisis, the monopolists and the Government resist to the utmost the conceding of even the most elementary demands of the working class. The struggle for the demands of the workers requires, therefore, that these struggles must be mass struggles, struggles of the people in the sense that large sections of the people understand and support them. The mobilisation of the support of other sections of the people for working class struggles is of great importance for the success of these struggles. That this is possible has been demonstrated in recent months where whole cities and towns came out on hartals in support of the resistance of workers to retrenchment.

In order to make this possible, it is equally necessary that trade unions take up the demands of other sections—of peasants, middle-class, merchants, etc.—which are hit by the offensive of the landlords, monopolists and the Government. They must struggle along with the rest of the population and be in the forefront of the struggle against the imperialists who threaten the cause of peace, of national freedom and sovereignty. The working class must come out for the protection of national industries against the competition of the imperialists.

All this requires intense political agitation among the workers, enabling them to see that their own problems, the attack on their wages and living standards, mass unemployment, etc. are inseparable from the larger problems facing the entire people caused by the feudal-colonial social order. The working class must be imbued with the consciousness

that there can be no stable improvement in their own living standards and working conditions unless this colonial-feudal set-up is broken up and freedom and democracy for all people are ensured.

The task of building the alliance of the working class and the peasantry is of great importance. This alliance can be realised through the working class boldly championing the demands of the peasantry and coming to the assistance of the peasantry through its own action.

There is a widespread tendency to neglect important and vital industries in industrial areas and to concentrate on small and diffused industries. This tendency must be given up and Party units must immediately undertake planned work in major and important industries.

The problem of combating mass unemployment has become a key problem before the working class. The development of a wide movement by means of rallies and conferences, marches and demonstrations, hartals and strikes is the most important task. United committees for fighting retrenchment and unemployment must be organised. Such a wide movement cannot unfold itself fully unless the organised working class employed in factories is brought into the movement. Apart from mobilisation, it is of utmost importance that relief and solidarity campaigns are organised.

47. The powerful movement for the formation of linguistic states which gathered further momentum after the formation of the Andhra State has now resulted in the appointment of a Commission by the Government of India to "examine the question of reorganisation of States". This undoubtedly is a popular victory and it demands further strengthening of the struggle for the constitution of linguistic states by the abolition of States, headed by Rajpramukhs, the disintegration of multi-national States and the redrawing of State boundaries.

In this connection, special attention should be paid to the just demands and rights of the national minorities, the tribal peoples and of predominantly tribal areas within each linguistic State. These latter must be drawn into the movement

and close links must be forged with them, which can be done only by championing their demands boldly.

While conducting this movement, it is imperative to guard against the danger of disruption of the unity of the working and toiling masses of various nationalities. All tendencies of bourgeois nationalism, tendencies of whipping up national hatred and animosity, tendencies of concentrating on the so-called disputed areas in order to build up a case for their incorporation in one's own "homeland" will intensify with the appointment of the Boundary Commission and the ruling classes will utilise them to disrupt the struggles of the masses. Hence all such tendencies are to be specifically combated and the banner of proletarian internationalism upheld.

48. Each struggle, each campaign, each mass action must be used not only to popularise slogans but also and above all, to build organisations—of workers, peasants, students, youth, women. It must be remembered that one of the main reasons why the growth of the mass movement is lagging behind the growth of mass discontent is that such organisations are still weak and in many places non-existent.

In the past, a key weakness of organisations of workers, peasants and other classes has been the weakness of the basic units like factory committees and primary kisan sabhas. The strength of mass organisations depends not only on their total membership but on the manner in which this membership is organised—above all, on the firmness and organised functioning of the basic units. Without them, neither the mass base of the organisations can be expanded nor even the existing bases activated. Hence the necessity to focus attention on this work and draw into organisational work rank and file workers, peasants and agricultural labourers.

49. The work of our comrades in the State Legislatures and Parliament has strengthened the mass movement. Nevertheless, the role our work in Parliament and State Legislatures can play in the development of the mass movement outside has not been fully realised either by the comrades inside the legislatures or outside them. The existence of a

powerful mass movement outside helps to make work in Parliament effective. But experience has also shown that in some areas where the Party and mass movement are weak, our work in the legislatures has helped to draw towards the Party and enthuse new sections and organisations whom we could not touch before. Comrades in Legislatures therefore have to act in such a way as to strengthen the movement where it exists and also help its growth where it is weak or as yet non-existent.

Our work in the Legislatures has to:

- i) reflect the mass movement outside;
- ii) popularise the policy of the Communist Party on a nationwide scale and make common knowledge, on an all-India plane, the struggles and victories of the masses in different areas, thereby helping forward the political consciousness of the entire people;
- iii) take steps to win concessions for the people, improve the existing legislation in favour of the people and initiate new legislation;
- iv) aid the struggle and carry forward the movements of the workers, peasants and all sections of the people. For this purpose, it is necessary not only to undertake exposure of the policies and legislative and executive measures of the Government but utilise all other parliamentary forms such as demand for parliamentary delegations and committees of enquiry and their visits and tours, so as to make them the rallying-point of wide agitation and mass mobilisation in support of them;
- v) develop unity with sections within legislatures who are getting rapidly disillusioned and help in the development of the united front outside.

In order to improve our work in legislatures, it is necessary that there be:

- i) closer co-ordination between parliamentary activity and the mass movement outside;
- ii) extension of the limited-area outlook and knowledge of our comrades in the legislatures to a national outlook so

that they may effectively reflect not only their constituencies, states and fronts but also the areas from which none has been elected;

iii) a serious effort by comrades in legislatures to develop and master the art of parliamentary work in order to forge out of it a powerful weapon to be wielded in defence of and for winning the rights of the struggling masses;

iv) an effort to see that our work in the legislatures is widely publicised and popularised and that our journals use the activities in Parliament to strengthen the movement outside;

v) development of closest links by comrades in legislatures with the masses outside, so that they can effectively act as the tribunes of the people and prove worthy of the faith and trust reposed in them by the people and by their movement.

For this, it is essential that the CC and the PCs should give the closest attention and guidance to the work in the legislatures. Together with this, the weaknesses of the mass organisations must be overcome and co-ordination between them and legislature work established.

50. Our comrades have been returned in large numbers to many municipalities, local boards and panchayats. A correct understanding of our tasks in the municipal and local bodies is of great importance. The municipalities and local boards, in spite of their limited powers and spheres of action, but because of their proximity to the very people who elect them and the day-to-day constant contact with the local executive machinery can be used for the direct benefit of the people by our representatives in many small ways. As such the limitations that are being sought to be imposed on the powers and rights of these bodies should be resisted and every effort should be made to expand them.

The people expect us to use these limited powers to give them some amenities of health and hygiene, roads and water supply, elementary education and such other things as lie within the purview of these bodies. The bourgeois-landlord

leadership of the Congress wants these bodies to put additional taxation on the peasantry to pay for these benefits and even the proceeds of this small taxation are mulcted by the local exploiters. It is our duty to see to it that this game is defeated and that these local centres of municipal authority, wherever they are under our guidance, are rid of corruption and graft, that the harassment of the peasantry is stopped and that the dues realised are used for rendering real municipal aid to the people.

However poor and meagre be the powers, these can be used to do good to the life of the people. Our representatives must learn the art of running them properly. They are surely not speech-broadcasting houses only. Local self-government must become the platform of strengthening the people's solidarity through the partial services that are possible within the framework of even the existing legislation.

Hence we have to see that our approach in these bodies is even more positive than in the legislatures and that our cadres in these bodies do get serious education in the running of these bodies. The Provincial Committees must help in the drawing up of programmes for the implementation of which our comrades must fight.

51. Despite the growth of the general influence of the Party, our effective organised influence is confined, in almost all States, to a few areas and districts. Without a countrywide Party, without a wide kisan sabha, without a firm base in the most important working-class areas, it is not possible to grow into a countrywide national-political force. While strengthening our position in the areas where we are already a force, it has become urgently necessary to spread to new areas and sectors. Provincial units must carefully and urgently plan out and execute this task.

It is necessary to create mass political literature and transform our newspapers into national-political journals.

The fulfilment of all these tasks demands the rapid strengthening of the Party and the undertaking of political education as a key political task. For, the development of the Party is

the key factor in determining the growth of the mass movement. It is of utmost importance that the entire Party be armed with the perspective of the fast maturing of a profound economic and political crisis, of the struggles that are looming large and of the perspective of co-ordinating them into the political struggle for the replacement of the present Government by a Government of Democratic Unity. The Party must acquire a correct understanding of the directions in which things are moving, a sense of urgency, revolutionary zeal and passion and give up all complacency and sense of self-satisfaction.

The Party must become the decisive national force—politically, geographically and in a class sense, i.e. by Party units in each area and State acting as the leader and organiser of the people, by the Party spreading to new areas, and by its basing itself and drawing its main strength from the working class and the toiling peasants. Advance is to be measured no longer, as in the past, in terms of our “general political influence” nor even in terms of mass mobilisation on specific issues only, but in terms of the growth of organisation in general and growth of the Party in particular, in terms of circulation of literature and newspapers, in terms of collection of funds, in terms of the strengthening of mass organisations and the Party itself.

It is only through such all-round growth that the Party will be able to discharge its duties and responsibilities to the people.

Programme of the C. P. I.

Adopted in the Third Congress at Madurai*

Prefatory Note

In April 1951, the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India published a draft of a programme for the Party.

Conferences of various units of the Party discussed the draft and approved of it, with certain amendments.

The All-India Conference of the Party, which met in October 1951, discussed the draft and the amendments suggested, approved of some and finally adopted the Programme.

It is being published now as the Programme of the Party, adopted by the All-India Party Conference.

October 1951

Polit Bureau

1. When the British imperialist rulers of India established the government of the leadership of the National Congress in Delhi, in August 1947, and the hated British Viceroy and Governors departed from this country, the people of India were led to believe that foreign imperialist rule was at an end, that India had achieved independence and freedom and that now the government and the people could work out a happy life for the millions of our countrymen, with our resources of land and labour, our factories and workshops, our immense natural wealth and manpower. We could now set to work to gradually overcome our poverty and guarantee food,

*This is actually a ratification of the Programme of the C. P. I. adopted in the All-India Party Conference held in Calcutta in 1951.

housing, clothing and the minimum decencies of life to everyone.

2. Four years of the Nehru Government in power has belied the hopes of the masses in every respect. Experience has led them to the conclusion that the Government of National Congress that rose to power on the basis of the heroic struggle of the masses is a government pledged to the protection and preservation of parasitic landlords and the wealth of the princes of India, who for centuries had supported the foreign invaders and jointly with them robbed our people and our country. Experience is also leading them to the conclusion that the government of the National Congress was installed in power by the consent of British imperialists because it was a government pledged to the protection and preservation of foreign British capital in India. In every sphere of life of the masses, the government has failed to carry out its promises to the people. Every day, life for the masses has worsened while the landlords and profiteers have enriched themselves more and more at the expense of the people.

3. The five million workers manning our factories, railways, mines, shipyards, plantations, etc. are suffering from fall in real wages, rising prices, capitalist rationalisation and unemployment. Their struggles for better wages and conditions are drowned in blood by shooting and police terror. Their fighting trade union organisations are disrupted, divided and suppressed by the government and its henchmen. Demanding increased production in the name of the people the government only imposes worsened conditions of labour on the working class, enabling the profiteers to increase their profits alone.

4. The millions of our peasants constituting eighty per cent of our people are ground down as before. Those who have land and can cultivate it, their fruits of labour are looted by the landlord and the money-lender, through exorbitant rents and interests, and by the manoeuvres of the capitalist market and taxes of the State. But three-fourths of the peasantry have practically no land of their own. Those who have

no land and find no work live in conditions of perpetual pauperism. And those who do find work on the landlords' and *sowcars*' (moneylenders) estates, as agricultural labourers or poor tenants, have to work like serfs and slaves, hardly getting even a subsistence wage for the family. As a result production of food and industrial raw materials is falling, leading to the worst food crisis in the country and starvation and death to millions. While the government run by the landlords and profiteers shouts about abolition of landlordism, it only hatches schemes of compensation of millions of rupees to those oppressors of the people, to enable them thus to indirectly realise their rent through the State from the toil of the peasant. The struggles of the peasantry for land, for reduction of rent, interest and taxes are also drowned in blood and their organisations suppressed, along with the struggles and organisations of the working class. Whole villages, talukas and districts are handed over to military and police occupation, because the peasants and landless labourers have dared to ask for land, for reduction of rent and interest and for increased wages and the establishment of better conditions.

5. The middle-classes in the towns are faring no better. High cost of living, falling salaries and unemployment is their lot too. The middle-class wage earners in government services, private offices, banks, insurance companies, commercial concerns, schools and colleges etc., are faced with the same problem of life as the working class and the toiling peasantry.

6. Even the industrialists, manufacturers and traders are hit by the policies of this government which is totally in the grip of monopoly financiers, landlords and princes and their foreign British advisers, working behind the screen. Allocation of capital issues, raw material, transport, import and export licences, etc., is carried out by the bureaucrats in the government machinery in such a way as to hit the small industrialists and traders and benefit the big monopolists in league with the banks and syndicates of foreign firms.

7. The schemes of "reconstruction", of building irrigation, hydro-electric stations, factories, etc., whether directly by the state or in partnership with private capital are all foundering, except such as feed war purposes. They are turning out to be the means of looting the state budget by foreign firms of experts and suppliers, by high-placed bureaucrats in charge and big speculators on the Stock Exchange. The demand for nationalisation of industries, promoted by the looting of the people by blackmarketeers, is used to swindle the state budget by making it acquire bankrupt or worn out units or participate in bogus schemes, which invariably fail and are then sold out to the government henchmen and private capitalists. The result is that industrialisation of the country which is held at the mercy of the British and the Americans and who certainly are not interested in making India an industrial nation, is making no headway in the hands of this government which is tied to the chariot-wheels of British capital.

8. And whatever industries exist are continually finding themselves in a crisis, because of the growing poverty of the masses, especially the peasantry, does not give them an adequate market inside the country. Outside as well as inside the country, they come up against the competition of foreign firms and other imperialist masters of the colonial world and thus find themselves in a deadlock.

9. On the top of all this comes the fact that this tottering government in order to keep itself in saddle, when faced with the rising discontent of the masses, suppresses all civil liberties of the people, outlaws political parties and groups, bans trade unions and other people's organisations, imprisons thousands of workers, peasants, students, men and women in prisons and concentration camps. The supreme ruler becomes the police official and the bureaucrat, helped by the local Congress leader and landlord in the whole countryside. No wonder that to maintain such a police state, the burden of taxes increases and more than fifty per cent of the state budget is spent on military and police, prisons and the

bureaucracy and not for food and cloth, homes and education, health and sanitation for the people.

10. The people of India are gradually realising the meaning of this state of affairs and are coming to realise the necessity to change this government of landlords and princes, this government of financial sharks and speculators, this government hanging on to the will of the British Commonwealth, the British imperialists. The disillusioned masses are slowly rising in struggle, no longer able to withstand this state of slow starvation and death. They are rising in struggles of the working class in towns and the resistance of the peasantry in the countryside.

11. In order to prevent this growing unity of the people, mainly the unity of the working class and its alliance with the peasantry, the unity of all classes that are interested in ending this government of landlords and princes and the reactionary big bourgeoisie, collaborating with the British imperialists, the present government is utilising other means apart from police repression.

12. Knowing the desire of the people to make our country completely independent of British imperialism, the government has proclaimed India a Republic. But unwilling really to break its ties with imperialism, it has shamelessly proclaimed the Republic to be a part of the Empire!

The membership of the British Empire is not only a formal matter, as is declared. While playing on the rivalries between England and America, to its own advantage in certain circumstances, the government of India essentially carries out the foreign policy of British imperialism. Though it speaks for peace and against the atomic bomb under pressure from the people, who do not want war and want peace, it has not hesitated to send help, even though nominally medical, to the American troops in Korea; it has allowed British imperialists to recruit Gurkhas and Sikhs for the suppression of Malaya's fight for independence; it has allowed landing bases in India for the French planes on their way to fight against the People's Republic of Vietnam. The Indian Navy

operates as part of the British Navy and under British Command and the keys to the military technique of the Defence Department of the Government are held and moved by British advisers. If the independence of the armed forces of a country is a sign of its sovereignty and independence, then the key part of our independence is still left in the hands of British imperialism.

In addition to this subservience to British imperialists, the policies of the government of India are leading to penetration of American imperialists into our economy and life into the affairs of State and threaten us with added slavery to American capital.

13. The British imperialists before covering their rule with the mantle of the new Congress government drowned the country in Hindu-Muslim strife and massacres and then divided the country into the two states of India and Pakistan. The imperialists thereby weakened the economy of India in agriculture and the economy of Pakistan in industry. It thus put both the States at loggerheads and undeclared war with each other and dependent on the so-called "neutral third party", the imperialists.

The division of the country enabled the Congress government to drown the just demands of the people in a hysteria of Hindu-Muslim war. It enabled the government to spend on armaments the money which could have been used to improve the conditions of the people. It enabled them to buy armaments from the British imperialists who desired nothing better than to sell their second hand goods and services in exchange for its sterling debts to India and Pakistan, and to deprive our people of supplies of machinery and essential goods.

14. The division of the country and communal religious strife was used to drown the demands of the various nationalities of India for their free development, for the re-constitution of the former mixed British provinces and the princely states into autonomous linguistic provinces in a united India. In the name of a united country, the language of a part of the

country, namely, Hindi, was declared an obligatory state language for all nationalities and states, to the detriment of their own national language. Vast areas and millions of people of one nationality are compelled to live under the rule of bureaucrats and governments dominated by another nationality. Large tribal areas, with their own economy and culture are put at the mercy of the landlords and financial sharks of this or that alien group, thus utilising the desire of the masses for a united country to actually sow division and discord among its people.

15. In order, finally, to come forward as a government of the people, after spending millions of the people's money on wrangling in legislative houses, the government produced what it calls a democratic constitution and in terms of that constitution calls upon the people to elect a government of their own choice and realise the fundamental rights given under the constitution. Thus the people are told that they can end the present rule of autocracy if they so desire and work their freedom through this "democratic" constitution of the free Republic of India.

16. While it is a fact that universal adult franchise now exists in the Constitution of India and it can and will be used by the people, it is a deception of the people to say that elections alone under this constitution can end the landlord-capitalist rule in the country and the imperialist hold over its life. Adult franchise serves to gauge the maturity of the working class and the people and is formally an element of democracy but it cannot express the true will and the true interests of the exploited masses as long as the land is not the property of peasants but that of the landlords, as long as the power of landlords and capitalists holds the people in subjugation in fields and factories, so long as the power of capital over the press and means of propaganda drugs the people with lies, so long as the power of money utilises religious and caste frictions and rivalries to divide and to weaken the people, so long as the bureaucrats and the police ban political parties, suppress civil liberties and imprison without trial

even the elected representatives of the legislatures for their political opinions and for their honest work.

17. It is also a deception of the people to say that under the new constitution the masses or the government elected by them can work their way to freedom and happiness. The constitution guarantees no rights to the people which are enforceable in any way or which are not subject to violation by the emergency autocratic decrees of the bureaucracy which is irremovable and inviolate. The right to strike, to living wage, to work and rest for the working class and salaried employees is not guaranteed and made enforceable. The land of the landlords and the properties and incomes of the dethroned or enthroned princes are made inviolable. The landless peasant can have land, it appears, but only if he can buy it or compensate the landlord for it. But to buy land and to pay compensation, capital is needed, and tens of millions of poor peasants who live from hand to mouth have no capital. Therefore, the poor peasants have to stay without land and continue their existence in poverty. It is characteristic that by several treaties with Britain and America, the government has made the property of foreign holders in our country sacred and inviolable, having provided them with such guarantees that even their profits cannot be touched and have to be let out of the country in the way they like. And this at a time when the government refuses to guarantee the citizens from the club-law of the police officers and from the plunder on the part of the moneylenders and profiteers.

Thus while the stranglehold of landlords, princes and imperialists on our economy, land and capital is guaranteed by this constitution not a single item of the life and liberty of our masses is guaranteed, beyond stating them as pious illusory wishes. The constitution is not and cannot be called a truly democratic constitution but is a constitution of a landlord-capitalist state, tied to foreign imperialist interests—mainly British.

18. It is quite natural that in view of the terrible conditions described above, dooming the people to poverty and

subjecting them to a lawless regime, the people have lost their faith in the present government, they are becoming deeply distrustful of it and start to consider it their enemy who is protecting the landlords, moneylenders and other exploiters against the people. Moreover, the masses of the people openly voice their discontent and revolt in several provinces against the inhuman regime of the present government and are seeking out ways to substitute this government by a new people's government able to express the will and interests of the people, able to protect it against the oppression of landlords, capitalists, profiteers, moneylenders and foreign imperialists.

19. Faced with these facts, the Communist Party of India feels it its duty to outline to the people the practical tasks, the practical programme which the Communist party of India upholds and which should be put into effect by the people of India if they wish to come out of the deadlock into which they have been forced by the present government, if they wish to attain their freedom and happiness.

While adhering to the aim of building a socialist society the Communist Party is not demanding the establishment of socialism in our country in the present stage of our development. In view of the backwardness of the economic development of India and of the weakness of the mass organisations of workers, peasants and toiling intelligentsia, our Party does not find it possible at present to carry out socialist transformations in our country. But, our Party regards as quite mature the task of replacing the present anti-democratic and anti-popular government by a new government of People's Democracy created on the basis of a coalition of all democratic anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces in the country, capable of effectively guaranteeing the rights of the people, of giving land to the peasants gratis, of protecting our national industries against the competition of foreign goods and of ensuring the industrialisation of the country, of securing a higher standard of living to the working class, of ridding the people of unemployment and thus placing the country on the wide road of progress, cultural advancement and independence.

What are the practical tasks which, in the opinion of the Communist Party of India, should be carried out by the new People's Democratic Government?

These tasks are as follows:

In the Field of State Structure

20. The sovereignty of the people, *i.e.* the concentration of all power in the country in the hands of the people. The supreme power in the state must be vested entirely in the people's representatives who will be elected by the people and be subject to recall at any time upon a demand by the majority of electors and who shall constitute a single popular assembly, a single legislative chamber.

21. The restriction of the rights of the President of the Republic, in virtue of which the President and persons authorised by him will be deprived of the right to promulgate laws, which have not been passed by the legislature. The President shall be elected by the legislature.

22. Universal, equal and direct suffrage for all male and female citizens of India who have attained the age of eighteen years in all elections to the Legislative Assembly and to the various local government bodies; secret ballot, the right of every voter to be elected to any representative institution, payment to people's representatives, proportional representation of political parties in all elections.

23. Local government on a wide scale and with wide powers through People's Committees. The abolition of all local and provincial authorities appointed from above (*e.g.* governors, magistrates, commissioners, etc.)

24. Inviolability of person and domicile; unhampered freedom of conscience, religious belief and worship, speech, press, assembly, strike and combination; freedom of movement and occupation.

25. Equal rights for all citizens irrespective of religion, caste, sex, race or nationality, equal pay for equal work, irrespective of sex.

Social disabilities from which women suffer shall be

abolished and they shall be given protection to secure and exercise equal rights with men in such matters as inheritance of property, marriage and divorce laws, entrance to professions and service, etc.

Social and economic oppression of one caste by another or social and personal bans and prohibitions imposed by the so-called upper castes on the lower castes especially the Scheduled Castes, in the name of custom, tradition or religion shall be abolished and made punishable by law.

Religious minorities shall be given protection against discrimination.

26. The right of all nationalities to self-determination. The Republic of India will unite the peoples of the various nationalities of India not by force but by their voluntary consent to the creation of a common state.

27. The present boundaries of the states in the Indian Union shall be recast and states shall be reconstituted according to the principle of common language. Princely states, where existing, shall be dissolved into the appropriate adjoining national states, and the foreign possessions shall be restored to the country and reconstituted on the same principle. The tribal areas or areas where the population is specific in composition and is distinguished by specific social conditions or constitutes a national minority will have complete regional autonomy and regional governments, and full assistance for their development.

28. Introduction of progressive income tax in industry, agriculture and trade and maximum relief in taxation for workers, peasants and artisans.

29. Right of people to receive instruction in their mother-tongue in educational institutions; the use of the national language of the particular state in all its public and state institutions; provision for the use of the language of a minority or region, where necessary, in addition to the national language. Use of Hindi as an all-India state language will not be obligatory. In Hindusthani-speaking areas, safeguard and protection to Urdu and Devnagri scripts and the right of the people to use either of the two scripts.

30. Measures to foster, encourage and develop such literature, art and culture as will:

—help each nationality including the tribal people to develop their language and culture in their own way and in unison with the common aspirations of the democratic masses of the country as a whole;

— help the democratic masses in their struggle to improve their living conditions and enrich their life;

— help the toiling people to get rid of caste and communal hatred and prejudices and ideas of fear, subservience and superstition traditionally inculcated in them by the landlord-bourgeois classes;

— help all people grow feelings of brotherhood with the peace-loving people of all countries and discourage ideas of racial and national hatred;

— discourage imperialist war propaganda and help people to realise peace and freedom for all.

31. The right of all persons to sue any official before a People's Court.

32. Separation of the State from all religious institutions. The State to be a secular state.

33. Free and compulsory primary education for the children of both sexes upto the age of fourteen.

34. Replacement of the police by militia. Elimination of the mercenary army and other punitive forces and the establishment of a national army, navy and air force for the defence of India, closely linked with the people.

35. The establishment of the people's health service with a wide network of Medical centres and hospitals all over the country designed to liquidate the centres of cholera, malaria and other epidemic diseases in the country.

In the Field of Agriculture and the Peasant Problem

The agriculture and the peasant problem are of primary importance to the life of our country.

We cannot develop agriculture to any considerable extent and provide the country with food and raw materials because

the impoverished peasantry deprived of land is unable to purchase the most elementary agricultural implements and thus to improve its farming.

We cannot develop our national industries and industrialise our country to any considerable extent because the impoverished peasantry constituting 80 per cent of the population is unable to buy even a minimum quantity of manufactured goods.

We cannot make our state stable to any extent because the peasantry living in conditions of semi-starvation receives no support from the Government, hates it and refuses to support it.

We cannot improve the conditions of the working class to any considerable extent because hundreds of thousands of hungry people forced by poverty to leave the countryside for towns swarm the "labour market", lower "prices of labour", increase the army of unemployed and thus make the improvement of the living standards of the working people impossible.

We cannot work our way out of cultural backwardness because the peasantry, living in conditions of semi-starvation, constituting the overwhelming majority of the population, is deprived of any material means to give education to its children.

In order to get rid of all these evils and get our country out of cultural backwardness, it is necessary to create human conditions of existence for the peasants, it is necessary to take land from the landlords and hand it over to the peasants.

To achieve this, it is necessary:

36. To hand over landlords' land without payment to the peasants including agricultural labourers and to legalise this reform in the form of a special land law and thus realise abolition of landlordism without compensation.

37. To ensure a long-term and cheap credit for the peasants to enable them to purchase agricultural implements and the necessary seeds. To ensure long-term and cheap credit to small artisans to enable them to purchase raw materials, etc., and carry on their manufacture and trade.

38. To ensure government assistance to the peasants in the improvement of old and the building of new irrigation systems.

39. To cancel debts of peasants and small artisans to moneylenders.

40. To ensure adequate wages and living conditions to agricultural labourers.

In the Field of Industry and the Labour Problem

Our national industry suffers not only from an extremely low purchasing power of the peasants but also from the fact that it is exposed to competition on the part of foreign goods in the country. Manufacturers who are not protected by the government from ruinous foreign competition, try to make good their losses which arise from this competition, by increasing pressure on the working class, by worsening its conditions. But the industries cannot develop if the living conditions of the workers deteriorate, for a hungry and moneyless worker cannot be an adequate factor for the development of modern industry. This circumstance is another reason for the insufficient development of our national industry. To break through this vicious circle, it is necessary to guard our national industry against the competition of foreign goods, to launch an all-out industrialisation of the country and to improve the conditions of the working class. The Communist Party of India considers that to achieve this, it is necessary:

41. To provide for the protection of the national industry against the competition of foreign goods in the country by promulgating appropriate laws.

42. To develop the national industry and to prepare conditions for the industrialisation of the country without sparing any efforts and resources of the state to achieve this end.

43. To regulate and co-ordinate the various sectors of economy in order to achieve a planned economic development of the country in the interests of the people.

44. To improve radically the living and working conditions

of workers by: fixing a living wage, application of the eight-hour day and forty-four hour week in all industries and trades, introduction of six-hour day in underground mines and other trades injurious to health, social insurance at the expense of the state and capitalists against every kind of disability and unemployment, establishment of labour exchanges working in association with Trade Unions, establishment of industrial courts, recognition of Trade Unions, the right to collective bargaining and the right to strike.

45. To introduce effective control of prices of goods of mass consumption.

46. The problem of the refugee population, mainly of the millions of the uprooted workers, peasants, artisans, middle-class employees, etc., must be resolved by their speedy rehabilitation by the State and specially by providing them with land, instruments of labour, employment and facilities for developing their life in their own national way.

National Independence for India

In spite of the much-advertised statement that the British have left our country, it is a fact that a large number of factories and work-shops, mines and plantations, shipping and banking of India are owned by the British capitalists who annually draw hundreds of millions of profit from them. With this power over our economic life and their ties and partnership with the big capitalists in our country who are collaborating with them, the British imperialists from behind the scene and their collaborators hamper the development of our industries and thus perpetuate our poverty.

We cannot be a strong and prosperous country until we are industrialised on a wide scale; but industrialised to such an extent we shall never be as long as British capital exists in India, for the profits of British enterprises are taken out of the country and we are unable to use them to expand our industries, as long as the big national capitalists, their collaborators, keep us tied to the Empire.

Moreover, one has to take into account the numerous British

advisers with whom our navy, our army, police and other punitive organs team.

To become a truly independent state, India has to break with the Empire, to put an end to the domination of the British capital in the country's economy and to get rid of the British advisers.

Therefore, the Communist Party of India considers necessary:

47. The withdrawal of India from the British Commonwealth of Nations and the British Empire.

48. The confiscation and nationalisation of all factories, banks, plantations, shipping and mining owned under the signboard of Indian companies.

49. Removal of the British advisers in India from the posts held by them.

Foundations of the Foreign Policy of India

India needs peace and peaceful development. She is interested in peace and economic co-operation with all states. In this respect, Britain is not an exception if she only proves capable of carrying on economic co-operation with India on the basis of full equality. The spurious play between peace and war, between partisans of peace and advocates of aggressive war, carried on by the present Indian government, is not in India's interests.

The chief enemy of peace and advocate of an aggressive war is now the United States of America which has rallied round herself all aggressive countries. This camp of war is facing the camp of peace which includes such states as the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other countries of People's Democracy. Instead of joining hands with the partisans of peace against the aggressors and branding the United States of America as chief aggressor, the Indian government is carrying on a suspicious play between these two camps, and is flirting with the USA thus facilitating the struggle of aggressors against peace-loving countries. What India needs is not play between peace and war, but a united

front with peace-loving countries and friendship with them.

Still less in India's interests is the wrangling in which the Indian Union and Pakistan are engaged and which is not counteracted on the part of the present Indian government.

The unbalancing of the integral economy of India caused by the division of the country, the strife between Pakistan and India, which enables the reactionary ruling circles to divide the people and provides the American and British imperialists with opportunities for intervention, as in Kashmir, and for increasing their domination over both, will be overcome by a firm alliance of friendship and mutual assistance between India and the State of Pakistan. India must also enter into friendly alliance with the States of Ceylon and Nepal.

The economy of Ceylon is dependent on and complementary to that of India. Quite a large section of its people are formed from Indian plantation and other workers who have migrated to Ceylon. The Ceylonese and Indian landlords and traders incite the Indian and Ceylonese workers against each other to gain their selfish ends. The absence of alliance is utilised by the imperialists and their henchmen to sow discord among all these states and to sow hatred among their people, leading to the eviction of millions of people from their homeland. Only a firm alliance and friendship can defeat this game of imperialists and the reactionary ruling circles of these countries.

Therefore, the Communist Party of India considers it necessary to guarantee the following:

50. Honest and consistent policy of peace in alliance with all peace-loving states and united front with them against aggressors.

51. The policy of economic co-operation with all states capable of carrying on economic co-operation without any discrimination whatsoever on the basis of full equality.

52. The policy of alliance and friendship with Pakistan, Ceylon, and Nepal.

53. The policy of doing its utmost to protect the legitimate rights and interests of Indians residing abroad.

The Communist Party of India puts this programme before the people of India, in order that they may have a clear picture of the objective they are fighting for.

Our Party calls upon the toiling millions, the working class, the peasantry, the toiling intelligentsia, the middle-classes as well as the national bourgeoisie interested in the freedom of the country and the development of prosperous life to unite into a single democratic front in order to attain complete independence of our country, the emancipation of the peasants from the oppression of the feudals, improvement in the life of all working people, to bring about a major forward stride in our agriculture, a major forward stride in our national industry and secure the cultural advancement of our country.

The people of India led by its working class and its Communist Party, guided by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, firmly allied with the million-headed peasantry of our land will achieve this programme. The principles and the philosophy of Marxism and the leadership of the Communist Party have led nearly half of humanity to Socialism, to freedom, to real democracy, at the head of which stands the Soviet Union. The peoples of Asia led by the great Chinese People's Democracy are now battling to free themselves from imperialism. India is the last biggest dependent semi-colonial country in Asia still left for the enslavers to rob and exploit. But the Communist Party believes that India too will soon take its place in the great nations of the world as a victorious People's Democracy and take the road of peace, prosperity and happiness.

Resolution On Party Organisation*

NOTE : In its meeting held in March 1953, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India adopted a Resolution on Party Organisation. That Resolution was made the basis for strengthening the organisation of the Party and was discussed at the Provincial Conferences. It could not, however, be finalised and adopted at the Third Party Congress due to lack of time. The Congress entrusted the work of finalising the Resolution to the new Central Committee.

The Central Committee, in its meeting held from April 10 to April 18, 1954, considered the view of the Polit Bureau on the amendments that had been received. It also discussed thoroughly several important aspects of organisation which had been inadequately dealt with in the earlier draft. On the basis of this discussion, the Resolution has been amended and finalised.

All Party units and comrades should carefully study the Resolution and improve functioning in accordance with the guidance given in it.

Polit Bureau

1. The General Elections and the developments that have taken place since then have sharply brought out the key role of the Communist Party in the present situation. During the

*First adopted in the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India in March 1953 and subsequently finalised in the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India in April 1954.

elections, it was seen that, while discontent against the Government and the desire to replace it by a popular Government were widespread, strong opposition to the Congress could be put up by democratic forces only in those areas where the Communist Party had already, by leading mass struggles and building mass organisations, become a major force. It was also in these areas that lakhs could be set in motion against the Congress Governments and the elections developed into a mass political campaign. In areas where either there was no Communist Party or the Party was weak the democratic opposition to the Congress also proved to be weak and generally ineffective. In several such areas, the discontent of the people was utilised by communal and feudal reaction to strengthen its own position at the cost of the Congress. The elections, therefore, not merely showed widespread opposition to the Government, but also revealed the fact that this opposition could be transformed into a mass democratic movement only if there was a strong Communist Party.

2. The Communist Party has emerged from the General Elections as a major national-political force and has achieved a key position in the political life of the country. It is looked upon today as the spearhead of the democratic opposition to the Congress, as the vanguard of the struggle against landlords, monopolists and the reactionary policies of the Government, as the unifier of the democratic forces. The Left Socialist group, the U.P.R.S.P. and a section of the Kamagar Kisan Party have joined the Party, thereby considerably strengthening the Communist movement and the position of the Party. Large numbers from the Socialist Party and followers of the Congress have joined the Party and more want to join it. There is a big swing towards the Communist Party and it has acquired great prestige and authority among the masses.

3. In its resolution of August 1952, the Polit Bureau of the Central Committee sharply underlined the fact that the question of Party Organisation has become a key political

question. It was closely followed by the article of the General Secretary, *Some of Our Main Weaknesses*, which, on the basis of discussion in the Polit Bureau, underlined some of the most important and urgent problems facing the Party in the field of organisation.

Experience of the entire Party has confirmed the correctness of the formulations contained in that document. Party comrades and committees throughout the country have been bestowing growing attention to problems of Party organisation since then. The preparations for the Local, District and Provincial Conferences have contributed a great deal towards organisational consolidation of the Party. As a result of all these, today the Party has grown from the utterly disorganised state in which it was in 1951, to a country-wide Party, with functioning Provincial and District and many Local Committees and with a membership of over 50,000 and another 25,000 candidates.

4. Nevertheless, it is a fact that the growth of the effective organised strength of the Party lags far behind the growing political influence of the Party. The Party, therefore, finds itself unable to transform the growing political influence into an effective striking force and this is the most important factor retarding the development of the entire democratic movement in our country.

5. This is fully borne out by the events of the post-election period, during which opposition to the government has spread to new areas and to all strata of the people. In the innumerable struggles and mass actions that have taken place in this period, it has been seen that for effectively guiding these struggles, for uniting the broad masses in support of these struggles, for building mass organisations on the basis of these struggles, strong units of the Communist Party are absolutely essential. In the absence of strong units of the Party, mass discontent against the Government either does not grow into a powerful movement or reactionary and communal elements succeed in giving popular discontent a wrong direction, divert it into disruptive channels.

6. It is obvious, therefore, that the growth of the democratic movement does not depend merely on the deepening of the economic crisis or the growth of popular discontent. It depends on the form and direction that are given to this discontent, the manner in which the masses are led, the extent of democratic unity that is forged, the slogan round which the people are mobilised. This demands, above all, a strong and disciplined Communist Party, entrenched among the people, especially among the basic masses—the workers and peasants—and able to forge popular unity in action. The growth and success of the popular movement depend today, first and foremost, on the Communist Party and its growth—ideological-political and organisational—its strengthening in areas where it exists, its spreading to areas where it does not exist, the correctness of its slogans, the maturity of its leadership, the degree of political-organisational unification of the Party, the quality of its cadres at all levels and in all areas.

7. The question of Party organisation, as the most important and decisive factor determining the growth and strengthening of the democratic movement, has assumed great urgency today in view of the economic and political crisis that is developing and of the growing threat to our sovereignty from the imperialists, who are making frantic efforts to unleash a world war. In these conditions, the Party must, by correct and effective leadership of the masses and their struggles, become the *leading force* of the nation. To the extent the Party is able to do this, to that extent it will be able to advance the movement for full freedom, democracy and peace.

8. In order that we may carry out this task, it is first of all necessary to have a clear understanding of the nature of the difficulties that have to be overcome, the nature of the problems that have to be solved.

In the main, the problems confronting the Party today are problems connected with the growth of the responsibilities that the Party has to carry out. The organisation of the Party

has not kept pace with this growth. A big gap has thus grown between the influences of the Party on the one hand and its effective organised strength on the other. The concrete form in which the problem presents itself is a problem of cadres. In every State, the Party is unable to cope with the immense tasks facing it because of lack of cadres. This difficulty, however, has been further aggravated because legacies of the inner-Party happenings after the Second Party Congress have not yet been fully liquidated due to which the Party has not been able to mobilise fully even the existing strength.

9. It would be a mistake to think, however, that the main thing that is needed is to restore the functioning as it was before the Second Party Congress. It must be remembered, firstly, that because of the position it has acquired, the Party today has to act as a national political force and the organisation has to be one which enables the Party to play this role. It must be remembered, secondly, that the question of a proper kind of organisation is closely linked with the question of (i) struggle against bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and feudal ideologies; (ii) classes which form the main base of the Party; (iii) principles of democratic centralism of which criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from below is a vital part; (iv) strict adherence to the principle of collective functioning in all units and in the Party as a whole. However, as we all know, in these respects the situation inside the Party, even in the pre-Second Party Congress period, was highly unsatisfactory. In fact, many of the shortcomings from which we are suffering today are due to the fact that certain basic weaknesses were allowed to persist throughout the history of the Party.

10. Ever since its formation, the Communist Party of India has played an important role in the development of the mass movement against imperialism and its allies. It was the first Party to point out the close link between India's struggle for freedom and the struggle of the world working class for Socialism. It was the first Party to stress that the anti-imperialist movement could succeed only if the vacillating and

treacherous national bourgeois leadership was isolated and the proletariat succeeded in establishing its hegemony in the national movement. It was the first Party to emphasise the importance of struggles for immediate demands of the masses as an integral part of the general democratic movement and of the building mass organisations of workers and peasants for this purpose. The Communist Party not merely stated these principles, not merely propagated them, but, basing itself on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, worked self-sacrificingly and against heavy odds for their implementation. Without this, the Party could not have acquired its present position in the political life of the country.

11. At the same time, it must be realised that in relation to the democratic movement, the key task of establishment of proletarian hegemony could not be carried out. Hence, the movement remained generally weak, did not, as a whole, acquire the features of a powerful mass revolutionary movement for freedom and could be easily betrayed by the national bourgeoisie. This was due not merely to objective conditions but also to certain serious defects and weakness in our work itself.

12. In the first place, the decisive importance of ideological work was not realised and insufficient attention was paid to the task of waging the struggle against feudal, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies, which, in our country, are extremely strong in all classes, including the working class. Again, the bulk of our Party members came from the middle-classes, both in cities and in villages. This was inevitable in the initial period. But most of these Party members were not developed ideologically to a sufficient degree, nor were they used in a planned way to inculcate Marxist-Leninist ideology in the working class and toiling peasantry. While, as a result of our Trade Union and Kisan Sabha activities and our anti-imperialist and Socialist propaganda, we drew towards the Party the finest elements from these classes, we generally paid little attention to their cultural as well as ideological-political development, failed to transform their elementary

anti-capitalist, anti-landlord hatred, their democratic anti-imperialist consciousness into *Socialist* consciousness—Marxist-Leninist consciousness. Thus, we failed to forge them into cadres of a Marxist-Leninist Party. Not that this work was not done at all, but it was done in an inadequate manner and to a very limited extent.

13. Another of our weaknesses was that Marxist-Leninist principles of Party organisation were not consistently applied. The Lenin-Stalin methods of functioning the Party play a big role in forging cadres, in raising their consciousness, in promoting their growth. However, democratic centralism was often understood and practised by us in a formal manner. Democratic centralism implies not merely subordination of lower committees to higher committees and of minority to majority. It also implies collective functioning, active participation by the entire Party and all its units in evolving and concretising of slogans and tactics. This demands criticism and self-criticism on the widest scale, especially criticism from below. It is thus that correct tactics are evolved, mistakes get rectified, the Party gets more and more unified and cadres grow in maturity, develop initiative and capacity for leadership. Comrade Stalin taught: "We understand democracy as the raising of the activity and class consciousness of Party masses, as the systematic attraction of Party masses in practice, not only into discussion of work but into leadership of work". The prevalence of the *leader-follower* pattern inside the Party in all our phases, the prevalence of the practice of broad political questions being discussed only in higher committees and lower units confining themselves only to *immediate practical work* and implementation of directives given from above, led to the arrest of the growth of a large number of valuable cadres and their fossilisation.

14. All this it is necessary to grasp today in order to take firm steps to liquidate our weaknesses. The question of the building of a mass Party must not be understood in a narrow sense as merely a question of recruitment of new cadres. Recruitment, of course, is vital and necessary, but together

with it are necessary the reorganisation of the Party on a proper basis, the drawing of the entire Party into the task of evolving policies, the undertaking of Party education and the nursing and promotion of cadres. Then only the cadres recruited will grow and mature. It is through all this that the basis will be laid for the development of a mass Party.

15. Despite the considerable improvements that have taken place in the inner-Party situation and in the functioning of party units in recent months, it must be admitted that the Party as an organisation is still in a seriously defective state. Leading Party Committees—from the Central Committee to the District Committee—do not yet function as *leading committees*, rapidly evolving slogans and policies in a fast-developing situation, helping the lower committees to solve the problems confronting them, guiding mass activities, consolidating the Party's influence in strong bases, extending to new areas and spheres in accordance with a definite perspective and plan. Quite often, meetings of committees are not properly prepared for, there is totally inadequate check-up. Sometimes sub-committees formed by PCs and Fractions become virtually autonomous and tend to replace the PC itself in relation to the front, which it is supposed to help the PC to guide. Similarly, in the Party Centre, individual comrades-in-charge of fronts tend to become autonomous and function on their own. All this results in lack of co-ordination, prevents consolidation and expansion, prevents effective leadership.

16. It is not enough to argue that all this is due to lack of cadres and immensity of work. That, of course, is true. But even the shortage of cadres cannot be overcome without proper organisation of the *existing* cadres at all levels of the Party—from the CC to the cells. For this, it is necessary, first of all, to get rid of certain erroneous notions. It is necessary to understand that the Party is a sum and system of organisations, and strengthening of the Party means strengthening of the organisation of the Party, or collective bodies, at all levels. Party organisation and Party building are the key tasks today

and these tasks will not get carried out automatically as a result of mass work and mass activity—even of the most intensive type. Correct type of mass work rouses the masses into activity, gives them experience, heighten their political consciousness, draws the best of them towards the Party and thus creates *possibilities and conditions* for the strengthening of the Party. But unless these possibilities are made into a reality by the *building up and expansion of the Party* which must be looked upon as an independent task, the Party will not grow and the mass movement also will not grow beyond the elemental stage—no matter how correct the policy and how intense the mass activity.

17. To carry out the urgent tasks of Party building, it is essential to build a strong collective central leadership. This requires a campaign for rooting out some wrong tendencies such as:

a) Tendency to minimise the need for a strong Party Centre. This expresses itself in the form of (i) failure on the part of the PCs to realise the necessity for a sufficiently large number of leading cadres being relieved from Provincial work and allowed to devote their whole time for Central work; and of (ii) some of the comrades who are capable of functioning at the Centre, refusing to shoulder their responsibility in this respect.

b) A similar tendency exists in the Provinces and in the Districts due to which, just as the Central leadership fails to discharge its Central task, Provincial and District leaderships are failing to discharge theirs.

18. A determined struggle against these practices and the wrong organisational conceptions lying at their root is an urgent task without which the Party cannot advance. This struggle should start from the Central Committee itself. For this it is necessary to take the following steps:

a) *The functioning of the Central Committee should be radically improved* with a view to put an end to all traces of individual functioning and to establish real collective functioning.

i) All major questions of policy and organisation should be discussed and decided upon by the Central Committee. It should be made the common consciousness of all the Central Committee members and also of the PCs that it is the Central Committee as a whole, and not any individual CC member or even a group of CC members that leads the Party.

ii) Regular meetings of the Central Committee should be held at least once every four months. The Polit Bureau must place before the CC a report reviewing the developments since the last CC meetings, the lessons to be drawn, the work done by the Polit Bureau, the issues on which the CC has to take decisions.

iii) The Polit Bureau should, so far as major questions of policy are concerned, confine itself to implementing and interpreting the CC decisions. If any major questions of political or organisational policy arises when the CC is not in session and the matter is one of urgent importance, the Polit Bureau may take such decisions as are needed to meet the requirements of the situation. But care should be taken to see that such steps are nothing more than the minimum that is necessary. The earliest opportunity should be taken to hold the CC meeting at which the question is thoroughly discussed.

iv) Polit Bureau members should become wholetime cadre of the Centre, going to provinces only as decided by the Centre and when it is necessary for the work of the Centre.

v) Polit Bureau meetings should be held at least once a month. These meetings of the Polit Bureau should dispose of all current business and prepare for the CC meetings.

vi) In between full Polit Bureau meetings, Polit Bureau members who are available at the Central Headquarters should meet and discuss political and organisational questions but they should not take decisions on behalf of the Polit Bureau on any important question. Such decisions should be reserved for regular and full meetings of the Polit Bureau.

vii) Polit Bureau or CC members who are being sent by the Polit Bureau or the CC on specific assignments to provinces

should not function in such a way as to replace or over-ride the Provincial Committees. It should be borne in mind that their job is to report to the PC on CC decisions and to see that the PC carries out the CC decisions on those issues which the CC has collectively discussed and come to decisions. On those issues on which the CC has not come to collective decisions, the Polit Bureau or CC member may explain his own personal opinions in order to help the PC to discuss and decide the matter, but he should not represent his views as CC views, nor should he give directives or instructions to the PC.

(b) One of the main objects of strengthening and reorganising the work of the Centre is to organise proper reporting at all levels. To this end, the following rules should be laid down and strictly enforced:

i) Every PC should send a written report to the CC after each of its meeting and the CC should pay proper attention to these reports.

ii) CC and Polit Bureau members who are sent out to provinces on assignments should submit written reports immediately after coming back from their assignments.

iii) After every CC meeting, a short report on the major problems dealt with by the CC should be given to the Party as a whole.

In the Provinces

i) All major political-organisational problems and mass problems of a basic and province-wide character should be dealt with by the PC.

ii) At each meeting of the PC, the Secretariat should make a brief report of the work done by the Secretariat, of the decisions taken earlier, which of them implemented, etc.

iii) At each meetings of the Secretariat, the Secretary should make a report of the work done.

iv) The interval between two PC meetings should be generally two months and should not, in any case, exceed three months.

19. Collective functioning, however, does not mean merely

the adherence to certain procedures as regards meetings, taking of decisions, sending of reports, etc. Nor does it mean only the collective functioning of each unit. These, of course, are essential, for without them, no improvement whatsoever is possible. But what is needed besides them is the functioning of the entire Party in such a way that its collective strength is mobilised and effectively utilised for implementation of the political and mass tasks. Also that the tasks are implemented in such a way that as the result and in the very process of the implementation, the collective strength of the Party, of all its units, grows, thus enabling the Party to discharge its duties and responsibilities in relation to the democratic movement in an increasingly effective manner. Organisation of collective functioning at all levels, therefore, demands that the general and current political mass tasks are not merely understood but are always kept in mind.

20. The Political Resolution adopted by the Party at its Third Congress puts forward the establishment of a Government of Democratic Unity as the key political slogan in the present period. It is obvious that such a Government cannot come into existence merely as the result of growing mass distress and struggle breaking out as the result of that distress. In order to crack the mass base of the Congress which is still far broader than that of any other Party, what is needed is the development of a powerful organised mass movement by the transformation of the present upsurge which is still in an elemental stage, into an upsurge of mass action and mass activity in the widest scale and in every sphere. This demands a radical change from the present method of work, which very often is one of intense activity on specific occasions—elections, preparation for some big rally, a major struggle, etc.—followed by periods of comparative inactivity. In order to develop a powerful mass movement the first step that must be taken is the organisation of *sustained mass activity* on all fronts—political, economic and ideological—and in all forms—parliamentary and extra-parliamentary struggles for immediate demands, cultural, sports, relief and

other activities, effective mass political agitation and education, etc.

21. These activities have to be undertaken with a view to achieve the maximum possible *concrete immediate results*—winning of demands, exposure of the anti-people policies and acts of the ruling classes and their Government, mobilisation of support for specific demands and slogan, increase in the circulation of newspapers and literature, securing of new contacts and drawing of new people into some form of activity, collection of funds, spreading of literacy and general knowledge, giving concrete expression to the opposition against the Hydrogen Bomb tests and UN observers, enrolling of new members and extending of activity of various organisations, etc. The immediate aim and purpose of the activity must be to help the people, to heighten their consciousness and increase their self-activity.

Above all, the mass activity must be of such a nature that it results in heightening the consciousness of the basic masses, the workers, toiling peasants and agricultural workers, and the strengthening of the mass organisation, *especially trade unions, kisan sabhas and agricultural workers' associations*, in building them up as united class organisations, in strengthening their basic units—factory, village, etc. The extent to which the mass movement can grow without a powerful expansion and strengthening of the mass organisations of workers and peasants is severely limited and that limit has already been reached in many areas. The utmost emphasis in the entire work, therefore, must be on the building up of these mass class organisations. Through this alone the upsurge can be consolidated and taken forward, through this alone the growing hatred against the Government can be transformed into purposeful mass action, through this alone can the Congress—as was seen in the General Elections—be effectively isolated. Through this alone also, the vast number of cadres who are getting drawn towards the Party can be trained and can grow into leaders of mass struggles and organisers of mass activity.

22. It is in relation to this task of organisation of sustained mass activity on all the three fronts of class struggle—political, economic and ideological—through multiple forms and with special emphasis on the basic masses—it is *in relation to this task* that the organisational problems facing the Party have to be tackled and the organisational tasks solved. In other words, the Party has to be organised, from top to bottom, in such a way that it can organise sustained mass activity on the widest scale; it has to be organised in such a way that the whole Party and its entire collective strength can be mobilised for this task, it has to be organised in such a way that the higher committees can give the maximum possible help and guidance to the lower committees for the actual implementation of this task.

23. It will be wrong to think that this will be achieved if the Party Committee at each level strives to lead and organise directly the day-to-day mass activities of the corresponding level through fractions, "fraction committees" or sub-committees; the Central Committee leading and organising the day-to day all-India mass activity and the Provincial committee the day-to-day Provincial mass activity. The activity on each front and at each level must be led and organised by the corresponding committee of the mass organisation itself.

Also the practice which prevails in some places, of fractions becoming virtually independent of the Party and also functioning *in place* of the mass organisation—this practice must be abandoned. It must be borne in mind that the development of sustained mass activity is possible only on the basis of the strengthening and proper functioning of the mass organisations. This requires, *firstly*, correct guidance by each Committee of the Party to comrades working in the corresponding unit of the mass organisation; *secondly*, the purpose of the guidance should be not primarily as to how to put the Party's slogans through the mass organisation but how to strengthen the mass organisation itself and build it as a *united mass organisation*. To what extent the Party units are correctly guiding the comrades working in the mass organisation is to

be judged by the test as to how strong the mass organisation and specially its basic units are growing, to what extent they are getting rooted among the masses and winning their loyalty and confidence by serving and leading them, to what extent workers, peasants and others following different political parties are coming to look upon the mass organisations as their *own organisations*, as organisations that guide and help them in solving their day-to-day problems. It is only by such guidance that the Party will be able to organise sustained mass activity and develop a powerful movement, thus transforming the present awakening and upsurge into an upsurge of organised mass actions. And it is only through this that the whole Party will be activated, militants and sympathisers trained and educated and it will be possible to draw tens of thousands into the Party.

24. Together with this and as a part of the task of developing sustained mass activity, there is necessity to improve the *quality of our agitation* so that people are not only roused *against* the Congress but won over *for* our policies; concretisation of demands for each area so that maximum mobilisation can be achieved; using of the legislatures, district boards, municipalities, etc., with a view not merely to expose the Congress but also to secure relief for the people; proper study and utilisation of the various laws enacted by the government under popular pressure so that they may benefit the masses; production and sale of literature; undertaking of education with a view to wipe out illiteracy from among the Party members, militants and raise their cultural level; organisation of systematic education on the teachings of Marxism among the workers and peasants as well as the intelligentsia, especially students.

25. In the tasks of consolidation of the mass influence of the Party and its expansion, effective agitation and propaganda plays a great role. Yet, this is one of the most neglected spheres of our activity. Quite often, a characteristic feature of our agitation (whether in speeches or writings) is its extremely general and diffused nature. Our speakers

seldom prepare their speeches beforehand, seldom study the subject on which they speak, are not sufficiently concrete either in their exposure or in relation to specific issues which agitate the peoples in the areas and on which mobilisation is possible.

A second feature of our agitation is that it is often marked by repetitiveness and hurling of slogans instead of explaining them. Such agitation does not educate the people nor tell them anything new, anything they do not already know.

A third feature of our agitation is that it does not pose questions which rise in the mind of the people about the Party and its policies, about the Government and its measures and answer them in a convincing manner. Quite often it is forgotten that people will get drawn towards the Party not by the *vehemence* of our denunciation of the Government, but by the *effectiveness* of our exposure and through conviction about the *correctness* of our policies. This is particularly true of the vast number of Congress masses and other politically-minded people who are getting critical of the parties which they followed but are not yet ready to join us—a section that is often absent from the mind of our agitators.

A fourth feature is that agitation and propaganda are carried on almost exclusively through the press, and from platform. It must be noted that Communist Parties have always attached the greatest importance to *individual verbal propaganda*, explanatory work carried on in the course of day-to-day contact between Party members and non-Party masses. This is a job which has to be done by all Party members and not merely by the speakers at public meetings. It is a bourgeois concept that agitation and propaganda are carried on only by the leaders at public meetings and the rank and file content themselves merely by arranging such meetings.

Effective agitation and propaganda, on all issues confronting the people, agitation and propaganda with a view to educate the people and rouse them for action, with a view to draw them towards the Party is one of the most important tasks and has to be organised in a planned way.

26. All this, however, will not happen automatically. Nor can this be achieved through the unaided effort of each unit of the Party. Many a time it has been stated that reliance on spontaneity is the most serious deviation inside the Party. It has to be realised that this reliance on spontaneity expresses itself in the sharpest form today in the relationship that has come to be established between many of the higher committees on the one hand and the lower committees on the other. The higher committees, the CC and the PC, very often content themselves with *general guidance* on political issues and to the mass fronts and pay very little attention to the task of helping the building up of the lower committees of the Party. Due to this method of leadership, higher committees often remain ignorant of the concrete problems, which lower committees face, they remain ignorant about the cadres and their capacities and are therefore unable to evolve methods for promoting and developing cadres, of fully utilising their talents.

27. The strengthening of the Party, on which depends to a great extent the strengthening of the mass movement, means the strengthening of the organisations of the Party. The effort to achieve this has to take the concrete form of practical help by the higher committees—improvement of Party journal, running of Party schools, careful studying of reports made by lower committees, positive practical suggestions about improvement of work, helping them to improve their agitational work and evolve correct agitational slogans, guidance as regards areas and tasks which should be given priority and on which there should be main concentration, etc., and practical help by the lower committee to the higher committee in the form of cadres, cash, factual report for the journals and the Party office, suggestions, constructive criticism and so on. An essential condition for the strengthening of the Party is the establishment of proper relationship between the higher committee and the lower committees—relationship not merely for sending and receiving of circulars, reports and instructions and occasional extended meetings but relationship based on the understanding of each other's problems, and help to

solve them so that the Party as a whole can become stronger. The present practice in many areas of the higher committees *intervening* only when something goes wrong has to be changed to one of practical concrete guidance by the higher committee and its Secretariat to the lower unit in order to help to build it up in such a way that the political and mass tasks described earlier can be undertaken by it.

It must be stressed here that this help should not take the form of *spoon-feeding* of higher committees doing the work which lower committees should do. On the contrary, the whole object of the help should be to *strengthen* the lower committees and develop their *initiative* to the utmost extent.

28. The leading role which higher committees have to play in the system of Party organisation necessitates that they are strengthened. This demands not only that sufficient number of CCMs and PCMs are available for the proper functioning of these committees but also that a sufficient number of other cadres also must be there to help them. At the same time, even this will not lead to the strengthening of the party as a whole unless it is always kept in mind that the strengthening of the higher committees must have as one of its main objects the strengthening of the lower committees. The strength of the Communist Party always depends on:

- a) the political correctness of the line of the Party;
- b) the general influence and prestige of the Party and its leadership;

- c) and finally and above all, the firmness and mobilising power of the lower units of the Party, especially the primary units, local units and cells, their links with the masses (above all, the basic masses in the cities and rural areas), in factories, villages, streets, localities, their capacity to move them into action. Whatever the main political slogan of a particular period, whatever the task at the moment, whether it is a strike, or a demonstration, or an election, it is the primary units that in the final analysis are the decisive factor. On their strength and contact with the masses, on their capacity to move them into action depend the strength of the Party.

Also, on the political and cultural level of the comrades in these units depends the establishment of real inner-party democracy and the effective exercise of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from below.

Hence, a most important aim of the organisational policy of the Party must be to strengthen the lower units of the Party in general and the primary units in particular, to make them the leadership that organises mass activity in the factory, in the village, in the street and in the locality. It is precisely these units through whom the bulk of new members, coming from the ranks of workers and peasants, have to be drawn into the Party and developed politically. Hence, their key importance in the system of Party organisation and in the development of mass activity.

29. It is with the foregoing in mind that the tasks and functions of each committee have to be defined. Obviously, higher committees cannot discharge their duties and responsibilities in the system of Party organisation and give effective help and guidance to the lower committees, if they do not properly organise their own work and if the present tendency of blurring the distinction between Party committees and mass organisations, the tendency of Party committees undertaking many of the jobs which should be done by committees of the mass organisations, is not combated.

The Central Committee must act as:

i) The ideological-political leadership of the Party on a national scale, giving lead on issues in relation to the struggle for full freedom and peace as well as mass issues of national importance, organising Party education, running the central journals;

ii) The leadership of the Parliamentary fraction of the Party;

iii) The leadership that determines the policies which Party members in all-India committees of mass organisations should strive for;

iv) The leadership that helps Provincial Committees with practical guidance on political as well as organisational matters.

The Provincial Committees and Secretariat must act as:

- i) The political leadership of the province, taking decisions on issues of political and mass importance for the whole province, concretising and implementing CC decisions, organising Party education, running the Provincial journals;
- ii) The leadership of the Assembly fraction of the Party;
- iii) The leadership that guides the mass activities of the Party by application of the CC policy on the various fronts (the guidance to be in accordance with principles explained earlier);

iv) The leadership that reviews the struggles and campaigns of province-wide importance and draws correct lessons from them.

v) The leadership that helps the District Committees with practical and concrete guidance on the basis of actual study of the situation in the district.

The District Committees have to act simultaneously as (i) the political leadership of the district; (ii) the co-ordinator and guide to the mass activities; (iii) the organisational leadership of primary units. Because of the very nature of the work of the DCs and their direct contact with the masses, it will be unreal to attempt complete separation of functions. At the same time, the tendency on the part of DCs to virtually replace the leadership of mass organisations and function on their behalf should be abandoned. The most important organisational job of the DCs, it must be remembered, is to build up the primary units of the Party in such a way that they become organisers and leaders of the masses in the areas, factories and villages concerned.

30. The Party Committees in general and the Central Committee and Provincial Committees in particular, have to make it a most important immediate task of theirs to strengthen and improve the quality of the *Party Journals*. Party leaders and leaders of mass struggles must write regularly for the journals, the Central Committee and the Provincial Committees must regularly discuss the journal with a view to improve it, a campaign has to be launched in the entire Party

to increase the circulation of the journals, to suggest improvements to, collect funds. Without this, it will be impossible to stabilise and consolidate the influence of the Party, improve the quality of our agitation, enthuse the sympathisers and supporters of the Party, spread to new areas, heighten the political consciousness of the masses and draw the best of them into the Party.

Equally important is the role of *pamphlets* dealing with such current issues as US-Pak Pact, Linguistic Provinces, Bhoodan and also answering propaganda against the Party and against Communism indulged in by enemies—propaganda that often confuses the masses. Such pamphlets not only educate the masses, but also activate the Party ranks, sharpen their understanding of Party policy and unify them politically, thus playing a most important part in *strengthening the organisation of the Party*. They make it possible to swing the entire Party into action in a disciplined and organised way on the issues confronting the people. It is necessary, therefore, for the Party Centre as well as PCs to plan out the production and scale of such pamphlets which must be written in a simple and effective language.

31. It must be admitted that despite the intense amount of activity that the Party has carried on for the last two years, a certain amount of *stereotypedness* is visible and the movement as a whole is not going forward as powerfully as it should, in view of the possibilities of the situation, in view of the awakening among the masses, in view of the successes that have already been won. If this situation continues, two tendencies will inevitably gain ground. One, the tendency of complacency, of thinking that nothing more can be done, the tendency that will drag the Party into dead routine and eventually reformism; the other, the tendency of attempting to galvanise the masses by resort to adventurist forms of action.

What must be understood is that though the problems facing the Party are, as already stated, basically problems of growth, this should not cause any complacency, because, failure to solve the problems effectively will inevitably cause

stagnation in the work of the Party and in the mass movement. The necessity today is of (i) transformation of the present awakening among the people into organised mass activity; (ii) transformation of the Party members, militants, sympathisers, into cadres of mass activity, and builders of mass organisations, above all, trade unions, kisan sabhas and their basic units; (iii) converting of areas where the mass movement is relatively strong into *firm bases of the Party* and expansion of work into new areas and spheres in accordance with a plan.

32. All this will become possible if we do not rest content with the progress that has been registered till now, make determined efforts to improve the work of the Party and overcome the very serious defects which still persist.

a) Of great importance for this is the struggle against alien trends and tendencies. The method of individual functioning which persists at all levels, often arises from refusal to recognise one's own limitation, refusal to realise that the experience, theoretical grasp and maturity of each comrade is limited and that only the pooling together of the experience and understanding of all, through collective discussion can lead to the most correct decisions. Struggle against all tendencies of individual functioning has to be conducted at all levels and in each Party unit.

At the same time, it must be realised that collective functioning has to be combined with individual responsibility in relation to implementation of decisions. Unless this is done, unless, after a matter has been collectively decided upon, specific jobs are assigned to specific members and their work checked up collectively by the unit, the decisions will not be properly implemented. Collective functioning does not eliminate the need for individual responsibility; on the contrary, it makes it all the more necessary. The principle of individual responsibility in relation to the unit, the principle of collective responsibility of the whole unit in relation to the higher and lower units and in relation to the masses—this principle is an integral part of the principle of collective functioning.

b) It is necessary to end resolutely the unhealthy attitude,

trends and practices that persist in many Party units and among many comrades—cynicism in relation to the Party and its work, tendencies towards forming of groups, indulgence in loose talk, mutual bickerings, etc. Such things are always harmful and disruptive, but they are more than ever so today because of the immensity of the tasks that the Party faces and the vast number of people who are being drawn towards the Party. Anti-Party trends, attitudes and practices not merely weaken the unity of the Party and prevent mobilisation of its strength, but also repel the new elements that want to join the Party. All the Party units must exercise utmost vigilance and ensure that these harmful tendencies are rooted out.

c) We have to put an end to the divergence between decisions and their practical implementation—a divergence which can be seen in the work of every unit of the Party. Many decisions are taken which often remain on paper. This is sometimes because all factors are not soberly assessed when taking the decision and afterwards when it is found that the decision cannot be implemented, it is quietly dropped and members of the committee are not even formally informed about it. Sometimes even decisions are not put in writing so that disputes arise in subsequent meetings whether a particular decision was taken or not. Quite often the failure to implement decisions arise from not taking decisions seriously, not creating organisational guarantees for implementation of decisions. Such things breed cynicism, create contempt for decisions, give rise to frustration and helplessness, and strengthen tendencies of individualism, indiscipline and disruption. It is essential, therefore, that each meeting of every unit starts with a report from the Secretary explaining what decisions were taken in earlier meetings, how they were implemented, which decision could not be implemented, and why. Without such check-up no progress is possible.

d) The full unfolding of criticism and self-criticism is an imperative necessity in order to root out the weaknesses and shortcomings from which the Party is suffering today. In this,

criticism from below is of great importance—criticism not merely with regard to political formulations, but also with regard to organisational methods and policies, behaviour towards cadres, attitude towards criticism made by others, tendencies of favouritism, personal habits and deeds that harm the Party, weaknesses of Party journals, etc. Such criticism, it is necessary to emphasise, should be free and frank and at the same time comradely and helpful. Criticism from below must not only be permitted, but actively organised and encouraged by higher committees. Higher committees have to set an example before lower committees as to how self-criticism is made and how to take criticism in the proper spirit. One essential way of organising and encouraging criticism by leading Party committees is to reply to all letters and reports sent by the comrades from below and to pay prompt attention to matters raised by them for consideration. Negligent attitude towards this or tendency to endlessly delay consideration should be overcome. Bureaucratism manifests today quite often, not in the old form but in the form of scant attention paid to criticism from below—an attitude which discourages criticism.

e) Higher committees and their members have not only to enforce observance of Party rules and norms, of Party behaviour, but also, and above all, practise them in their own day-to-day work and life. The higher the committee of which one is the member, the greater must be the awareness of responsibility. Then only it will be possible to educate the entire Party in this matter.

f) One of the gravest weaknesses of the party today is that lower units, and especially cells, have not yet been drawn into active political life of the Party, into the task of live political discussion. In these units and even in DCs, generally only such immediate issues as allocation of work, tasks in relation to campaigns are discussed. Questions of broad politics—policies and methods of the Government, tactics of United Front and attitude towards other parties, work of the Party in the Legislature, defects of Party journals, etc.—are left for discussion in higher committees only in the mistaken

belief that they alone are *competent* to discuss such questions. At best, lower committees demand from higher committees that on such and such an issue *the line* should be given—without themselves discussing what the line should be and sending their views to the higher committee. The lower committees express themselves on political issues only when discussion on such issues has already taken place in higher committees, and lower committees have been asked to express their opinion. This practice must be ended. It is necessary that lower committees are encouraged not merely to participate in political discussions, but even initiate them.

g) Another weakness is that even in respect of the area in which the Party units like DCs, Taluq Committees and cells function, they generally discuss only such subjects as are directly connected with the fronts and spheres where the Party is already active. Developments taking place in other parties, the methods to draw Congressmen, PSP followers and others into joint work, local issues like sanitation, water supply, primary education, on which broad mobilisation is possible, are either not discussed at all or discussed in a cursory, desultory manner leading to no practical activity by which the Party can broaden out, forge unity and link itself with the masses. This prevents Party units from becoming leaders of the masses in areas where they work.

h) Still another shortcoming is the absence of plan in work which is revealed in inadequate utilisation of the capacities and talents of cadres. Quite often there is dispersal of forces, attempt to do too many things at the same time over a big area. Quite often effective agitators and organisers are allowed to sink themselves in particular spheres merely because they started work there, while, at the same time, major industries, areas and fronts which are more important from the point of view of the movement and where far greater results can be achieved are neglected. The tendency to move in a groove, to follow a routine pattern, not to evaluate from time to time the progress achieved as a whole and to modify methods of work accordingly, is widespread.

i) The present chaotic and planless methods of work must be abandoned. Fixing up of targets and quotas with regard to sale of Party publications, Party papers and Marxist literature, with regard to enrolment of members of the trade union and other mass organisations, with regard to collection of Party funds, with regard to collection of signatures to the Peace Appeals, etc., and the checking up of work done by each unit and by each member, regular discussion on work done and how to improve it—all these must become the normal practice of every unit of the Party.

j) General body meetings have become in many areas a *substitute* for cell functioning. This has become a hindrance to the proper education of members, to division of jobs, to check-up of work and to tightening up of discipline and for exercising revolutionary vigilance in relation to cadres. As such, it is imperative that the whole Party immediately returns to cell functioning. But this does not mean that meetings of Party members and sympathisers are barred even for explanation and for campaigns such as Party funds, literature sales drive and the like.

k) A specific feature of our Party units in almost all areas is that although the Party membership in itself is very small compared to the influence of the Party even this membership has not been drawn into sustained mass activity. The majority of Party members get active only during major struggles and campaigns and the normal Party work is carried on by the whole-timers. This pattern of work acts as a serious obstacle in the way of our developing into a mass Party. It is necessary, therefore, that every Party unit evolves methods and fields of work so that the whole Party may be activated.

l) In spite of the fact that a large number of women are participating in the democratic movement and coming under the influence of the Party, the number of women Party members is insignificant. Special efforts should, therefore, be made to recruit women into the Party and arrangements must be made for their proper education.

33. It is not enough to admit and record these weak-

nesses *in general* most of which, in some form or other, prevail in all units of the Party. What is needed is a concrete struggle against the concrete manifestations of the wrong trends, ideas and practices with a view to improving the work of the unit and of each comrade. Not all the weaknesses and defects can be fought simultaneously and with equal vigour. Attempt to do that will mean frittering away of energy. What is needed for each unit is the utmost concentration on those *specific* shortcomings which can and must be removed immediately in order to improve work. Each unit has to wage this struggle but its own effort taken by itself is not enough. It is precisely here that the help of the higher committee is needed most. In order to act as leader in the system of Party organisation, the higher committees must concretely study the work of the lower committees and point out which particular weaknesses and shortcomings in the specific unit are having the most serious effect, at the moment, on Party and mass work, what those weaknesses are leading to and how they are to be removed. Higher committees have to help the lower committees to understand what specific correction has to be made and how, what task has to be given priority, what specific orientation has to be made in their work, on what to concentrate immediately and so on.

34. Inseparably connected with the question of combating alien trends and tendencies, with the question of improving Party work and with the question of political and organisational unification of the Party is the question of waging principled inner-party struggle.

Its necessity arises from the constant penetration of non-proletarian ideologies, outlook, habits and methods into the Party—ideologies, outlook, habits and methods without combating which the Party cannot grow into a mass proletarian Party and fulfil its task.

It must be realised that despite the great deal of political unification that has been achieved, especially at and after the Third Party Congress, differences on several issues still exist. Such differences will arise in future also because of the

complexity of the problems and the rapidly developing situation which will pose new problems. They will have to be resolved—not by glossing over the differences (as was done often before the Third Party Congress) but by sharply formulating them and by means of principle inner-Party struggle. Further, when the organisational problems are tackled concretely, differences will arise on several organisational problems as well. An attitude of liberalism, an attitude of *balancing* will not help in solving these problems. Comrade Stalin taught : “It may be said without fear of exaggeration that the history of our Party has been a history of inner-Party conflicts, a history of resolving those conflicts, and of gradually strengthening the Party in the process of resolving them”; and that “the resolving of inner-Party differences by means of struggle is a law of development of our Party”. But, as our own history teaches, principled inner-Party struggle, inner-Party struggle that strengthens the party can take place only on the basis of observance of Party forms, proper Party behaviour and a correct comradely attitude towards those from whom one differs. Also consolidation of the Party and its discipline can take place only through principled inner-Party struggle to root out wrong tendencies, ideas, tactics.

35. The urgent *necessity* and immense *possibility* of rapid expansion of the Party must be kept in mind. Along with other reasons, one main reason for the failure of the Party to grow is the deep-rooted sectarian attitude on organisational matters both with regard to those who have been in the category of “militants” for a long period and with regard to new members seeking admission into the Party. This sectarianism must be abandoned in order that the Party may grow and carry out the immense tasks confronting it. At the same time, utmost vigilance has to be exercised against the swamping of the Party with undesirable elements. A policy of rapid promotion of cadres must be initiated.

Special care must be taken to enrol members from the working class and toiling peasants and special attention must be paid towards their *ideological development*.

36. Further, it must be remembered that in order that the Party may acquire a firm base in the working class and peasantry, especially the poor peasants and agricultural workers, education of cadres from these classes is a key task. This task, in view of the general cultural backwardness of the country, involves not only education in Marxism but also, and as a step towards it, *general education*, general raising of their cultural level including literacy. This task had to be undertaken by the Chinese Communist Party also, as it had to train a large number of cadres coming from the ranks of the peasantry.

37. What has been stated about the importance of building a base for the party in the working class and peasantry should not lead to minimisation of the significance of work in the intelligentsia—especially the students. These sections which are extremely important in a semi-colonial country like India, cannot get drawn towards Communism and the Communist Party through struggles for their economic demands alone. In order to draw them, especially the most serious and intellectually developed among them, towards the Party, ideological work on the basis of Marxism has to be carried on among them on a big scale and the doubts which they express have to be patiently removed. They have to be intellectually convinced about the correctness of Marxism, of the Programme of the Party and the falseness and inadequacy of the theories and solutions preached by the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties. Such systematic ideological work today is practically absent. Without this, the Party will remain politically weak, the work of educating Party members will suffer and the problem of cadres which has already grown serious will not be solved.

38. Newly enrolled members should be placed in the category of candidates. As far as possible separate cells should not be formed of candidate members and candidates should be placed in the same cell as full-fledged Party members. This will help their education and political development. Where, due to absence of party units, cells have to be formed with candidate members alone, special attention must be paid

by PCs and DCs and Local Committees towards their functioning and education.

39. Party building, it must be emphasised again and again, takes place in sharp struggle against theories of spontaneity, theories which often manifest themselves in recognising the importance of every kind of activity—except such activity as builds the Party itself, as strengthens Party organisations, as brings new members to the Party, as helps the Party to overcome its organisational and financial and other difficulties. The formula that the Party is the highest form of organisation is repeated quite often but its implications are not understood. It is not understood that in the final analysis the work of each unit and each comrade is to be assessed by the extent to which it helps to draw the masses towards the party and the best of them into the Party. This is the acid test of the effectiveness of our work as a whole and it is this test that must be applied continuously and systematically by every unit when reviewing its work, when checking it up, when evolving ways and means to improve work. In other words, progress is to be measured not merely by the growth of “general political influence” but by the growth of mass organisations, circulation of newspapers, collection of funds and, above all, growth of the party itself.

40. Together with all this, and as a part of the task of strengthening the Party, it is necessary for each *individual* comrade to improve his own functioning, to re-examine his own work, to remould his own life and educate himself by regular study of current political literature as well as classics of Marxism. Collective functioning *helps* each comrade to carry out this task better but no amount of collective functioning, collective check-up, collective discussion, can be a *substitute* for conscious effort by each comrade to raise his ideological-political level and improve his work.

Naturally, all the weaknesses and defects in our organisation cannot be removed in a short time. It demands not merely adoption of certain rules and resolutions, but prolonged and sustained efforts.

The point to grasp is that only on the basis of an immediate and all-sided assault on these weaknesses, at all levels, will it be possible to build a strong Party which alone will be able to lead the masses to victory.

41. The political aim of the party as put forward in the Party Programme will not be realised unless the Party puts before itself an organisational aim also—its growth into a mass political party and the building up of a collective leadership in the Centre and at all levels—and makes a sustained effort to realise that aim steadily in the course of its work. The maturing of economic and political crisis in the country makes the serious undertaking of this task all the more urgent. On our activity to carry out this task will depend the success of the movement for freedom, democracy and peace.

On the Work of the Third Congress of the C. P. I. & Tasks C. P. I.*

Ajoy Ghosh

General Secretary, Communist Party of India

I. Background

Any attempt at reviewing the Party Congress has to take into account, first of all, the background in which the Third Congress of our Party met. What were the main features of the situation in which we met at Madurai?

First, there had been a lessening of international tension, taking the world as a whole. But, at the same time, some serious international developments had recently taken place which vitally concern India: the recent military alliance between the USA and Pakistan had brought the cold war to our very doorstep. It marked not only an extension of U.S. war bases, but constitutes a threat to India's sovereignty. Since the transfer of power in August 1947, no single event had threatened India so directly as this U.S. move.

Secondly, internally, the Five-Year Plan had met with a fiasco. This was a major development, for it was a Plan by which the Indian ruling class had hoped to strengthen their own economy and stabilise their political position in the country.

The sharp deterioration in the economic situation in the country, the growing pauperisation of the peasant masses, the shrinking of the home market and mounting unemployment revealed the bankruptcy of the Plan and helped to bring home to the people the necessity of breaking the British grip on our economy and sweeping away feudal relics if the people have to be saved from utter ruin.

Thirdly, the few months before the Congress had seen

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very big mass actions all over the country: the hatred against the policies and methods of the Government had struck a level higher than at any time since 1947. And many of these struggles were directed not only against the vested interests but also against the Government, and were spreading to areas which had long been recognised as the traditional strongholds of the Congress.

Fourthly, our Party had come to be regarded by the people as the most important opposition force in the country. By its bold leadership of the struggles of workers, peasants and other anti-imperialist classes and sections, by its efforts at building unity in action, by its selfless and determined championship of the cause of the people, whether inside the legislatures or in the arena of mass action, it has come to be looked upon as the spearhead of the democratic opposition to the ruling party, wielding greater influence than at any time before.

On this question of the leadership of the Party in the democratic opposition, some cobwebs have to be cleared from our understanding: some think that the leading opposition role with which the Party emerged from the General Elections two years back is the capital on which the Party still maintains itself.

There are others who sometimes think that the Party's standing in the country is, in the main, the result of the resounding achievements of the Socialist World—the great stride made by Communism—helping us to shine in a sort of reflected glory.

There are still others who believe that the rapid disillusionment with the Congress is almost automatically leading the masses on to the Red Flag.

But these ideas are incorrect in so far as they do not fully explain the position. Had the Party only thrived on the capital that it is part of a powerful international movement, or that its ranks are swelled just because the masses are breaking away from Congress, then the headway made by the Party should have been the same in every part of the country. But the reality is that the Party is strong only in areas or in

sectors where it has been able to render solid, concrete service to the people.

Moreover, the Party does not live on its past capital alone, for during the last two years there have been occasions when even in its stronger bases, other elements have tried to isolate the Party.

The position of pre-eminence that the Party holds today in the democratic opposition has come to it and is retained by it because of its continuous efforts at standing by the people and struggling with the masses and leading them in struggles for their own demands.

II. Difficulties and Shortcomings

Meeting in such a situation, what was the Party Congress expected to do?

It was expected to make an analysis of the international and national situations and find out the main tasks for the Party.

It should have been able to generalise on the basis of the experience of the last two years of struggles so that mistakes could be rectified, the successes consolidated and the entire Party armed with their lessons.

On the agrarian front, we should have been able to find out the reasons why we have not registered the progress which we should have, and also how to overcome the shortcomings on that important front.

We should have reviewed the progress achieved in building working-class unity.

The Congress should have been able to review our work on the Parliamentary front as also in the municipalities and panchayats, and give the proper guidance so that the Party could make the maximum use of these fronts.

Lastly, and above all, the Party Congress should have been in a position to examine the weaknesses of the Party—political, ideological and organisational—and to take steps to overcome them.

Taking the background of the Congress as it was, it was

perfectly natural to expect the Congress to tackle these problems and lay down the tasks emerging from them. But the paradox of the situation was that although we are today a Party leading the struggles of the masses, yet at our Party Congress—the highest organ of the Party—we could not go into detailed discussion of these problems of the mass movement as also of the Party organisation.

What was this due to?

This was due, first of all, to our not having a proper Party Centre which alone could have guided the work of the Party effectively and, on the basis of this guidance generalised the lessons of the movements in which Party units participated.

This was due, secondly, to the inadequate political preparation for the Congress.

The Party Conferences in the Provinces were, in most cases, held practically on the eve of the Congress. The original decision to conclude Provincial Conference at least two months before the Party Congress—so that the Central Committee could properly study them and assimilate the experiences from them—was not implemented, with the result that the Central leadership was not fully posted with developments in the Provinces; at the same time, it was not possible to postpone the Party Congress because the Party Centre, due to lack of personnel, had reached a critical stage and was on the point of total breakdown.

But notwithstanding this difficulty, the Central Committee too did not fulfil its own commitments. The Central Committee Resolutions on the Political Situation and Party Organisation, passed in March 1953, had been discussed thoroughly at various levels in the Party. The Central Committee could have re-drafted them in time. But even this job was not carried out until the eleventh hour.

With constant demands to fulfil engagements on the mass front, the priority of fulfilling this imperative Party job was often forgotten. Although in the Polit Bureau Resolution of August 1952, strengthening and developing the Party itself was accepted by all comrades as the key link in the chain

even for the further development of the mass movement, this understanding has not yet been translated into practice least of all in the preparations for the Party Congress.

This attitude of neglecting Party jobs, an attitude bordering on irresponsibility, is one of the appalling shortcomings that came to the forefront in the Party Congress, most strikingly in the political preparations for it.

To this may be added another failing which needs to be nailed down: an attitude of liberalism in solving differences inside the Party. On many important issues like the characterisation of Nehru's foreign policy, the role of the peace movement, the assessment of the Five-Year Plan, there had existed deviations—both of a Left and Right nature—inside the Party, but these had not so far been clinched and a firm line, binding on everyone, laid down. Differences were allowed to accumulate.

The result was that there was no escape from them at the Party Congress; they had to be faced and thrashed out and, consequently, other issues had to give place to them and were edged out. Had we not adopted a liberal attitude towards these differences but faced them a long time back, the decks would have been left clear at the Party Congress for taking up more immediate problems of the mass movement as also of the Party.

This brings us back once again to the question of a weak Party Centre. Even principled inner-Party struggle is not possible with a weak Centre. And it is the presistence of this weakness which permitted such deviation to continue for so long.

But despite these shortcomings, it cannot be gainsaid that the Congress will stand out as a landmark in the life of our Party. For a proper appraisal of the work done by the Party Congress, let us take up the main issues which were discussed and decided upon at Madurai.

III. Struggle for Peace and Freedom

In the Political Resolution this time, we did not discuss the international situation in the abstract. We decided to deal

with the international situation only in relation to the tasks that face us in our country.

The U.S.-Pak Pact had brought to the forefront the question of the relation between the peace movement and the national liberation movement which had for so long been argued out inside the Party.

Two dangers came up with this U.S.-Pak Pact: one was refusing to recognise this new U.S. menace; the other was seeing only this U.S. menace and making this the pivot of all our activities. Unless these two deviations were cleared, the moment an emergency situation arose, these two deviations would threaten to disrupt the Party and derail the mass movement.

Both these deviations revealed themselves in the Party Congress. One deviation held that U.S. imperialism was a threat to peace but constituted no serious and immediate threat to India's freedom. The other deviation, in practice, though not in words, wanted to make the U.S. threat the basis of our entire activity.

Thus the question: who is the main enemy? is not an academic question, for with it is bound up our entire line of action.

If U.S imperialism is looked upon as the main enemy not only of peace but also of national freedom, then the tendency would increasingly be of lining up behind the Nehru Government on the plea of fighting the American threat.

If the U.S. constitutes a danger to peace only and in no way menaces our freedom, then the struggle against it and the struggle for peace losses all sense of urgency in relation to our country.

It became necessary at the Party Congress to be absolutely clear on this point. For the way we understand this point will decide our basic attitude towards the Nehru Government itself. Very often we have taken an eclectic attitude towards the Nehru Government. We have stated that we support those acts that are good for the people and oppose those

that are bad for the people. This of course, is true but this is no line at all: it is like the proverbial curate's egg—good in parts. Such an attitude of pure eclecticism does not help at all.

As a matter of fact, there can be only two basic lines: co-operate with the Government but criticise specific acts; or oppose the Government but support specific acts. Here it is not a question of different emphasis only. These are two different lines.

This is a complex question to decide and we cannot take a mechanical line on this issue.

In Western European countries where U.S. domination grows, the economic condition of the masses has worsened because of American intervention in economic affairs like foreign trade, the aggressive military alliance, and the arms programme enforced by America. In such a situation, the struggle for freedom, for a better life and the struggle for peace—the struggle for bringing relief to the masses, the struggle to maintain freedom and the struggle against the war danger—all converge into one single struggle against U.S. imperialism and its allies.

In such a situation, the slogan of a Government of Peace becomes a real slogan, for such a Government is also one which can bring some relief to the people.

Such, however, is not the case in our country. The present economic situation in our country is not due to the war drive of Indian monopolists. We cannot say that our peasantry is facing acute distress today because the country's economy has been put on a warfooting. The deterioration in the position of our masses is primarily due to the existence of the British stranglehold and feudal relics in our country though, of course, the war crisis aggravates it.

Feudalism and British stranglehold are maintained in our country not by a British Army of occupation as in the past but with the active support of the Nehru Government. It is obvious therefore that in our country the struggle for peace has its main edge directed against the American imperialists

while the struggle for freedom has its main edge directed against the British. But struggles have to be conducted simultaneously. At the same time, we have to see the relationship between the two.

For this, first of all, we have to find out what the *basic* struggle is. The basic struggle is that struggle on which, ultimately, depends the fate of our people and the solution of their problems. And the basic struggle in our case is the struggle against British domination and feudalism. This is what the Party Programme points out under the sub-headings, "National Independence of India" and "In the Field of Agriculture and the Peasant Problem."

So we have to find out where the Nehru Government stands in relation to British imperialism, where it stands in relation to feudalism, in order to determine our basic attitude towards it. And since the Government does not fight against them but protects them, our attitude towards the Government continues to be one of general opposition.

What, then, about the struggle for peace? There has been, so far, a very serious under-estimation inside the Party about the importance of the peace movement. The link between the struggle for peace and the struggle for freedom was sought to be discovered through a single slogan; as that was not found, the whole peace movement has been neglected by the Party.

The special significance of the peace movement today in our country has to be understood.

First, we have to bring home to our toiling masses that it is no ordinary war that the USA is desperately trying to launch; it is a war against countries where the working class is in power, because these countries are the most serious obstacles in the path of America's mastery of the world. Also the actual wars that are being waged today—Vietnam, Malaya etc.—and the war that was waged in Korea are wars against the national freedom of the peoples of Asia and Africa whom it is our duty to support.

Secondly, we have to understand that the preparations for this war are being made at a time when the balance of forces

has shifted against the imperialists; so, today, they can launch a war only by mobilising the entire capitalist world—unlike Hitler who could launch the attack on the Soviet Union by relying only on Europe. The USA, therefore, has to bring every country under its control in pursuance of its war plans. In the course of its war drive, the USA is desperately trying to bring every country under its heel. This includes India also. Hence the fight for peace is vital for our country no less than for other countries.

In this connection we have to guard against a wrong understanding about U.S. aims regarding India. It is sometimes said that having failed to get India, the USA has now grabbed Pakistan. This is an incorrect appraisal of U.S. objectives. They have grabbed Pakistan as a means, a stepping stone, to grabbing India. Holding Pakistan, U.S. imperialism points, as if, a pistol towards India and thereby intends to put pressure on and to blackmail the Indian Government into reversing its stand on foreign affairs and toeing the U.S. line.

What would be the upshot if the USA succeeded in its policy of blackmail towards India? In every country which has passed under the sway of the U.S. there has followed a colossal warburden and deterioration of the economic condition of the masses.

Thirdly, India is not like a Middle Eastern country where a reversal in policy can be brought about by a coup at the top. Here there is a powerful democratic movement, a powerful working class and an influential Communist movement. Such a country as ours can be grabbed by the USA only by a total suppression of the democratic movement. Success of American aims in relation to India would therefore mean loss of freedom, worsening of the economic situation and a brutal attack on the working class and democratic movement.

Keeping these dangers in view, any failure to mobilise the entire people for peace, for lessening of international tension by a pact of peace between the Great Powers and against the U.S. menace will be a serious crime against the mass

movement. While there should be no panic leading to the stand that the country must line up behind Nehru, we must on no account ignore these serious threats to the democratic movement, to the interests of our masses, to our freedom and sovereignty itself.

This way we have to see that the struggle for peace and the struggle for freedom, though not identical, are closely linked.

We have to win full freedom from the British but we have also to defend our existing freedom from the increasing menace of the U.S.

Unless we defend it from the U.S., we can never win complete freedom from the British.

Unless we can win complete freedom from the British, we cannot eliminate permanently the threat to our freedom because our backward economy prevents us from building up effective security.

When we speak of struggle for complete freedom from the British, we have to realise that it takes a concrete form in the struggle for a democratic government which will break with the Empire, confiscate British capital and give land to the peasants.

As for the Nehru Government, constitutionally it has got the power to take steps to confiscate British capital and abolish feudalism, but it does not exercise that power because it follows a policy of collaboration with feudalism and imperialism, as it represents certain classes. Failure to see this will lead us to the wrong conclusion that the Nehru Government is only a "victim" of British domination, not an ally, and in practice may lead to a tendency towards adopting a soft attitude towards the Nehru Government and weakening of mass struggles.

We have to guard against a sectarian deviation also: when the Nehru Government takes a good step for peace, some comrades get embarrassed and confused. We have to understand that apart from their class interests—their class does not want a world war—and the influence of British imperialism,

there is also the growing strength of the democratic movement, of the peace sentiment of the masses which the Nehru Government cannot ignore or put down.

On such issues where the Government takes a positive step, we have to try to forge a united front even with the Congress masses. When the Government declares against the atom bomb or in favour of negotiation between the Great Powers, for instance, we must welcome it wholeheartedly, without any 'buts' and 'ifs'.

This way with an integrated and comprehensive understanding, we can avoid both deviations.

Essential for the struggle against the American threat also is the development of friendly relations between the peoples of India and Pakistan.

In the task of developing a powerful peace movement, the biggest negligence has been on the part of the trade union organisations and also, to a great extent, of the peasant organisations.

In the past, we faced two deviations—peace through national liberation, or national liberation through peace. This time these two deviations have come up in a different form—one deviation says the U.S. is only a threat to peace and not to our freedom; the other deviation says the U.S. is the only enemy we have to fight for both peace and national liberation. Both these deviations have been rejected at the Party Congress.

The struggle for peace and the struggle for national liberation are not identical or coextensive. All those who are in the struggle for freedom will join the struggle for peace, but many in the struggle for peace may not join the struggle for full freedom.

IV. Basic Feature of the National Situation

What is the basic feature of the present national situation?

The formulation made by the Central Committee in its Resolution of March 1953 has been endorsed by the Party Congress. The formulatioin is: We are now in the midst of a

deepening economic crisis and the initial stages of a political crisis.

First, we have to understand why it is necessary to find out the basic feature at all. If we go back in our Party history, we find that without an understanding of the basic feature of a situation, we have landed ourselves again and again into wrong positions.

For instance, take the situation in 1945-47. The tendency at that time on the part of the Central Committee was to say that "on the one hand" there was a big upsurge of the people, "on the other hand" there was communal disruption. This sort of eclectic understanding leads to derailment—seizing a single phenomenon and, on the basis of that, rushing to generalisation.

Also there are comrades who, before the General Elections, said that the Party had been smashed up, the Party had lost influence among the masses; the same comrades, after our resounding electoral victories, rushed to the conclusion that now we were on the high road to victory, scoring success after success in one straight line; then when the UDF prospects dimmed with the inevitable withering away of temporary alliance of the election days, the same comrades again started making wise formulations that reaction was on the upswing.

Thus, seizing on an immediate development, they generalise on the basis of that, never caring to look at an entire period in a comprehensive manner. It is for these reasons that it is very necessary to have a correct understanding of the *basic* feature of the period on the basis of the general overall situation.

With such an understanding of the basic feature alone can we fight both types of deviation. By taking this up, the Party Congress has armed us with a correct appreciation of the present situation.

Why is it that the basic feature of the present situation is characterised as the "initial stage" of the political crisis? That a political crisis is maturing in the country can no longer

be denied in view of the happenings in Travancore-Cochin, Andhra, Hyderabad, the result of the municipal elections in U.P., the sharpening conflict in the Congress, the way some struggles, as in Calcutta, grew into mass political battles.

At the same time, we have to note that in contrast to 1945-46, though big struggles have broken out in this period, nearly all of them began as struggles for immediate demands which, on a number of occasions, grew into united anti-Government struggles; in a number of cases, the struggle of one section of the people developed into the struggle of the entire people of the area, yet, even now, such immense peasant struggles as Tebhaga have not grown. All these factors should be taken into account.

In this connection, two tendencies are likely to come up.

We may make the mistake of looking at the struggles of today as ordinary economic struggles. We may tend to forget the economic and political situation in which they are taking place, the way they are rousing millions, the serious situation they are creating for the ruling classes, the way they are defeating the attempt to solve the crisis at the cost of the masses, and thus we may ignore the profound social and political significance of the economic struggles of today.

At the same time, we have to guard against rushing to the conclusion that today each struggle will develop into a "miniature civil war", will have to be carried forward and raised to a higher level and so on.

The Party Congress has warned against both these deviations.

Today, if the Party wants to get strong, it has to base itself, above all on the economic and other immediate demands of the people. Even the struggles for such demands that have not succeeded have left their impress on the people. We must not think that because this is a period of the maturing of political crisis, such struggles for immediate economic demands of the people are not important.

On the contrary, their importance and the importance of day-to-day trade union and kisan sabha work grows. Every

success today, no matter how small, defeats the attempt of the ruling class to throw burdnes on the masses and also heightens people's confidence in their own strength. In this connection, we should read again what Lenin wrote about the significance of the struggles for economic demands even in the period of 1905.

In the present period, if we do not take up immediate economic demands, we shall remain where we are or even fall back. It is a question today of winning the confidence of the people and strengthening our links with them by taking up issues which affect them immediately.

At the same time, we must know that this by itself is not enough. Today is the time when the working class can be made conscious of its historic role—and so political education can and must be imparted to the working class masses.

On such issues as unemployment, political education can be imparted in a popular manner and on a mass scale, showing to the working class how the solution of the problems that face them depends on basic agrarian reform and why, therefore, the working class must champion the demands of the peasantry.

This is important in another way. Without a growing number of cadres, it is not possible to sustain and take the movement forward. It is only mass political agitation that will enable us to draw such cadres from the working class. Also through such agitation the basis will be created for mass political action by the working class which is essential for extending and strengthening of the democratic movement.

The establishment of working class hegemony is necessary not merely for the final success of the movement but for its strengthening and consolidation also. This is to be done in two ways—mass action by the working class and the building of a mass Party—which are closely inter-related.

And both demand the undertaking of mass political agitation on the widest scale, especially among the working class, and political education and strengthening of the Party

which, specially because of the growing crisis, become tasks of decisive importance.

V. On to a Government of Democratic Unity

We have to see in what direction the present struggles are moving. And in this context we have to understand the central slogan of the Government of Democratic Unity that the Party Congress has given.

The economic struggles of today have some distinct features.

First, in these struggles, the Government is coming out before the masses as being always on the side of the vested interests.

Second, some of the actions, like the anti-tax campaigns, are directly against Government measures and so bring the people face to face in struggle against the Government.

Third, these struggles are taking place at a time when the mass of the people has come to realise that the Government does not represent the majority of the people and when the need for basic changes and the need for a Government does not represent the majority of the people and when the need for basic changes and the need for a Government that will effect these changes becomes increasingly evident to the mass of the people.

It is these features that give the present struggles a new significance. They raise the question of political power provided they are properly directed and firmly led. The key slogan giving a direction to these struggles is that of a Government of Democratic Unity.

In the State of Travancore-Cochin, where the crisis is acutest and the democratic movement and the Communist Party strong, this has already come to the forefront as the slogan of the day. In Andhra also a similar situation may develop.

The crisis, of course, will not mature in the same manner in all States. But as it matures, as the struggles of the people grow, as the people more and more realise both the necessity and the possibility of removing the Government from power,

it will become possible to raise this as a practical slogan in State after State.

This perspective gives urgency to our work in the mass organisations. The present unevenness of the movement constitutes a serious weakness. Unless we develop the movement all over the country, we shall not be able to discharge our responsibility towards areas which are on the frontline today, nor shall we be able to carry forward the movement as a whole.

As a means of carrying forward this struggle, it is of utmost importance to evolve correct united front tactics. The last two years have provided rich experience in this sphere and all this came up for examination at the Party Congress.

But these successes, significant as they are, are extremely meagre compared to what has yet to be done. It was clear from our experiences that tendencies both of a liquidationist and sectarian character persist on this issue inside our Party.

For instance, there is the tendency of looking upon "Left unity"—unity of Left parties—as a necessary precondition to the building of broad democratic unity. This concept is wrong. Firstly, it leads to minimisation of the importance of work which has to be carried on directly by the Communist Party among masses who are still under Congress and other reactionary influence. Secondly it ignores the fact that today, as the result of their own experience, vast numbers of people are adopting a critical attitude towards the Government or are prepared to participate in specific struggles on specific issues but are not yet prepared to accept our Programme or the programme of any Left party or even their leadership. Emphasis on Left unity as a precondition or as a necessary step towards democratic unity would result in ignoring these masses and failure to evolve slogans and tactics to draw them into common activity and common organisation. This has actually happened in several areas and hampered mass mobilisation.

There is also the tendency to submerge the Party in various united front organisations which prevents the Party's independent mobilisation of the people under its own banner and its coming before them as their tribune and champion.

There is also the further tendency of not building united front agreements with other parties, of adopting a sectarian attitude towards them and towards the masses who follow them.

The experience on all these issues has been so variegated and complex that the Party Congress asked the new Central Committee to study concretely the situation in different Provinces and to rectify the mistakes that have manifested themselves.

At the same time the Congress called upon the entire Party to wage a firm struggle against sectarianism on this score, which is preventing the full unfolding of the mass movement. Eschewing of sectarianism does not merely mean the adoption of a friendly attitude towards the "Left parties"; the united front in today's context means the drawing in of the vast masses who are getting disillusioned with the Congress and also with the Socialist Party but are not yet prepared to subscribe to the entire Programme of our Party.

The drawing of these masses into the common movement through the evolving of concrete, immediate slogans and suitable forms of activities, the full utilisation of existing labour, tenancy and other laws for defending the interests of the masses, the organisation of more effective work in the legislatures and in the municipalities and panchayats so as to win the support of all honest and patriotic elements, irrespective of their political affiliations—all this must be looked upon as part of comprehensive united front policy for the development of a broad mass movement.

Above all, it must be emphasised that the unity that has to be built is unity of the masses in action, unity of parties, organisations and individuals for mass action in defence of the rights and demands of the people, unity for the waging of struggles on the widest scale in every sphere. It is only through such unity and such united action that the democratic front will be built.

The Congress also pointed out that in the trade union work conducted by Communists, the tendency to concentrate

merely on "exposure" of reformist leaders without serious effort to activate the mass of workers and instil in them elementary trade union consciousness still persists and is the dominant deviation.

Due to the prevalence of a totally wrong understanding of the relation between the Party and trade unions, there have been many cases of "trade unions being reduced to Party groups and absence of democratic functioning". Only through determined struggle against all such tendencies can mass working class movement be built up and the capitalist offensive defeated.

VI. Correction of Bourgeois-Nationalist Deviation

A significant contribution made by the Party Congress towards unification in the understanding and practice of the Party lies in the correction of certain bourgeois-nationalist deviations that have manifested themselves in the Party.

On the issues of forms of struggle, the tendency had arisen in some places of acquiescing in the satyagraha form of struggle as a substitute for mass action.

There is a history behind this: After the General Elections, in Maharashtra, different parties started satyagraha for food and we also decided to participate, and this produced good results for mass mobilisation.

In Calcutta, different Left parties launched a satyagraha for food, but we kept out of the whole struggle on the ground that satyagraha is a Gandhian form of struggle; and since we could not go in for general strikes, we stayed away from it. This was a mistake, and was corrected.

Subsequently, at some places the deviation developed of looking upon satyagraha as the main form of struggle.

The Party Congress made it clear that satyagraha is a form of struggle which disrupts mass participation and brings only some pressure upon the enemy. In fact, it is a counterpart of terrorism relying on the same principle of heroes leading passive masses and reducing the people to the role of spectators. While in some backward areas, satyagraha may

become necessary at the first stage, it should not be allowed to become a substitute for mass action.

Another deviation that was corrected at the Party Congress was the bourgeois-nationalist deviation in relation to Linguistic States.

The movement for Linguistic States is basically a democratic movement because one of the elements of democracy is that the common people must be able to participate in government, which multi-lingual States prevent.

Secondly, it is democratic because it attacks the feudalist strongholds which so long have retarded their formation.

Thirdly, democracy demands full flowering of culture which is possible in Linguistic States.

But in conducting this movement, we have sometimes committed mistakes of not firmly combating bourgeois-nationalist deviations and even allowing them to penetrate our ranks.

The Party Congress declared that in India today the unity of the toiling masses of all nationalities is the most important thing—far more important than the unity of all classes inside the same nationality. Whenever disputes arise between two Provinces regarding territorial claims, they are to be settled by the Party units concerned along with the Polit Bureau. No Party unit can be allowed to come out on its own demanding some areas from a neighbouring Province.

We should note that the demand for Linguistic States is a demand which unites all classes inside a nationality, including the feudal classes. We do not reject such a unity but we consider the unity of the toiling masses of different nationalities as the most precious thing which must not be violated at any cost.

It must also be remembered that the main obstacle in the way of formation of Linguistic States today is the continuation of such so-called Part 'B' States as Hyderabad, Travancore-Cochin, etc., and also of the multi-national artificial States like Bombay, Madras and Madhya Pradesh.

It is the breaking up of such States and the redrawing of

State boundaries primarily on the basis of language that is therefore the main task in this sphere at the present stage—and not the solution of the problem of every “disputed” area or the undoing of every “injustice”.

If this is not seen attention is bound to be focused on these areas and the whole movement diverted into disruptive channels.

A third deviation which the Party Congress fought against was separatism. It came up on the question of a common language.

Our Party Programme provides for education in one's own mother tongue and opposes all attempts at imposing a common language by compulsion. This is necessary for the cultural advance of the entire people and the strengthening of democracy.

At the same time, we have to realise that the Communist Party stands for the unity of India, which is necessary both for the defence of freedom and for the rapid economic, political and social rebuilding of India. Also we want the people of different nationalities fighting for freedom and democracy to come closer to each other.

This demands the building of close relations between the nationalities that live in India and, therefore, raises the question of a language in which people of different nationalities can speak with each other.

It was decided at the Party Congress that no compulsory State language should be introduced, but Hindi is to be encouraged as the language for communication between Governments of different States and peoples of different States.

In this connection it was pointed out that in areas where Hindi is spoken, there the Party will have to emphasise the fact that in non-Hindi areas the national languages must not be suppressed but made the medium for education and for all work of the Government. There they will have to fight against chauvinism trying to suppress national languages.

At the same time, in areas where Hindi is not spoken, the Party, while upholding the right of national languages, must

also encourage and popularise Hindi. There they will have to fight against separatism trying to undermine the unity of India.

In this way, the Party as a whole concretely upholds proletarian, internationalism, warding off both chauvinism and separatism.

This was the only amendment the Congress introduced in the Party Programme, while ratifying it. It held that every proposition made by it had been proved to be correct in practice and that by adhering to it the Party has won its present position.

VII. Need for a Strong Party Centre

On the question of Party organisation, the Congress noted the glaring shortcomings which persist in our organisation and functioning.

The most important point made in the discussion on the subject was the urgency of building of a strong and effective Party Centre.

The absence of a strong Party Centre has seriously affected the entire activity of the Party. The work of practically every Party unit has suffered because of the absence of a proper Party Centre. This weakness, it was emphatically asserted at the Congress, has to be immediately overcome.

With this is linked up the building of a mass Party without which the political goal which the Party has set before the democratic movement cannot materialise. The present membership of the Party—50,000 members and about 20,000 candidates—is too small for the task the Party faces.

In every Province, thousands more are eager to join the Party, but the Party units find it difficult to cope with the problem of enrolment, training and development. From this angle also, the questions of organisation and Party education have become key questions before the Party.

For such tasks to be undertaken on a big scale a strong Party Centre is an urgent necessity. In this way, the building up of a mass Party of the working class is intimately bound up with the building of the Party Centre.

Taking into account the immense expansion in the work of the Party and also the necessity of guiding the movement in every part of the country, the Congress elected a Central Committee of thirty-nine members, and the Central Committee elected a Polit Bureau of the nine members all of whom would have their jobs planned out by the Polit Bureau itself and not by any lower committees. This is absolutely essential for the proper working of the Party Centre.

From the above review it becomes clear that despite serious shortcomings, the Party Congress did record certain very important achievements:

Firstly, on such issues as the question of peace and war and its relation to the struggle for national liberation; on the role of British and American imperialism; on the basic attitude towards the Nehru Government; on the question of the Five-Year Plan—on all such vital issues, the Party Congress set down the correct line, fighting wrong trends.

Secondly, the Party Congress made the basic generalisation about the present situation and armed the Party with the immediate perspective in which the struggles for the immediate demands of different sections of the people acquire tremendous significance.

Thirdly, the Party Congress corrected some serious deviations which betrayed the persistence of a bourgeois nationalist trend inside the Party. This way, the Congress saved the Party from some of the dangerous pitfalls facing it.

Lastly, the Party Congress took the first step towards overcoming the organisational weakness of the Party by stressing the immediate need for the building of the Party Centre.

With these concrete achievements, the Party Congress marks a major step in the growth of our Party, making it conscious of its historic responsibilities in view of the significant position that India occupies in the present-day world—responsibilities which have become heavier because of the critical national situation and the threat to peace and our freedom.

The decisions of the Third Party Congress will no doubt

arm every Party member with greater strength in effectively discharging these responsibilities.

TASKS BEFORE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA*

During the last two years, since our All-India Party Conference in October 1951, when we adopted our Party Programme, big shifts have taken place in the international situation. This period has seen big fiascos—political, economic and military—for the imperialists. Secondly, it is marked by tremendous advances made by the democratic forces. Thirdly, in all these developments, the working class and the Communist Parties have played a very important role.

Two years ago, even before the General Elections, our Party was looked upon by our people with love and respect. This was because of the fact that despite shortcomings the Party had all through stood by the masses and fought in defence of their interests. Not to recognise this is to be blind to reality.

It is this reality which announced itself in the General Elections, which clearly indicated that the masses were moving away from the Congress and taking to the path of struggle in defence of their interests, that they could not be misled by reaction. Moreover, inside the democratic camp itself, the Communist Party emerged as the leading force.

Since the General Elections, this crisis of the ruling class had deepened. Its hold on the masses has shrunk and continues to shrink. Its failure to provide relief to the people and, instead, placing new burdens on them, have increased the hatred of the masses towards it and made its regime more unstable.

War Danger

Turning to the international scene, it is clear that more and more the masses in every country are coming to realise that U.S. imperialism under the garb of anti-Communism is aiming at world domination. With the latest U.S. move for

*Abridged text of a speech moving the Political Resolution before the Third Party Congress.

war pact with Pakistan this is becoming clearer to our people also. But there is yet an underestimation as to the exact nature of the U.S. threat, and from this flows an under-estimation of the importance of the peace movement.

We have to bring home to our people that today no country is immune from the war danger. Among our people there is a tendency to look upon the cold war as a struggle between two blocs trying to destroy each other. And it is this attitude which Nehru has been exploiting by declaring that his Government stands for non-alignment with either of the two blocs.

The Indian people deeply desire peace and so, with their prevailing understanding of the cold war as a tug-of-war between two power blocs, they support Nehru's foreign policy of non-alignment. It is thus, by their support to Nehru's policy, that they express their urge for peace.

It is precisely this that we have to make clear to our people. We have to show to them that the issue that lies at the heart of the cold war is not ideology but the sovereignty and independence of every people. The U.S. drive for world mastery threatens every country and we have to make our people realise that India's sovereignty is also being threatened by the growing American menace which has now come to our doorstep with the U.S.-Pak Pact. So, an urgent task today is to mobilise our people to make them see the American threat.

We have also to make it clear to our people that war will bring increased burdens on the masses; the economic hardships that the people are facing will grow and will ruin our impoverished people.

To the toiling millions we have also to point out that the war that U.S. is threatening to unleash is against the countries where the working class has won power. Are we not concerned in that war? That war, today, cannot be launched with bringing neighbouring countries into the orbit of the U.S. war camp and, of these, India is one. This way too, we have to bring home to our people the enormity of the U.S. war menace.

By fighting this menace we defend the cause of peace. Also we defend our own freedom which will be seriously jeopardised if the Americans succeed in blackmailing the Indian Government to line up behind them.

It must be admitted that in our Party there has been a serious under-estimation of the peace movement. Above all, the trade unions and also the kisan sabhas have failed to take up the issue. Basically, this is due to our impermissible attitude towards the issue of war and peace and its vital relation to our country. This has to go.

Backward Economy

But this is not the only thing for us to do. We have to realise that the threat to our sovereignty today has become serious because of the backward character of our economy. The liquidation of that backwardness is our key task. The U.S. threat will grow more and more so long as our country remains economically backward.

Without liquidating feudalism and throwing off imperialist fetters we shall not be able to defend our sovereignty effectively. The new threat, therefore, also adds urgency to our national liberation tasks.

Therefore, we are faced with two important tasks—mobilising our people against the U.S. war menace, and carrying forward the struggle for liberation from the British yoke and feudal bondage. Both the tasks are vitally important. *Of these two, the basic task, however, is the winning of national freedom from the British, for on it depends ultimately the successful realisation of every other task.*

Our basic attitude towards every party in the country, including the Government, is determined by its attitude towards British imperialism and feudalism. If we do not see this, we shall make big mistakes.

The question is raised as to which of the two tasks we should take up now. That is an incorrect approach to the problem. Such a question can arise only if the two tasks are opposed to each other. But we have to understand that they

are not so. If world war breaks out, what happens to our freedom? Is it not seriously endangered?

The struggle for peace and the struggle for freedom are not identical. The main edge of one is against American and of the other against the British. Nevertheless, the two struggles help each other. The struggle for peace contributes to the weakening of imperialism on a world scale—hence to the weakening of British imperialism also. The struggle for freedom helps the struggle for peace for, by eliminating the British hold on India, we weaken U.S. imperialism as well.

At the same time, we should understand that the two movements are not co-extensive. The peace movement is broader than the struggle for liberation. All those who participate in the struggle for liberation must come into the peace movement. But all those in the peace movement may not agree to participate in the struggle for liberation.

Peace Movement

Now, what should be the slogans of the peace movement in India?

Firstly, they should be the same as the *slogans* of the world peace movement. At the same time, there should be some specific *tasks* of the Indian peace movement: in India, the struggle for peace must help to build up the solidarity of the colonial peoples. The sense of Asian solidarity which is the expression of the anti-imperialist urge, can deal a powerful blow against U.S. warmongers today. This was seen very clearly when Eisenhower's policy of making Asians fight Asians raised a storm all over India.

The campaign for peace, it should also be noted, is not the job of the peace organisations alone. The various mass organisations and the Party have independently to take up such slogans for peace and help to build up a powerful peace movement.

Nehru Government

The question next arises as to our attitude towards the Nehru

Government, particularly in respect of its foreign policy. We wholeheartedly support all positive steps taken by the Nehru Government that help the cause of peace, but we can by no means give general support even to the foreign policy of the Nehru Government. Nehru's policy is one of silent acquiescence with regard to the acts of British imperialism.

When Nehru takes a positive step, it is the product of not merely his own class interest but also the result of the mass movement, the mass sentiment against aggressive imperialism. So according of wholehearted support to such specific positive steps is correct.

At the same time, we have to understand that in 1947 power was transferred to a class that fears the people more than it hates imperialism. Constitutionally, the Nehru Government has the power to liquidate feudalism but because it is the Government of certain classes, it does not do that. It has the power to liquidate the British stranglehold, but it does not do so.

The imperialist hold and feudalism are maintained in India today not by means of the British army but by the active support of the present Indian Government. Hence our struggle for the liquidation of feudalism and imperialism takes the form of a struggle for the replacement of this Government by a Democratic Government.

This is the basic task for our people. The backwardness of Indian economy is rooted in the continuation of feudalism and British capital, and to overcome this backwardness involves the replacement of the Nehru Government. If this is not understood, we shall shout against imperialism in the abstract and look upon the Nehru Government not as a collaborator and active partner but as a victim.

What is the stage that the people's struggle has reached? what is its direction? What are its forms of organisation?

The key formulation that we have made is that not merely is there a deepening of the economic crisis, but there is also the initial stage of a political crisis. In fact, it is the deepening of economic crisis that is at the root of the political

crisis. Every section, every class, bases its activity on this deepening crisis—from the British imperialists and the Indian monopolists to the Communist Party of India.

Five-Year Plan

As our Programme says Nehru plays between the two camps. This playing between camps implies that the Nehru Government is not an entirely puppet Government, but has a certain amount of freedom to manoeuvre. If that is true in the field of foreign affairs, it is equally true in the economic field. In both spheres, the Government pursues a policy which, while being within the imperialist framework, is also one which serves the class interest of the Indian monopolists.

The Five-Year Plan should be correctly characterised as the product of collaboration. Through it the imperialists certainly wanted to maintain India as their colony. But it must also be remembered that through this very Plan the Indian monopolists wanted to stabilise their economy and strengthen their own political position also.

It is obvious today that the Plan has failed. Not only has it not helped the masses, not only has it meant more burdens for them, but it has failed in another sense too—while monopolists have reaped huge profits, their basic economic and political object has not been realised. Their economy is cracking, their political position has grown worse. Mounting unemployment, a growing crisis of the market, a rising wave of mass struggles proclaim the fiasco of the Five-Year Plan.

Maturing Crisis

In this connection, we must note that the struggles of today are not merely the result of the economic distress of the people, but are also due to the weakening of the political grip of the Congress over the people. Today it is the continuation of both these factors which is giving the present wave of mass struggles a very big momentum.

The process was found to be at work at the time of the General Elections but has accentuated in recent times. The

West Bengal Bye-Election and the U.P. Municipal Elections are but two of the pointers.

The confidence of the people and their militancy too show certain directions of struggles. But many factors still hold back the growth of the mass movement—Congress influence, Socialist Party tactics, communal parties etc.

Bourgeois-Nationalist Influence

In this context we have also to note the retarding influence of bourgeois nationalism on the mass movement in our country. For one thing, we often see its impress on the very form of the movement itself. At many places, the masses are led astray by the Gandhian technique of Satyagraha which acts as a brake on mass mobilisation.

Satyagraha tries to check all-out mass mobilisation and helps to dissipate the energy and the resources of the movement. Under exceptional circumstances, in the backward areas, it may sometimes become necessary as a first step but we have to note that this Gandhian form of movement acts as a positively retarding factor. Its use therefore has to be discouraged.

Bourgeois-nationalist influence also express itself on the issue of Linguistic States. We regard the movement for Linguistic States as part of the democratic movement.

But while struggling for Linguistic States we have always to bear in mind that the overriding consideration in all cases must be the unity of the toiling masses and not the unity with the bourgeoisie inside each nationality. The unity of the toiling masses is the biggest asset of the Communist Party which must never be lost.

In fighting for the demand for Linguistic States we try to mobilise all classes of each nationality, but we must never allow the bourgeoisie of each nationality to raise chauvinist claims on neighbouring nationalities and thereby destroy the unity of the toiling masses. Whenever there is a dispute, the Communist Party units have to discuss the matter and take a common stand. There can be no exception whatsoever to this rule.

Particularly, we have to realise that the working class at many places in India is of a mixed character, composed of elements from various nationalities. We must on no account allow disturbance of the unity of the working class.

We have also to give up the bourgeois-nationalist way of understanding political struggle. The bourgeois approach to the political movement is to confine attention purely to such political issues like elections, ministerial crises etc. Little attention is paid by them to the immediate demands of the masses.

We have to realise that a decisive role in the present situation will be played by the struggle for immediate economic demands. We have to build up the struggle for the realisation of such demands on whose success will depend the growth of the political movement itself.

Concluding from the formulation that this is a period of maturing political crisis, we may tend to confine ourselves to purely "political issues". That would be wrong. We have to understand that without moving millions we cannot defeat the policies of the Government. And millions cannot be moved without taking up their immediate economic demands.

Attack on Democratic Forms

The nature of the Government offensive against the people has to be properly understood. It is evident that the Government attacks civil liberties. But it also hoped that by means of universal franchise and the Constitution, it would be able to come to power by popular sanction and thereby create the illusion that it is a democratic government.

At the time of the General Elections, some hoped that, whatever ground the Congress lost, it would be communal reaction that would win. Nehru hoped that Congress, if it lost would lose to the Socialists. But these hopes did not materialise. The Congress had to lose in the main to the democratic forces led by the Communist Party.

So, the Government has started the attack on the very democratic forms with which it had hoped to bluff the people: in PEPSU, Tripura, Travancore-Cochin, in Hyderabad,

normal ministerial Government is withheld the moment it sees the danger. And now Government spokesmen like T.T. Krishnamachari openly say that even if the Communists win, they won't allow the formation of a Government in Travancore-Cochin in which there are Communists.

Against this offensive, we have to build up the people's counter-offensive in defence of democratic rights. Our Programme clearly states that the Constitution is a deception and through it the working class cannot come to power. So, it is not merely a question of only winning elections. We have to mobilise people for the defence of democratic liberties and democratic forms, for, by attacking these, the Government is trying to hamper the growing mass movement against itself.

Democratic Front

The democratic forces have to be mobilised, the Democratic Front built. The Democratic Front should be understood in terms of *a movement*—the building of a broad mass movement on the immediate issues. If we find that an agreement between parties will help mass participation on a particular issue, the Communist Party will strive to get such an agreement.

But in view of the fact that newer and newer sections, including elements inside the Congress—much beyond the confines of even the Left parties—are splitting away and take up an oppositional stand from issue to issue, we consider that the Democratic Front should not be rigidly circumscribed within the framework of a permanent organisation.

Our overriding consideration should be to ensure the maximum mass mobilisation under the Democratic Front, and whatever stands in the way of that—whether our own sectarian or dogmatic outlook or rigid organisational concepts—has to be given up.

Today the question of the United Front has to be raised in the context of a deepening economic crisis and a maturing political crisis. This brings on the agenda the question of replacing the present Government. The features of the present

phase of the mass movement indicate that increasing sections of the masses are seeing through their own experience that this Government protects the vested interests and preserves a system that deprives them of their own basic needs and exploits them.

This way many of the economic struggles very soon get transformed into struggles against the Government. Further, many of the struggles of today—for example, struggles against unjust taxes, are struggles directly against the Government. Also, struggles of one section of the people often get transformed into struggles of the entire people. The people's upsurge is sometimes breaking out even where the mass movement is weak, as in Saurashtra, Rajasthan or U.P.

Government of Democratic Unity

The slogan which gives the general direction to all these various struggles is the slogan of the Government of Democratic Unity.

On the face of it, it may seem that such a Government can be formed on the basis of winning elections. But we have to understand that it can come only as the result of multi-pronged mass activity, in which elections, Parliamentary activity, as well as mass mobilisation and mass action, have all to be geared up. Such a Government represents the fighting alliance of all classes.

A Government of Democratic Unity has to be the organ for the defence of the interests of the people. As a product of the mass movement it has to be the instrument of giving relief to the masses. By its very nature, it, in its turn, will also help to develop the mass movement.

The mass mobilisation for the achievement of the Government of Democratic Unity in a particular State must not be confined to that State alone. The mass mobilisation must extend to all the States so that it may act as a brake against the Congress ruling class, concentrating its attack in that particular State where such a Government of Democratic Unity is on the agenda.

This understanding of the slogan of a Government of Democratic Unity has always to be borne in mind. It can come into being only as a result of the widest mass mobilisation and mass struggles, it can function and give relief to the masses if the mass movement all the time actively backs it up.

Drawing its strength and sustenance from the mass movement, such a Government itself will help to further the mass movement so that the masses may win more relief and be strengthened.

It is with this perspective before us that we Communists have to work among our people and take them forward.

Our Tasks Among the Peasant Masses*

**Resolution adopted by the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of India
at its meeting in April 1954**

Introduction

For the last two years we have been trying to concretise our tasks among the peasant and agricultural labourer masses. In the course of these discussions, various problems and controversies have come to the forefront. The most important of them are as follows:

1. What are the features of our agrarian economy and in what direction is the Congress agrarian legislation modifying it? Does the Congress agrarian legislation keep intact the feudal character of our agriculture or does it weaken it and tend towards development of capitalist mode of production in agriculture? If it is the latter, to what extent and in what form?

Connected with this problem, questions have been raised as to what is the specific character of feudalism in our country's economy; what constitutes the development of capitalism in agriculture, and what is the role of imperialist colonial exploitation in our agrarian economy?

2. Similarly, questions have been raised as to how far class differentiation has taken place among the peasantry. What are its consequences? What should be our demands and attitude in regard to the various sections of the peasant masses? This inevitably leads us to the study and careful analysis of the class composition in the rural areas and to evolve a concrete programme and work out suitable tactics for implementing it.

3. Another basic question that has been raised is whether,

*Published as a booklet in June 1954

when concretely formulating the demands, there is any need to take general propaganda slogans or is it enough to have current agitational slogans only which can be modified into slogans of action from place to place suitable to the needs of the development of the movement.

4. At the same time, questions relating to ceiling, the "right of resumption", rent reduction, tax burdens, economic price for the peasants' produce, indebtedness, consolidation of holdings and prevention of fragmentation, co-operative societies, panchayats, irrigation facilities, demands of agricultural labourers, separate organisations of agricultural labourers, and the problems of building and activating Kisan organisations, have all become pressing issues before us.

5. And, above all, the question of our attitude to Congress agrarian legislation has become an urgent one.

i) This resolution does not take up the basic issues mentioned in paras 1 to 3 above, because the C. C. has not yet come to conclusions on them. A solution of these controversies must await further study and discussion.

In this resolution only those issues that are enumerated in para 4 above, which are of immediate practical importance in the Kisan movement, are taken up. The resolution lays down concrete principles on all the issues, which should serve as guidance for our work in the Kisan movement on all these issues.

As for our attitude to Congress agrarian legislation, without going into the question of how far it has weakened feudalism or tended to develop capitalism in agriculture, the C.C. has come to the following conclusions:

ii) a. Congress agrarian legislation must be looked upon as the product of the growth of peasants, struggles and the general development of the democratic movement. Naturally, where the peasants' movement is more organised, struggles are more intense, and the democratic movement is more advanced, there the concessions are also bound to be more.

b. The Congress Governments adopt two-fold tactics to meet the growing peasants' struggles:

—On the one hand, they enact agrarian legislation giving some concessions. These enactments, however, leave enough loopholes to enable the landlords to evict the tenants and rob the peasants in many ways. As a result, eviction on a mass scale is being resorted to by the landlords.

—On the other hand, the Governments resort to direct police repression and attacks on the peasant masses.

It also raises false issues to create illusions among the peasantry, such as the Bhoodan movement, Community projects, and Five-Year Plan development schemes. These issues are intended at the same time to confuse the democratic minded people about the doings of the Government.

Our tactics must be:

—Use the concessions in the interests of the peasants and fight for more.

—Defend the existing rights against attack.

—Wage ideological-political struggle and expose the false issues and illusions that are sought to be raised and created by the Government through such slogans as Bhoodan, etc.

It should be clearly understood that the Government, faced with the growing peasant struggle, gives concessions, but these tend to be more to the upper section of the peasantry, with a view to divide the peasantry, to create for itself a political base among this upper section, while the Government resorts to repression and attack against the peasantry as a whole. So in utilising these concessions, determined struggle should be waged for uniting the peasants, especially, the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants, and defeat the Government's aim of dividing the peasantry.

The C.C. warns against a negative attitude towards Congress agrarian legislation. It emphasises that it is only by utilising the concession, working out and fighting for more, especially in the interests of the basic masses, that we can develop the full demands of the fighting peasants.

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The C. C. also wants to clarify that it is not possible, nor is it attempted in this resolution to give concrete solutions

for every issue that faces us in different provinces. The conditions vary from province to province and even from area to area and it is for the respective committees in close co-operation with the peasant masses to concretely evolve the necessary slogans. The resolution gives the broad guidance and lays the basis for doing it.

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The C. C. wants to stress one more aspect: The question of formulating the demands of agricultural labourers and organising them into a separate organisation has become urgent. We have been neglecting it in the past, and this is one of our main weaknesses in the Kisan movement. Without organising the agricultural labourers and poor peasants, there cannot be a wide-spread movement capable of defending the interests of the peasant masses, capable of winning their full demands.

Polit Bureau

I

OUR TASKS IN THE KISAN MOVEMENT

Our country saw the biggest kisan struggles in the post-war national upheaval during 1946. The heroic tenant's struggle in Kerala, Tamilnad, Andhra, Punjab, UP., and Bihar, in Karwar and the Warli area, the Tebhaga struggle of the Bengal peasants, etc., were ruthlessly suppressed by the Congress and League Ministries and the British imperialists. The Telangana peasants' struggle which had begun then, later on developed along the line of seizure of the landlords' land by the peasants and their dogged defence of their gains.

This mass peasant upheaval coupled with country-wide strikes of the working class and the revolt of the RIN in February 1947, followed by unrest and revolts in the armed forces, forced the British imperialists to adopt new methods for continuing their domination in India. They struck a deal with the Congress and League leaderships who agreed to the partition of our country and were installed in power in India and Pakistan. The Congress leaders, after they climbed to the seats of Government continued to follow policies that

Our Tasks Among the Peasant Masses

safeguarded the interests of the princes and landlords, of the British imperialists and of Indian monopolists.

They have gone back on their oft-repeated promises to the peasant masses. They have thrown to the winds the *Agrarian Resolution* of the Faizpur Congress, which categorically promised immediate substantial reduction in rent, revenue and irrigation rates; fixity of tenure and abolition of arrears of rent and a graded agricultural income tax to replace the present land-revenue system.

But they now speak of Zamindari abolition and enact legislations that give the Zamindars fat compensation but do not give even the immediate relief that was promised, let alone giving land to the tiller. The Indian Constitution itself, framed by them, guarantees the landlords and vested interests 'fair and equitable' compensation.

The policies which the Congress Government has been adopting during its seven years of rule, have resulted in a catastrophic crisis in our agrarian economy. "The production of foodgrains per acre has sharply declined, according to the Report of the Planning Commission itself. Famine conditions have become chronic in many parts of the country. Scarcity conditions prevail in vast areas. With the fall in prices of commercial crops added to the ruin of subsidiary industries like handloom, the distress of the peasant masses has been intensified. Indebtedness of the peasants has increased to colossal proportions. Tens of thousands of peasants have sold away, and are selling away land, their cattle and all their belongings at incredibly low prices due to scarcity and famine conditions. Their properties are passing into the hands of rapacious landlords and moneylenders. On top of this the Governments in many States resort to coercive measures and sell away by auction the lands of peasants who are unable to pay arrears of land revenue and debt." (*Political Resolution adopted by the Third Congress of the Communist Party of India.*)

This situation is the direct result of the policies of the Government of India—of its refusal to undertake basic agrarian

reforms, its refusal to break with the British Commonwealth and confiscate British capital.

But the peasant masses have not meekly submitted to these worsening conditions. During the last seven years of Congress rule there have been innumerable Kisan struggles against large-scale evictions, for rent reduction and against enhanced irrigation and other taxes. The Congress Governments have been resorting to mass arrests, tear gas, shootings and terror to suppress these struggles.

In Telangana and Andhra in over five years, the Congress Government imprisoned over 50,000 persons, raided over 10,000 villages, beat and tortured over a million and a half people, burnt down hundreds of villages, uprooted nearly two lakhs of tribal people from their forest abode and drove them into concentration camps, and shot dead about 4,000 persons. All this it resorted to in order to seize the lands from the Telangana peasants and restore them to the landlords. Even now Kisan leaders are facing prosecution in scores of foisted cases; witnesses are being tortured to make them agree to give false evidence. Nearly a hundred Kisan leaders are undergoing sentences of transportation for life. A hundred more are undergoing sentences of various terms of imprisonment.

However, the Congress Government was forced to enact a tenancy legislation, giving certain concessions to the peasants.

In Malabar, in 1948, brutal terror was let loose on the peasants and more than one hundred kisan workers and leaders were shot dead. Their only crime was that they demanded that they be permitted not to pay in kind the rent due to the landlords, but instead pay the landlord's share in kind to the co-operative societies, and pay the landlords in cash. Despite this repression the Malabar peasants have intensified their agitation and won significant concessions in the latest legislation.

In Tamilnad, Bombay, Bengal, Bihar, U.P., Rajashtan and PEPSU, repeated raids, arrests, shootings took place wherein large numbers of kisans were wounded and shot dead, when they were resisting eviction by the landlords.

In Punjab alone, more than a lakh tenants were deprived

of their land, and refugee landlords from Pakistan were settled on it, on the plea of rehabilitating the refugees!

Throughout the countryside, the Government is resorting to various penal sections, especially Sec. 107/144, etc. At the same time, the Congress Government is coming forward with various pieces of agrarian legislation, conceding a few minor concessions in its desperate effort to keep the peasant masses under its influence. It hopes that, by its concessions, it will be able to win over at least a section of the peasantry and thus divide and disrupt the developing Kisan movement and the growing unity of the peasants.

The Congress leadership has intensified its propaganda drive, aimed at diverting the attention of the peasant masses and of the general democratic movement from the real issues facing the people and their correct solution.

It promises to build a co-operative Commonwealth and even a classless society, through Bhoodan, through its policies of fixing ceiling for holdings of consolidation, and prevention of fragmentation of holdings; through advocacy of family planning to reduce the population which, they allege, is too much for our country. It promises to do this without doing away with the parasitic landlord class, but, on the other hand, with its active co-operation and participation! It promises to build this millenium following this "unique path", avoiding the "bloody and costly" path which they say the Soviet Union and People's China had trodden.

The Programme of the Communist Party points out the only way to solve the agrarian and national crisis. It declared: "To develop our agriculture and our national industries, to improve the conditions of the working class, to work our way out of cultural backwardness, and to even make our State stable, it is necessary to create human conditions of existence for the peasants."

To achieve this, it is necessary:

i) To take land from the landlords and hand it over to the peasants, including agricultural labourers without payment and thus realise the abolition of landlordism without compensation;

ii) To cancel the debts of peasants and small artisans to moneylenders and provide long-term cheap credit, to enable them to purchase implements, seeds and manure;

iii) To ensure adequate wages and living conditions to agricultural labourers;

iv) To guarantee economic prices for the peasants' produce and to reduce tax burdens on the peasant masses;

v) To provide irrigation-facilities.

It is for the realisation of these demands that the peasant masses have been struggling and have to struggle further. How do the ruling classes reply to these demands?

II

CONGRESS AGRARIAN LEGISLATION

The Congress claims to have abolished landlordism! The Congress Governments in various States have enacted Zamindari or Jagirdari Abolition Acts, and are proposing to bring in Tenancy Legislation, or Agrarian Reforms Bills. They are claiming that by these various Acts already enacted they have already abolished statutory landlordism, like zamindari, jagirdari, inamdari, malguzari, vatandari, biswedari, etc. And, when they enact their proposed Agrarian Reforms Acts, fixing the maximum limit of holdings, they will be completing their programme of abolition of landlordism and of land to the tiller. All this, they claim, will assure agricultural development, and prosperity to the peasant.

The main features of these Statutory Zamindari Abolition Acts are :

1. The right of collecting rents from the peasants is taken away from zamindars, jagirdars, etc., and vested in the Government, who will collect the same directly from the tenants. In return for this right of collection, zamindars, jagirdars and other statutory landlords are paid huge compensations to the tune of hundreds of crores of rupees.

As regards old arrears of rent, the Acts provide that they are to be collected from the peasants by the Government and paid to the landlords.

In many cases, there is no reduction in the rents. Only the peasants have now to pay them to the Government instead of the landlords. Thus they become land revenue payable to the Government.

2. Absolute proprietary rights are conferred on the landlords on hundreds and thousands of acres of the so-called *Sir* and *Khudkhast* lands. For the tenant cultivators on these lands, no right whatsoever is granted. Neither do they get the land nor even fixity of tenure nor even reduction in the exorbitant rents they are now paying, varying from 1/3 to 3/4 of the gross produce; on the other hand, the landlords are free to evict them and they have been doing it on a large-scale, fearing any future legislation that may be brought conferring rights on these tenants-at-will.

This right to *Sir* and *Khudkhast* land has encouraged the zamindars to resort to subterfuges to evict even occupancy tenants on a large scale, and seize their land, and claim it to be their *Sir* and *Khudkhast* land.

3. The Government has taken over the rights over forest, irrigation facilities and waste and communal lands from the zamindars. Even here, the rigorous enforcement of Government forest laws has made the conditions of tribal people and the people living near the forests worse. Similarly, Government efforts to auction cultivable waste lands and lanka lands to the highest bidder, are depriving the poor peasants and the agricultural labourers of even those lands, which in many areas they have been cultivating for years.

We also find that these Zamindari Abolition Acts have not been applied in many States where the old landlordism still remains intact. In States where they are applied big landlords continue to exist as owners of *Sir* and *Khudkhast* land.

Nowhere do these Acts give land to the tiller free but all of them impose heavy burdens of compensation and even allow his eviction from his cultivated lands by the landlords.

But, insofar as the right of the zamindars to collect rents on behalf of the Government is taken away and their opportunities for making various other exactions have been

abolished, insofar as their authority and grip on the irrigation sources, on the grazing field and also on forests have been removed—all this involving the curtailment of the omnipotent powers of the landlords—the peasants do get a measure of relief from the oppression of these statutory landlords.

III

The proposed tenancy or land reform legislation of the Congress Government will not touch the basic question of giving land to the tiller.

i) The proposal to fix a ceiling or upper limit for land-holdings is only in respect of future acquisition or for resumption for personal cultivation. Even so, they reject any idea of taking over the land in excess of this limit, and distributing it free to agricultural labourers and peasants, under the plea that such a measure would be contrary to the provisions of the Indian Constitution.

This allows a landlord to evict tenants from the lands they are cultivating on the plea that the land with him for personal cultivation is less than the limit allowed. Further, they can and are actually dividing their holdings in the name of their children or close relatives in such a way as to bring their holdings within the ceiling. By this device, no excess land above the ceiling will be left for the tenant to exercise the right of buying such land. Moreover, this device would also entitle each one of those relatives of the landlord among whom his land is divided to evict the tenants from his share of the land. Further, these acts provide that it is for the landlords to choose lands they want to retain which means that the best lands will be concentrated in their hands.

ii) The tenant is given the first option to purchase the land he is cultivating, only if the landlord has already got land or has resumed land to the maximum upper limit. For this purpose, the price of land is fixed in terms of gross produce or in terms of multiple of land revenue, which the tenants have to pay. Generally this price becomes so high that it enables only a small section of rich and upper middle peasants to

purchase land. The vast majority of agricultural labourers and poor and middle peasants are unable to purchase any land.

iii) The tenancy laws provide for certain fixity of tenure for periods varying from five to ten years and of rent from three-fifth to one-sixth of the gross produce. In some cases rent is fixed as a multiple of the land revenue.

But even these laws executed through the bureaucratic machinery which is not amenable to the influence of the peasant masses. As the peasant organisations are not strong enough to enforce the beneficial part of these laws, their full benefits do not accrue to them.

iv) The Congress Governments are also proposing steps for compulsory co-operative farming. They are proposing to take over all holdings below a certain limit compulsorily and merge them into co-operative farms. Under such compulsion, the interests of the poor peasants will suffer and the cooperatives will become the instruments of exploitation of the peasantry in the countryside.

v) The Congress Governments have also been enacting legislation prohibiting division of holdings below a certain limit and providing for compulsory consolidation of holdings, the plea being that only thus agriculture can be carried on economically. Such a measure leads in most provinces to depriving vast numbers of even their tiny plots and reducing them to the state of landless agricultural labourers. The process of consolidation is working in most provinces against the peasants and in favour of bigger landholders.

The real solution is the abolition of landlordism without compensation and giving land free to the agricultural labourers and the peasants.

IV

There are landlords who lease their fields to agricultural labourers and peasants for rent in kind or cash, or on share-cropping. There are other landlords who get their lands cultivated by farm servants and daily wage labour, without themselves doing any essential manual labour on their fields. And there are landlords

who lease out some portion of their land for rent, and get the rest of it cultivated by employing farm servants.

It is those landlords owning a large portion of the land who deprive the peasant masses and agricultural labourers of their land. Taking advantage of the growing pauperisation of the peasants and their total dependence on land even for earning a pittance for their life in the absence of industries or any other avocations, the landlords force them to pay exorbitant rents before they lease lands to them. Again the growing number of landless agricultural labourers and the growing unemployment in the rural areas enable the landlord to dictate to the agricultural labourers and the farm servants, the most miserable wages.

Thus even the question of reduction of rents for the tenants and increase in the wages of agricultural labourers is closely linked up with the distribution of the surplus land of these landlords to the agricultural labourers and to the peasants. To draw these peasants and the labouring masses in the countryside into the movement, the question of fixing up the ceilings for land holdings and free distribution of the land over those ceilings, becomes an urgent issue.

Further, without breaking the monopoly of these landlords over the land, especially the hold of feudal landlords who lease out their lands, it is impossible to increase agricultural production to any appreciable extent to meet the food and industrial raw material requirements of our people.

Certain arguments are advanced that large farms that are using modern machinery and advanced agricultural technique should not be broken up and the land distributed, as it would retard the development of agricultural production. This question should not be looked at from the angle as to whether a few modern farms, in the hands of certain landlords are more productive, in comparison with small holdings. But it should be looked at only from the angle that in the interests of developing the whole agrarian movement, and of drawing in the masses of peasants by satisfying their land hunger, the break-up of even these farms by fixing a ceiling becomes

necessary at this stage. Today the main fetter on production is the antiquated land system itself, which cannot be changed without united struggle of the peasant masses against the landlords. Therefore slogans and tactics must be determined in relation to the need of this struggle. It is only by drawing the peasant masses and rural labouring masses into the struggle, leading to giving them land that ultimately an appreciable improvement even in agricultural production becomes possible and not by the growth here and there of big modern farms owned by the landlords.

1. We must demand and extensively popularise that the ceiling for landholdings should be fixed and that the land in excess of that ceiling be taken over and distributed free to the agricultural labourers and the peasants.

The ceiling should be such as to allow enough income to maintain a person and his family at least at the same standard as that of a rich peasant, but it must not be so high as not to leave enough land for distribution among agricultural labourers and the peasant masses.

The Party, basing on the above principles, must work out what would be such a ceiling from area to area, in close co-operation with the Kisan Sabha, after a thorough study of all the facts and after inviting a serious and thorough discussions with the peasant masses in the area.

2. We must demand that those landlords who lease out their lands, even though they may own less than this ceiling, shall have no right of resumption, even under the plea of self-cultivation, as it would lead to the eviction of cultivators. They may be paid some rehabilitation grant, or allotted land from surplus land if they want to take to actual tilling and cultivation and live in peace with the people. This is especially so in those cases of statutory landlords like inamdars, etc., who never have been cultivators for generations.

3. There are small landholders, who own less than a family holding. (Family holding being in certain cases, that amount of holding which would give employment for a single family of an adult male worker and his wife, with a pair of bullocks,

employing seasonal wage labour, or in certain other areas it will be only that amount of landholding which gives a reasonable standard of living.) They might have leased out their lands because it was uneconomical to cultivate them themselves, or because they might have been forced to take up jobs or trades in towns or villages. They will generally be the factory employees, petty traders, low-paid professionals, etc. Those are not to be confused with landlords; their cases are entirely different.

These small landholders should have the option either to come back and till their land, making it their main profession, or lease it subject to fixity of tenure and reduction of rent as per the tenancy laws, or to sell it, or to take full compensation from the Government at the market price, relinquishing the land to the tenant cultivator. If conflicts arise between these small holders and these tenants who are equally poor, the Kisan movement must strive to bring some compromise to preserve the unity of these peasant masses. But in the case of those who have professions with incomes enough to maintain a reasonable standard of life, they shall be paid compensation or allowed to receive the reduced rents, but shall not have the right of resumption.

It is absolutely necessary to popularise the above proposals of land distribution, because the question of limitation of landholdings has already been brought on the agenda by the Congress, which has brought such legislations in certain States. Apart from the Kisan masses, even their democratic allies in towns are led to believe by these spurious measures that the Congress Government's slogan of fixation of ceiling really abolishes landlordism and gives land to the tiller. Therefore, it is essential to propose a concrete solution for land distribution, and to mobilise the people for a correct solution of the problem.

V

At the same time, the immediate and most pressing task of the Party is to take up the struggle *against eviction and for rent reduction*. The Party and the Kisan movement have to fight all manipulations of the Congress Government and all

provisions in their agrarian legislation that militate against the interests of the peasant masses and which are leading to the eviction of peasants from their holdings.

In carrying on the agitation and struggles against eviction and for the reduction of rent, the Party and the Kisan movement must utilise to the fullest extent all the concessions and facilities that are given by the existing agrarian legislation however halting and restricted they may be.

It is necessary to come out with positive suggestions for improving the existing *agrarian legislations* in favour of the peasant masses. We must demand:

1. Zamindaries, so far not taken over by the Government, must immediately be taken over. Proprietary rights of tenants in the *Sir* or *Khudkhas* lands of these landlords be recognised.

2. Compensation to the big zamindars be withheld.

3. Legislation fixing up ceilings of landholdings and providing for surplus land being distributed free among agricultural labourers and poor peasants.

4. Arrears or rent and revenue be abolished.

5. Rents be scaled down to the level of the neighbouring ryotwari rates or by substantial amounts.

6. Exorbitant water and other rates be reduced.

7. All evictions be immediately stopped.

8. Irrigation and forest and grazing facilities be provided.

9. Proper survey settlements at Government's cost—the work of survey to be finished quickly.

10. All major inams, in whatever forms and names they exist, be abolished conferring proprietary rights on the cultivators of inam lands.

11. Proprietary rights to the land held by service inam holders be recognised, freeing them from the obligation of existing services. Separate remuneration should be paid for any services they render.

12. Tenants-at-will:—

- i) Tenants-at-will shall not be evicted and shall be guaranteed fixity of tenure.

ii) Substantial reduction of rent.

iii) Kind rents to be commuted into cash rents and meanwhile the peasant be given the option of payment in cash at the market price, even if the agreement is otherwise.

Rent Reductions

The amount of rent reduction which we would demand would vary from region to region, taking into consideration the actual rents that are being paid now, the consciousness of the tenant regarding the land he is cultivating, and the number and the relative strength of tenants. There are certain regions where the tenants have been cultivating lands of big landlords for considerably long periods continuously. Here it is possible to demand greater reduction in the existing rents.

But there are certain other regions where due to intensive pressure on land, due to a dense population and where also the landlords have started capitalist mode of farming, vast numbers of agricultural labourers in search of work accept tenancies changing from year to year and as such they have no particular attachment to any particular piece of land. In such cases, it becomes more difficult to demand an immediate heavy reduction in those temporary rents.

When we demand reduction of rent and fixity of tenure, we mean only the reduction of rents paid by the peasants to the landlords, and fixity of tenure to the peasants on landlords' fields. This does not apply in the case of those areas, especially where commercial crops are being grown extensively like sugar, tobacco, etc., and where the common feature is for the landlord to take land on lease from small holders and pay them low rentals. Here, we must demand increase in the rates that are being paid to the peasants by the landlords.

VI

1. *Agricultural labourers* are the most militant section of the agricultural population. The whole agrarian movement is to be based on those 70 per cent of the rural population of

agricultural labourers and poor peasants, firmly uniting with middle peasants and winning over rich peasants against the landlords, forging a close alliance with the working class and the democratic movement in the towns.

The struggle of the poor and middle and rich peasants against the landlords for land, for fixity of tenure and even for reduction of rent, cannot be carried out successfully without the active support of and drawing in of agricultural labourers.

Yet, except in Andhra and to some extent in Tamilnad, Kerala and a few other places, we have not so far seriously taken their problems and fought for them nor brought them into an organised movement. This serious weakness of our movement has to be immediately rectified.

The Party and the Kisan movement must vigorously take up and champion the immediate demands of the agricultural labourers, as well as their basic demand for land. It is only by taking up these demands of the agricultural labourers that we can draw them into the movement against landlordism, against the ruling class and for land, freedom, democracy and peace. Failure to do this allows these sections to be drawn into communal, disruptive and reactionary organisations. They may be even turned against other peasant masses in the villages, on the basis of caste divisions, disabilities and oppression.

2. Some of their immediate demands are:

a) Cultivable waste lands to be assigned to them and the poor peasants without any charges at least for the first five years. Grants and long-term loans for purchasing cattle, implements, etc.

b) Free house sites and equal right to the use of common lands and sites with others. No eviction from homesteads or from the present occupied houses.

c) Cancellation of their debts to landlords and money-lenders and provision of cheap credit facilities.

d) Removal of social disabilities based on caste and untouchability.

e) Abolition of and penalisation of forced labour.

f) Free medical and educational facilities by the Government.

g) Provision of employment opportunities by Government starting various irrigation and development schemes.

h) Fixation of minimum wage for day labour and minimum salary for the farm servants.

i) The present excessive hours of work for farm servants to be reduced and a minimum number of holidays per year to be given.

The minimum daily wage of an agricultural labourer must be such as to enable him and his dependents to get at least the minimum necessities of life on the day of their working. The minimum wage is for normal work. But the daily wage for harder work or for busy seasons with longer hours will have to be higher than this minimum. The farm servant should get at least 365 times this minimum daily wage, as his minimum yearly salary.

Overshadowing every other problem of the agricultural labourers the problem of unemployment faces them in an acute form. Millions of them have to wander in search of employment and agricultural work even in busy seasons like the replanting and harvesting seasons, does not last for more than a fortnight or at the most a month. There can be no improvement in their conditions until they are provided with work. The Party must take up their demand for "work or unemployment relief".

VII

Agricultural labourers should be organised separately in independent class organisations apart from the peasant organisation, because, firstly, they have their own separate demands of wages, hours of work, holidays, etc. Secondly, most of these agricultural labourers are from socially backward or even so-called "untouchable" (Harijan) castes and it will be more difficult to draw them and, activate them in Kisan Sabhas directly along with the other caste peasants or even if we succeed in drawing them in, it may lead to the

other peasants not joining the Kisan Sabha in large numbers. Thirdly, agricultural labourers will become the leading force if they are organised separately and at the same time brought into the Kisan Sabha.

We should try to draw into the agricultural labour organisations all other wage earners in the rural areas, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, washermen, earth-diggers and other miscellaneous manual labourers.

But at the same time, it is necessary to understand that, in certain areas where the immediate major struggle of both the agricultural labourers and the peasants is against a particular big feudal landlord or landlords, against forced labour, against evictions, from which both of them suffer in common, the need for separate agricultural labour organisations may not be so urgent. Wherever agricultural labourers are not or cannot be organised into the Kisan Sabhas directly.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the moment this joint struggle achieves some concessions, it is common experience that the erstwhile ally, the rich peasant, tries to take advantage of the concessions to the detriment of the labourers. Then it becomes absolutely necessary to organisation, and defend his special demands for better wages and for better conditions of work.

Also, it is to be remembered that, only when we start taking up and championing the special demands of agricultural labourers and fighting for them, the need for their separate organisation also becomes evident. So far, we have been neglecting woefully the demands of agricultural labourers and thus failing to build even the unity of the agricultural labourers with the other sections of the peasantry.

Since their most important demand for land is also the common demand of the entire peasantry against the landlord and also because their economic tie-up is with that of the peasantry, immediate steps should be taken to evolve a coordinating mechanism at every level between agricultural labourers' organisations and Kisan Sabhas drawing both the organisations into closer and closer functioning wherein the

agricultural labourers and the poor peasants would be playing the leading role.

VIII

ECONOMIC PRICES FOR THE PEASANTS PRODUCE

Due to the machinations of the foreign and Indian monopolists controlling the capitalist market, the produce of the peasants, when it comes to the market, fails to secure economic prices; millions have to part with their commodities at prices even far below the cost of production, to the big trading houses, and agents of British and American monopolists out to secure our raw material at low prices. Such is the case specially of producers of jute, sugarcane, tobacco, cotton, oilseeds, coir, rubber, copra, etc.

One of the important tasks of the Kisan movement is to demand of the Government to take measures to free the peasants from the machinations of the foreign and Indian monopolists and give protection to the peasant producers by guaranteeing economic prices for his product.

While the Government is always ready to put ceilings on prices of raw materials in boom periods in the interests of the Indian industrialists and foreign buyers, it is not ready to guarantee economic prices in the interests of the peasant producer. This neglect of peasants' interests must be fought.

We must demand of the Government guaranteed minimum economic prices for the peasant's produce and if the market prices fall below the minimum, the Government must step in and purchase the produce from the peasants at the minimum prices.

We must also demand that Government conclude a long term trade agreement with the Soviet Union, China and other People's Democracies to ensure a stable market and fair prices for our products and thus break from the shackles of Anglo-American monopoly of our export-import trade.

In the case of foodgrains we continue to be deficit and prices are still high. The Government in different States continue compulsory procurement to a limited extent to feed the

industrial centres or to relieve extreme scarcity in deficit areas. But these procurement prices are half of what the peasant would get in the open market a few months after harvest.

We cannot demand that there be no procurement or no price fixation, because it is a question of food for the hundreds of millions of the poor in towns and villages. Nor can we demand that controls of the past be brought back, as they had become means of oppression of the people and of profiteering by the few.

The benefit in the rise in prices between the harvest and the later peak price period does not come into the hands of the poor or middle peasants. The lion's share of it goes to the landlord-hoarder or the merchant-hoarder.

So, we must demand that procurement be done of all surplus grains of the landlords, especially from the big ones and big stockists. There should be reasonably fair price fixed for the procurement of the grain and this fair price must be guaranteed even at harvest times to the poor and the middle peasants who are mostly forced to sell their grain immediately after harvest. These prices should be announced far in advance of the peasant actually starting his cultivation.

We must demand that cheap grain shops be opened in all towns and villages by the Government and rationed quantity of foodgrains be increased especially in scarcity areas at times.

IX

FAMINE : Food scarcity and famine have assumed serious proportions. Tens of millions are starving. Yet the Government proclaims that there is enough food in the country and that the cry of famine and scarcity is false. We have to debunk the Government's arguments by showing how the fall in take-off of rations is due to people's inability to purchase the foodgrains at high prices because of extreme poverty, and how it is not because everyone has enough. We will also have to expose that the official claim about the so-called self-sufficiency is based on the acceptance of the sub-nutritional standard of consumption of food.

We demand that in the famine and scarcity areas, the Government should arrange:

- a) Immediate establishment of cheap grain depots, relief works and free kitchens;
- b) liberalisation of the famine code in respect of test works, tasks and wages;
- c) productive works instead of stone-breaking and mere road-bulding and protective works irrespective of returns be taken up in famine areas as relief works;
- d) moratorium on all debts and remission of arrears of rents and land revenue;
- e) supply of fodder; and
- f) grants of *taccavi* loans to be liberalised.

At the same time, we must organise famine relief committees in co-operation with others and organise relief. Kisan Sabha and units of agricultural labourers organisations should work in the relief centres, test works, cheap grainshops, to prevent corruption and make them work properly.

X

INDEBTEDNESS: We have been slack in taking up this demand for cancellation of debts of the village poor to moneylenders and to landlords. Vigorous campaign for immediate moratorium and for legislation for scaling down and abolition of old debts should be carried on.

But legislation will not be of much use unless we see that the Government takes steps to provide cheap credit for the peasants.

The present scale of *taccavi* loans through Land Mortgage Banks or Co-operative Credit Societies is too meagre to meet the need. We must demand enormous increase in these facilities. Loans to the peasants must be at lower rates of interests and the recovery must be on easy instalments spread over a long period.

XI

CO-OPERATIVES : The Co-operative Societies are generally in the hands of landlords and rich peasants. Whether they be

Credit Societies, or Market Societies, or Purchase and Sale Societies, or even Producers' Co-operatives, they have been utilised by the landlords and the rich peasants to serve their own interests to the detriment of the needs and interests of the poor and the middle peasantry. This has been so especially where, Kisan movement is weak. This state of affair however must not blind us to some of the facilities which the Government gives to Co-operatives. The Government continues these facilities and wants to develop the Co-operatives more extensively, to create the illusion that a really Co-operative Commonwealth can be built in this fashion. But, without ourselves falling under these illusions, it is necessary that we actively participate in the Co-operatives and try to utilise them, to cater to the needs of the agricultural labour, poor and middle peasants, We must fight corruption in the Co-operatives and demand more democratic rights.

VILLAGE PANCHAYATS : The Congress Government has enacted legislation in different provinces, for the formation of village panchayats elected on the basis of adult franchise and varying powers are given to them over village affairs; we must endeavour to see that they are under the control of genuine representatives of peasant and rural labour masses. We must utilise these panchayats, take measures to improve the village assemblies, especially in the interests of the poorer sections. We must be constantly fighting against encroachments by the Government officials on the powers of panchayats and against various obstacles that they would be creating. We should demand greater facilities and powers for them. For instance, we can demand that the administration of irrigation source, , grazing fields and forests, distribution of manures and agricultural implements, collection of land revenue, etc, be handed over to these panchayats.

REDUCTION TAX BURDEN : We have to formulate demands for reduction of various tax burdens and demand institution of graded agricultural tax. The agitation against imposition of new tax burdens on the peasants is to be intensified and

all such efforts resisted. The Party and the Kisan Sabha should be in the forefront in this struggle.

XII

TRIBAL : 1. Reserve line to be kept one mile distant from the villages.

Areas marked as reserves, but without forests, to be given for cultivation. Liberalisation of rules relating to shifting cultivation. Forest panchayats to be formed. Forest produce to be utilised freely by the tribals for their use as well as for sale. Co-operatives for tribals wherein they can fell trees for sale.

2. All types of landlordism in tribal areas to be abolished and old debts liquidated.

3. All exploitation by the contractors to be checked and fair prices for the forest collections of the tribals and proper wages for their work.

4. Medical aid through dispensaries, touring health officers, special measures for special maladies prevalent in tribal areas, disinfection of drinking water wells, ponds, and special measures to counteract malaria.

Veterinary dispensaries and touring veterinary officers to prevent cattle epidemics.

5. Special educational facilities in tribal areas, education through their own language; free supply of school material; night schools for adults; free scholarships in secondary and University courses; training of teachers from the tribals.

XIII

IRRIGATION FACILITIES : The Government boasts of its few big multi-purpose projects but neglects many immediately necessary minor irrigation projects. Even these big projects which, taken by themselves are useful, are proving so costly to build, thanks to the bureaucratic inefficiency and rampant corruption, thanks to the employment of a large number of costly foreign experts and refusal to utilise and encourage the talents of Indian engineers and technicians, that people will not get the full benefits from them.

While pointing out the inadequacy of taking only a few of these multi-purpose projects, it is necessary to demand of the Government to devote enough funds for the minor irrigation projects. Without developing these, the big projects alone will not solve the irrigation needs of our peasantry.

It is necessary to systematically work out the most, necessary and important minor irrigation projects in each district or region and build up agitation for them. We must even mobilise the peasants to build them, forcing the Government to give maximum help.

In this connection, betterment levies on all the peasantry, in many cases even before the completion of the irrigation scheme, that the Congress Government contemplates to impose on the basis of acreage, must be opposed, as this would make the poor and middle peasant more indebted and ruined. But we can put forward alternate suggestions of graded betterment levies on the landlords.

It is time that the Party and the Kisan movement come forward not only as a critic of the Government policies and actions, but even as builder of projects, organiser of famine relief and flood relief; as a force capable of looking to every institutions like Co-operatives, Rural Banks, Marketing Boards, Panchayats and schools; cultural activities, agricultural research centres, etc. It is true, without full power and a people's democratic government, these will not become all inclusive but they will serve limited purposes and as examples of what we and the people are capable of building, if only the present rule of the Congress, of the landlords and monopolists is abolished.

The habit of looking down upon "constructive" programmes, without carefully studying them from the point of view of the peasantry and the people, of sneering at working for "reforms" must be given up. The fear that such work will lead us into "reformism" and that we will be creating "illusions" among the peasantry must be given up. It is by successfully leading the peasant masses to achieve these against the landlords and their Government, that we can inspire and

lead the peasant masses into action for realisation of their full demands.

XIV

Vast millions of kisans who see their needs and aspirations embodied in these concrete demands and slogans are moving into action to achieve the same. Even large masses of peasants who still have great illusions that these land relations can be basically altered through the Congress and its Government, are all the same desiring that these demands be fulfilled and aspirations realised. It is this that makes possible united struggles against the most reactionary elements in the country and develop a broad-based Kisan movement and draw in all these elements to join even the Kisan Sabhas.

Millions of Kisan, who are disillusioned with the Congress, have been groping their way to solve their problems. Large sections of them are under the influence of the Praja Socialist and other parties.

In Punjab, a large number of Sikh peasantry are still following the Akali Party.

Throughout the country large masses of agricultural labourers belonging to the Harijan community, are behind the Scheduled Castes' Federation.

So it is necessary for the Party and the Kisan movement to make the utmost efforts to draw in these masses and Congress and P.S.P. workers into united front actions and it is through these actions that they would shed their illusions. At the same time, it must be realised that it is only if the Party carries on a systematic ideological struggle against the fundamentals preached by the Congress as well as against the Sarvodaya plan of solving the land problem through Bhoodan and other movements, that this process of disillusionment can be successful. We must make special efforts to work unitedly with the workers of the P.S.P. and other democratic parties, while not hesitating to criticise the reactionary policies of the leadership of the P.S.P. and other parties wherever it becomes necessary.

This ideological struggle and united front actions will have to be strengthened through systematic organisational work with a view to the drawing in of the millions of peasants and agricultural labourers, into the movement for agrarian revolution.

It is the job of the Party to see that the appeal of the All India Kisan Sabha, to all other champions of Kisans and Kisan organisations which are today outside the Kisan Sabha to come into the fold of the All India Kisan Sabha is implemented. This can be done, as the All India Kisan Sabha itself points out, by first forging unity in action, to wage joint struggles against evictions, against imposition of new taxes, for rent and revenue reduction as well as forming joint committees of struggle. The Kisan Sabha's appeal to all its lower units to make a concerted drive to form joint committees of all the existing Kisan organisations to fight Kisan struggles on specific issues, has to be carried out. It is then only that the whole mass of kisans can be rallied behind a united organisation.

2. Building of the unity of the entire peasantry against the landlord-imperialist exploitation becomes the most important task in order to develop a broad united Kisan movement.

The problem of unity of the peasantry is mainly a problem of uniting the agricultural labourers and the peasants, including the rich peasants, against the exploitation of the imperialists, feudal landlords and Indian monopolists. An attitude of drift and spontaneity in this respect or failure to study the problem in all its relations leads to either the neglect of agricultural labourers, their demands and struggles, or the emphasising of their conflict with the peasantry divorced from the common conflict of both against feudal exploitation. It is mainly from the former neglect that the Kisan movement has suffered till now.

While coming forward more consciously and determinedly in defence of the wage and other demands of rural workers, however, Kisan workers have to realise that the objective

conditions for peasant-agricultural labour unity are daily growing and not declining.

Taking the agrarian policy of the Government as a whole, particularly in respect of compensation to landlords, the prices of agricultural goods, taxation, famine relief, taccavi and so on, the peasantry as a whole is becoming more and more hostile to the Government and the classes the Government defends, and wants allies in its struggle against them. At the other end, the labourers are also realising that, short of acquiring the lands of the landlord and State-owned cultivable wastes, no other measure can give them a suitable assurance of even a moderate standard of life. Considering these factors, Kisan workers have to go all-out for uniting the forces of agricultural labourers and the entire peasantry for united onslaught against landlordism.

3. To develop the broad united Kisan movement, it is necessary that we popularise the victories the Kisan movement has achieved, the various concessions which it has been able to wrench from the hands of the Government in the form of various legislations as a result of the heroic and persistent struggles waged by the Kisan masses. Too often the tendency is to narrate only the hardships that the people are suffering and to ignore the successes that their struggles have won in the mistaken belief that reference to such successes will breed reformist illusions, while the reality is that, in order to inculcate confidence in the masses, confidence that unity and struggle can win demands, it is essential that such successes won by the people, no matter how small, are widely publicised and made the basis for further advance.

It is also necessary to rouse and organise the peasant masses, by pointing out to them how in the past, the peasants have heroically fought and won many a demand and blazed a path of heroic tradition in the struggle for national liberation.

4. To develop the broad united Kisan movement, it is necessary that we utilise every piece of legislation that has been enacted to the maximum that is possible, to further the interest

of the Kisans. We must see that every concession, or facility granted in the legislation is actually enjoyed in practice by the peasants and agitate for further rights and facilities.

We must utilise the forum of Legislative Assemblies to improve the existing legislation as well as to ventilate the grievance of the Kisan masses and get relief for improving the lot of the peasant masses. There must be far greater linking up of our Parliamentary work with the Kisan work outside.

To develop a strong Kisan movement, it is necessary that Kisan Sabhas and Agricultural Labour Organisations should take up all those tasks which will raise the social, economic and cultural level of peasants and agricultural labourers such as organisation of literacy classes, sports and cultural activities, relief and self-help movement, struggle against social disabilities, organisation of medical, public health and other forms of moral uplift.

Offices of Kisan Sabhas and Agricultural Labourers Organisations must function, daily attending to the various difficulties the Kisan masses face, in their relations with the landlords, Government officers and other public institutions; provide them with legal assistance, help them to improve their agriculture by bringing to their notice the latest methods of improving agriculture, help them to fight pests that affect their crops and cattle; help them to get good seeds, implements, manures, water to their fields in time; and similar other multifarious activities connected with the whole life of the peasant and his daily occupation.

In one word, the Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Labourers' Organisations must become an integral part of the peasant's life, from where he gets constant advice and help.

6. To develop a strong Kisan movement, it is necessary to draw the kisan masses into discussions for formulating their immediate demands. The party and Kisan Sabha organisation must be all-attentive to what actually they have got to say and be extremely flexible in giving shape to the formulations of their immediate demands on the basis of the actual reality and the concrete situation.

This cannot be too much emphasised, especially in view of the fact that most of the active workers in the existing Kisan Sabha committees, practically at all levels, are not those who carry on agricultural occupation, but who are more of political workers.

7. In developing Kisan struggles, we must show extreme flexibility in adopting the forms of struggle suited to local conditions, to the mood and preparedness of the Kisan masses and to their organisation. All forms - petitions, signatures, demonstrations, marches, strikes and hartals and even civil disobedience, etc.—are, to be adopted according to the situation existing.

8. In developing these struggles or even preparing for them, we have been failing miserably in our agitation to explain the grievances from which the peasant masses have been suffering and against which they are preparing to fight, in as wide an area as possible, depending on the importance of the issue involved. It is only when we can effectively popularise our demands, that we can draw in other sections in other areas who are suffering from similar difficulties, to join with us and fight effectively. The struggles, when carried on an extensive scale, would be far more likely to achieve successes than when confined to limited areas or localities. It is also only when we can effectively popularise our demands and the struggle far and wide, and especially in the neighbouring countryside and the towns, that we can win the sympathy and support of all democratic elements.

XV

1. To achieve success in our Kisan struggles, the active support of the working class is to be achieved. But it is here that the Party has been failing. We have not been able to popularise the demands of Kisan masses among the working class. We have not been able to bring the working class to hold meetings, demonstrations, leave alone coming out in general strike, in support of the Kisan demands.

The Party also must popularise working class demands

and struggles among the Kisans and bring them in support of the working class struggles and demands. It is only thus that we can forge unity between the working class and the peasantry which is the guarantee of our ultimate victory.

The Party must make determined efforts to send working class Party cadre from industrial centres to neighbouring peasant areas to develop the Kisan movement.

2. The Party and the Kisan movement must rouse the Kisan masses against the manoeuvres of warmongers, led by the U. S. imperialists and their junior partner, the British imperialists, to unleash a third world war.

It must rouse them to the realisation of what the outbreak of war would mean to their own democratic struggles for land, bread and a decent life; to their kith and kin and cherished desires of peaceful and prosperous livelihood; to their sons and husbands being dragged into bloody wars to safeguard the profits and loot of the millionaires and the landlords and the foreign imperialists.

It must rouse them to demand that our Government follow a consistent policy of peace and against war; demand the withdrawal of all foreign armies from the Asian and African countries; free and equal trade and cultural relations with all countries, especially with the Soviet Union, China and East European Democracies and closer trade and cultural ties and alliance with Pakistan.

It is also necessary to extensively popularise among the agricultural labourers and the peasant masses, the achievements of the Soviet Union, People's China and other People's Democracies; this will create confidence in their own strength to strive to achieve similar objectives. It will consolidate the feelings of international solidarity, which would help to bring them against all the plots of American and British imperialists to unleash a world war against the Soviet Union and People's China and make them champions of peace.

3. It is also necessary to popularise the Programme and Policy of the Communist Party of India and its unflinching stand in the service of the people and especially the Kisan

masses. A systematic campaign of recruitment into the Party of Kisan and agricultural labour militants and their education on the one hand, and a systematic sending of Party cadre coming from the middle class and intelligentsia to work among the peasant masses on the other, have to be undertaken. It is only thus that we can strengthen the ideological political and organisational ties of the Party with the millions of peasants and agricultural labourers, which is one of our immediate urgent tasks.

Failure to do this will disarm the masses of peasants and agricultural labourers against the onslaught launched by the imperialists, feudal landlords and monopolies, and against the various forms of petty-bourgeois ideology.

4. The Party and the Kisan movement must make special efforts to rouse the Kisan women to join the Kisan Sabha and participate in its multifarious activities. Special efforts are to be taken to formulate women's demands, especially those that affect the Kisan women; and necessary steps to fight for them should be taken. Special efforts should be made to educate the Kisan women cadre.

Similarly, the Kisan youth are to be organised and drawn into Kisan Sabha activity. For this, cultural, sport and other activities and social services should be organised. Peasant youth to carry out the Kisan Sabha activities and struggles.

5. On many issues, we are lagging behind the movement. One of the reasons is the lack of clarity and confusion on many issues and lack of theoretical understanding of basic concepts. The Party must make an analysis of the classification of the peasantry, the colonial structure of Indian agrarian economy, the recent trends in the development of agriculture, the directions of the Congress Agrarian Legislation, etc. the Central Committee, in consultation with the leading comrades of the AIKS, has to do the job.

6. Functioning the Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Labour Organisation at all levels, should be taken by the Party as one of its most important tasks.

The problems facing the provinces are varied and can be

tackled only in the provinces. No day-to-day directions and guidance can be given from the Centre. Hence every effort should be made to strengthen the Provincial Kisan Sabhas and Agricultural Labour Unions. They should be made the real guiding and leading bodies of the agrarian movement in the province. The function of the AIKS should be realistic and limited. It should pool the experiences of various provinces, exchange them, give assistance to weaker provinces in building organisation or studying problems and so on. It is again the job of the Provincial Kisan Sabhas to organise special Kisan schools for the training and education of the large number of Kisan cadres that are newly coming up.

Collection of donation for the Kisan Sabha is one of the items of routine jobs of a Kisan Sabha worker. He can especially collect funds while running campaigns and conducting struggles and holding public meetings.

The village or union or thana Kisan Sabhas should be live and real functioning bodies, which conduct day-to-day work and struggles. So far these units remain only nominal on paper. To build and activate them is one of the key tasks.

It is absolutely essential that we make a determined effort to get capable peasants and agricultural labourers, who are actively engaged in their occupation, to be on various committees at all levels, and to make them function in them, so that the Kisan Sabha may develop as a real mass organisation and not allow the present position of their being only Party or all-Party political bodies. Only then it becomes possible to forge the live organisational links with the Kisan masses.

Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India on States Reorganisation*

States Reorganisation

1. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India deplores the continued delay in forming the linguistic states which all sections of people have been demanding for the last three decades and more. Even though the government was forced by this mass pressure to appoint a States Reorganisation Commission to go into the whole question, the terms of reference, instead of laying down the well-accepted principle of reorganising the states by grouping together contiguous areas which are linguistically and culturally homogeneous, seek to bypass the same by raising false issues like financial viability and administrative convenience and by showing hypocritical concern for national unity and security. This has justifiably raised among the public suspicions that the commission is intended to find and excuse to deny the formation of linguistic states at least in certain cases.

The Communist Party urges upon the government and the commission to realise that any further delay or postponing of the issue will be very harmful to the democratic development of political life and administration and also even to the harmonious relations between various sections of the people. It urges upon the States Reorganisation Commission to submit an interim report as early as possible, but in any case not later than the end of September 1954, recommending the formation of the following states based primarily on

*Resolution adopted in Delhi meeting on 10-18 April, 1954

language with such boundary adjustments as may be found necessary as explained in section 5 and 6.

It impresses upon the States Reorganisation Commission that it is only disintegrating the present Hyderabad state that any rational formation of linguistic states in the south can even be achieved.

2. (1) **KERALA** : The present Travancore-Cochin state, minus the Tamil-speaking areas, and Malayalam-speaking areas of Madras state.

(2) **TAMILNAD** : The present Madras state minus the Kannada and Malayalam-speaking areas plus the Tamil-speaking of Travancore-Cochin with necessary boundary adjustments with Andhra.

(3) **ANDHRA** : The present Andhra state with the Telugu-speaking areas of Hyderabad state—the Telangana area including Hyderabad city—and Telugu-speaking areas of Mysore, with necessary boundary adjustments with Tamilnad, the present Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.

(4) **KARNATAKA** : The present Mysore state minus its Telugu-speaking areas, with the Kannada-speaking areas of Madras, Hyderabad, Bombay and Andhra states and Coorg.

(5) **MAHARASHTRA** : The Marathi-speaking areas of Bombay, Hyderabad and Madhya Pradesh states, including Bombay city.

(6) **GUJARAT** : The Gujarati-speaking areas of Bombay state with Saurashtra and Cutch, with the necessary boundary adjustments with Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat.

(7) **PUNJAB** : The Punjabi-speaking areas of the Punjab and PEPSU states.

(8) **ORISSA** : The present Orissa state with necessary boundary adjustments with Bihar, Bengal, Andhra and Madhya Pradesh.

(9) **WEST BENGAL** : The present West Bengal state with the necessary boundary adjustments with Bihar and Orissa.

(10) **ASSAM** : The present Assam state.

(11) **RAJASTHAN** : Including Ajmer and with the necessary boundary adjustments with present UP, Delhi, Madhya Bharat, Gujarat and PEPSU.

(12) **MADHYA BHARAT** : Along with Bhopal and with the

necessary boundary adjustments with Rajasthan, UP and Madhya Pradesh.

(13) **MADHYA PRADESH** : Hindi-speaking areas of the present Madhya Pradesh state along with the Vindhya Pradesh and with the necessary boundary adjustments with Madhya Bharat, UP, Orissa and Andhra states.

(14) **DELHI** : To be formed by including Hindi-speaking areas of Punjab and PEPSU and such districts of western UP as have close economic links with Delhi.

(15) **HIMACHAL PRADESH** : With the necessary boundary adjustments with Punjab, PEPSU and UP.

(16) **UTTAR PRADESH** : The present UP state with necessary boundary adjustments with the present Madhya Bharat Rajasthan, Vindhya Pradesh and Delhi.

(17) **BIHAR** : The present Bihar state with the necessary boundary adjustments with Bengal and Orissa.

(18) **TRIPURA** & (19) **MANIPUR** : Both these states are to be given an elected legislature and government of their own.

(20) And lastly the **KASHMIR AND JAMMU** state whose special status has been recognised in the Indian constitution.

3. The central committee of the Communist Party of India demands that the institution of Rajpramukh be abolished, the privy purses of all former rulers be stopped and all special privileges be abolished and their so called personal property be taken over by the state. This would bring hundreds of crores to the finances of these new states. The present distinction of A, B, C states should be abolished.

4. It will be seen that the formation of these states will reduce the present number of states from 28 to 20 which itself rebuts the arguments of those who raise the bogey of balkanisation. This division of states is on a more rational basis, wherein the administration can be carried on in the language spoken by the overwhelming mass of people more conveniently and in consonance with the democratic wishes of the people.

These states are far more viable than the existing ones. To argue whether every state is absolutely viable financially is

meaningless, as with the present allocation of finances between centre and the states, no such absolute financial viability can exist. Apart from this, these are not being carved out as independent states but as a part and parcel of a united India; as such any deficit in any single state has to be met by the centre.

Nor does the central committee of the Communist Party of India accept the theory that the formation of linguistic states will encourage provincialism or lead to fissiparous tendencies or lead to the disruption of the unity and security of India. On the other hand, it will lead to greater unity of India.

5. The central committee of the Communist Party of India wants it to be made clear that the boundaries of the linguistic states should be demarcated on the following principles:

(i) Village is to be taken as the unit. Demarcation line is to be drawn on the basis of majority of villagers speaking a particular language in that village and on the basis of contiguity of that village to that particular linguistic state.

(ii) It should be understood that, however carefully the demarcation line is drawn, both in these boundary areas, as well as in the interior of every one of these states, there will be linguistic minorities. These must be guaranteed that their education will be in their mother-tongue both in elementary and secondary stages. The question of whether college education is also to be given in their mother-tongue, and if so to what extent and under what practical conditions, is to be left to the states concerned. It is only then that these boundary areas, instead of being seats of discord and disunity, will become seats of mutual bonds between linguistic states.

6. When demarcating boundaries of these states there may be tribal areas within the boundaries. The tribal areas wherein a particular distinctive tribe lives should be attached to one linguistic state or the other, as per their cultural and linguistic affinity with that of the neighbouring state, as well as on the basis on which state their economic development is more closely linked and likely to be more naturally developed.

Where a tribe is interspersed by the migration of neighbouring linguistic populations, then the different compact areas wherein the tribe lives will have to be put in those states with which its economic life is linked or likely to be more naturally developed.

These tribal areas included in one linguistic state or the other must be so administratively divided into tehsils, districts or regional units as the case may be so that their local or regional autonomy can be exercised, as for instance, the Koya region in Andhra, the Gondwana region in Bastar district, Madhya Pradesh, the Warli area in Maharashtra, the Bhil tehsils or districts in Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan, various tribal areas in Orissa, the Jharkhand region in Bihar, the Nepali area in Darjeeling. The various tribal district councils in Assam enumerated in the constitution are to have far greater autonomy.

7. The central committee urges upon all democratic elements and parties not to fritter away their energies on minor details of boundary demarcation but concentrate their efforts to get the States Reorganisation Commission and the government accept the formation of the above states and the principles for demarcating the boundaries. Once this is achieved, the question of actual demarcation can be left to the commission on the basis of census figures available over a period of the last few decades.

The central committee of the Communist Party of India urges upon all democratic elements to intensify the campaign for the immediate formation of linguistic states, which will be a step towards further strengthening of the struggle for a full democratic life.

8. The central committee of the Communist Party of India directs its provincial committees to discuss among themselves and come to agreement on disputed areas on the basis of these principles and fight the chauvinistic demands that are being made by vested interests.

Memorandum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India to the States Reorganisation Commission*

1. We are glad that the Government of India has at long last appointed a Commission to enquire into and report on the Reorganisation of States. This, in our opinion, is recognition by the Government of India of the fact that it is no longer advisable to ignore the growing agitation in the country for the formation of Linguistic States.

2. However, the Prime Minister's statement in Parliament announcing the appointment of the Commission wherein he had stated that it will look not merely to linguistic and cultural homogeneity, but also to financial viability, administrative convenience, and national unity and security, has justifiably raised among the public suspicions that the Commission is intended to find an excuse to deny the demand for the formation of Linguistic States, at least in certain cases.

3. It is a well-known fact that the present distribution of States in India has no rational basis. As has been stated by the Prime Minister himself, the present system is "largely the result of historical processes and the spread and consolidation of British power in India". It had nothing to do with the building up of a democratic life and administration. It had only helped to foster conflicts between sections of our people by the British and thereby help in the disruption of the democratic movement.

4. It was against this deliberate attempt to foster

*This memorandum was submitted in June, 1954 and also published as a booklet.

conflicts and disrupt our democratic movement that the national movement in our country raised the demand for the formation of Linguistic Provinces. That demand was raised not for purposes of disrupting the unity of India but with a view to draw the masses of our people into participation in all aspects of the political, economic and cultural life of the country, and thereby strengthen the unity and security of India. Again, this recognition of the need for drawing the masses into the political life of the country led the Congress to amend its Constitution in 1921 and provide for linguistic provincial units in the structure of the Congress organisation.

5. The struggle of our people for Linguistic States is thus a part of our struggle for freedom and democracy. The Communist Party holds that the formation of Linguistic States is a prerequisite to ensure that the masses of the people take their full part in the democratic reconstruction of the country's economy and life, without which the country cannot take the wide road to progress and prosperity. Moreover, this is essential for the fullest flowering of the democratic culture of all the peoples speaking different languages and the development of their languages and literature. This is also necessary for laying the firm and secure foundation for building the unity of India, on the basis of democracy for and equality of all the various peoples, who would voluntarily co-operate in the common endeavour of building a prosperous, progressive and democratic India.

6. We think it appropriate here to recall what the All-Parties Committee appointed by the Indian National Congress in 1927, presided over by Pandit Motilal Nehru, and of which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the General Secretary, had stated on this question. In the chapter entitled "Redistribution of Provinces", the Committee declared:

"What principles should govern this redistribution? Partly geographical and partly economic and financial, but the *main consideration must necessarily be the wishes of the people and the linguistic unity of the area concerned*. It is well recognised that rapid progress in education as well as in gen-

eral culture and in most departments of life depends on language. If a foreign language is the medium of instruction, business and affairs and the life of the country must necessarily be stunted. *No democracy can exist where a foreign language is used for this purpose... A democracy must be well-informed and must be able to understand and follow public affairs in order to take an effective part in them... It is inconceivable that a democracy can do this if a foreign language is used. It becomes essential, therefore, to conduct the business and politics of a country in a language which is understood by the masses. So far as the Provinces are concerned, this must be the provincial language.*" (Emphasis added.)

Again, the Committee points out: "If a Province has to educate itself and do its daily work through the medium of its own language, it must necessarily be a linguistic area. If it happens to be a polyglot area, difficulties will continuously arise and the media of instruction and work will be two or even more languages. *Hence it becomes most desirable for provinces to be regrouped on a linguistic basis. Language, as a rule, corresponds with a special variety of culture, of traditions and literature. In a linguistic area, all these factors will help in the general progress of the Province.*" (Emphasis added.)

7. Nothing has happened in India since the Nehru Committee submitted its report which can negate these weighty arguments of the Committee which made them recommend that the language and the wishes of the people are the primary considerations for the reorganisation of States. In fact, with the removal of British rule from August, 1947, it is natural that the people of India should feel the insistent urge that they must have the right and opportunity for full participation in all aspects of the political, economic and cultural life of the country. The growing demand for the formation of Linguistic States is but a part of the democratic upsurge in the country.

8. The Communist Party, therefore, urges upon the States Reorganisation Commission to submit an Interim Report before the end of September, recommending the formation of the

following States based primarily on the language of the area included in the proposed States:

(1) **KERALA** : The present Travancore-Cochin State minus the Tamil-speaking areas; and Malayalam-speaking areas of Madras State.

(2) **TAMILNAD** : The present Madras State minus the Kannada and Malayalam-speaking areas plus the Tamil-speaking areas of Travancore-Cochin with necessary boundary adjustments with Andhra.

(3) **ANDHRA STATE** : The present Andhra State with the Telugu-speaking areas of Hyderabad State—the Telangana area including Hyderabad City—and Telugu-speaking areas of Mysore, with necessary boundary adjustments with Tamilnad, the present Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.

(4) **KARNATAKA STATE** : The present Mysore State minus its Telugu-speaking areas, with the Kannada-speaking areas of Madras, Hyderabad, Bombay and Andhra States and Coorg.

(5) **MAHARASHTRA** : The Marathi-speaking areas of Bombay, Hyderabad and Madhya Pradesh States including Bombay City.

(6) **GUJARAT STATE** : The Gujarati-speaking areas of Bombay State with Saurashtra and Cutch, with necessary boundary adjustments with Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat.

(7) **PUNJAB** : The Punjabi-speaking areas of Punjab and PEPSU States.

(8) **ORISSA STATE** : The present Orissa State with necessary boundary adjustments with Bihar, Bengal, Andhra and Madhya Pradesh.

(9) **WEST BENGAL STATE** : The present West Bengal State with the necessary boundary adjustments with Bihar and Orissa.

(10) **ASSAM STATE** : The present Assam State.

(11) **RAJASTHAN** : Including Ajmer and with the necessary boundary adjustments with the present UP, Delhi, Madhya Bharat, Gujarat and PEPSU.

(12) **MADHYA BHARAT** : Along with Bhopal and with

the necessary boundary adjustments with Rajasthan, UP and Madhya Pradesh.

(13) **MADHYA PRADESH** : Hindi-speaking areas of the present Madhya Pradesh State along with Vindhya Pradesh and with the necessary boundary adjustments with Madhya Bharat, U.P., Orissa and Andhra States.

(14) **DELHI STATE** : To be formed by including Hindi-speaking areas of Punjab and PEPSU and such districts of Western UP as have close economic links with Delhi.

(15) **HIMACHAL PRADESH** : With the necessary boundary adjustments with Punjab, PEPSU and UP

(16) **UTTAR PRADESH** : The present UP State with necessary boundary adjustments with the present Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan, Vindhya Pradesh and Delhi.

(17) **BIHAR** : The present Bihar State with the necessary boundary adjustments with Bengal and Orissa.

(18) **TRIPURA & (19) MANIPUR** : Both these States are to be given an elected Legislature and Government of their own.

(20) And lastly, the **KASHMIR AND JAMMU STATE** whose special status has been recognised in the Indian Constitution.

Although Tripura and Manipur are small in area and population, we have urged their constitution as two separate Provinces for the following reasons:

i) Although they are situated contiguous to Assam, they are mountainous areas with very sparse communications with Assam.

ii) Their languages are different from those of Assam, and the main demand of the democratic movement has been for greater democratic rights.

iii) The people of these States might have been willing to be within the State of Assam if the tribal areas within Assam had been conferred full local autonomy, with their own executive. But today the democratic urge of the people in these areas cannot be satisfied until their own demand for a legislature and executive is first satisfied.

It will be seen that in the proposals we have made, the present Hyderabad State will have to be disintegrated. The Central Committee desires to impress on you that no Linguistic State can ever be formed in the South on a rational basis without the disintegration of the present Hyderabad State. The Committee on Linguistic States appointed by the Jaipur Congress in 1948 (popularly known as the J.V.P. Committee) itself had recognised this in its report when it stated: "Thus the constitution of a Province of Maharashtra inevitably raises the problem of Karnataka and makes a separate Karnataka Province inescapable... The constitution of Andhra Province raises... the problem of the Karnataka areas of the Madras Province. *All three raise the problem of contiguous linguistic areas of Hyderabad State*". (Emphasis added.)

The Central Committee urges upon the Commission to recommend that the present distinction between A, B, and C States should be abolished altogether while reorganising the States. There cannot be any distinction in the degree of democratic rights enjoyed by the people of India. The Committee further urges upon you to recommend that the institution of Rajpramukh should be forthwith abolished as also their special privileges. Together with it their privy purses must be stopped and the so called personal property of the former princes, earned out of misappropriation of State revenues, should be taken over by the State.

9. The Communist Party considers it necessary to rebut the arguments that are generally raised with a view to negate this demand for Linguistic States. It will be seen that the formation of these States as above will reduce the present number of States from 28 to 20, which itself rebuts the arguments of those who raise the bogey of Balkanisation whenever the demand for Linguistic States is made. This reconstitution of States that we have suggested is on a more rational basis, wherein the administration can be carried on in the language spoken by the overwhelming majority of the people of the State.

10. Another argument that is sought to be raised against the formation of Linguistic States is the allegation that such

a distribution will jeopardise the unity and security of India. This argument is patently an absurd and false one. The Linguistic States are not separate States with their own army and the defence services. Defence will continue to be a Central subject. As such, unity and security of India will in no way be jeopardised by the formation of States as proposed above.

11. How could one say that our western defences can only be maintained by the existence of two States, Punjab and PEPSU, on our western border. The PEPSU State is not even a contiguous area. One district, Kandaghat, is widely separated from the other parts of PEPSU and is surrounded by areas of Himachal Pradesh State. Similarly, Punjab has on its eastern side a large area with a majority of Hindustani-speaking people. No sane man can argue that this set up on our western frontier is essential either for the defence of our country or for its unity. Neither can one argue that the creation of a Punjab, with the merger of the contiguous areas with a majority of the Punjabi-speaking people in the two States, and the joining of the eastern Hindustani area with the adjoining Hindustani-speaking areas will weaken the unity and security of the country. The same arguments will apply to every other part of India. On the other hand, experience has shown that the continuation of the present set up has only led to conflicts between our peoples which certainly are not conducive to the development of unity of India. It is a remarkable thing that throughout our national struggle neither the Congress leaders nor representatives of other political parties on the All Parties' Committee, referred to above, had ever raised until 1947 this bogey of unity and security when discussing this question of Linguistic States.

12. Another argument that is advanced is that of financial viability. It will be seen that the States proposed above are far more viable than many of the existing ones. Let us take certain examples. Travancore-Cochin already exists as a State. In the proposal that we have made, the Tamil-speaking areas of the State will join the existing Madras State. Similarly, the Malayalam-speaking areas of the existing Madras State

which comprise of the district of Malabar and certain adjoining areas of the South Kanara district will join the existing Travancore-Cochin State and form the Kerala State. The result would be that the Kerala State and the Tamilnad State will be more or less of the same size and revenue as the existing Madras and Travancore-Cochin States. Examples like this can be multiplied.

13. Financial viability of the States is a question of the allocation of the revenues between the Centre and the States. Today no State in India, with the present allocation of financial resources, has a surplus or is even a self-sufficient one. The budgets of all of them have become deficit.

14. It must be realised that the economy of all these States cannot be the same. There are Provinces like Bengal and Travancore-Cochin which grow commercial crops like Jute, Rubber, Tea, Pepper and other exportable commodities. Certain financial results within the present set up may follow as a result of this. But that certainly cannot be a ground for denying the right of formation of Linguistic States.

15. Moreover, one cannot shut one's eyes to the fact that there has been an uneven economic development between different areas of India. Surely, this uneven economic development which results in certain areas being backward cannot become a ground for refusing the people of these areas their Linguistic State through which they would be able to participate in the administration of the country. Such an argument would only mean that it is only the people of economically more prosperous areas that have the right to participate in the political, economic and administrative life of the country.

16. In this connection, it is worth recalling what the Nehru Committee had stated in this regard. After stating that the linguistic principle and the wishes of the majority of the people are the two most important considerations in the re-arrangement of the provinces, the Committee proceeds: "The third consideration though not of the same importance is administrative convenience which would include geographical position, economic resources and the financial stability

of the area concerned. *But administrative convenience is often a matter of arrangement, and must, as a rule, bow to the wishes of the people.*" (Emphasis added.)

Very correctly they point out that administrative convenience, which includes financial stability is a matter of arrangement, because the allocation of the financial resources is a matter of arrangement between the Centre and the States.

17. Answering those people who opposed the formation of the Province of Sind on the ground that it would be financially a deficit province, the Committee stated: "The denial of right to self-determination on purely financial ground... is bound to lead to great dissatisfaction, and is bound to impede the progress of Sind and all the energy which should go to building up the life and work of the province would be spent in profitless agitation. If, however, this right is conceded, a strong impetus will be given to the new province to work hard and compete with more advanced provinces." The truth of these wise words has been proved by the last seven years since 1947, during which the demands for Linguistic States had been negated by the Government of India.

18. In this connection, the Communist Party of India wants to stress the fact that it is the duty of the Centre to help the more backward States, so that they are enabled to rapidly do away with their backwardness and to help in the even development of the whole country. That alone will cement the fraternal feelings of the people speaking the different languages and cement the unity of India. But to make this very backwardness a pretext for denying to the people of these areas opportunity to democratic development will only lead to the strengthening of disruptive forces.

19. The reduction of the total number of States from 28 to 20 as proposed by us will result in a reduction of the top administrative expenditure on Governors, High Courts, etc. This, together with the abolition of the institution of Rajpramukhs with their heavy allowances and privy purses, would lead to the augmentation of a few crores of rupees to the revenues of India.

The argument of financial viability is, therefore, totally sustainable.

20. Consistent with the formation of Linguistic States, we urge upon you to recommend that the following procedure be adopted when demarcating the boundaries of the new Linguistic States:

Village is to be taken as the unit. Demarcation line to be drawn on the basis of majority of villagers speaking a particular language in that village and on the basis of contiguity of that village to that particular linguistic state.

It should be understood that, however carefully the demarcation line is drawn, both in these boundary areas as well as in the interior of every one of these states, there will be linguistic minorities. These must be guaranteed that their education will be in their mothertongue both in elementary and secondary stages. The question of whether college education is also to be given in their mother tongue and if so, to what extent and under what practical conditions, is to be left to the states concerned. It is only then that these boundary areas, instead of being seats of discord and disunity, will become seats of mutual bonds between Linguistic States.

When demarcating boundaries of these States, there may be tribal areas within the boundaries. The tribal areas, wherein a particular distinctive tribe lives, should be attached to one Linguistic State or the other, as per their cultural and linguistic affinity with that of the neighbouring state, as well as on the basis as to which state their economic development is more closely linked and likely to be more naturally developed. Where a tribe is interspersed by the migration of neighbouring linguistic populations, then the different compact areas wherein the tribe lives will have to be put in those states with which its economic life is linked or likely to be more naturally developed.

These tribal areas included in one linguistic state or the other must be so administratively divided into tehsils, districts or regional units as the case may be, so that their local or regional autonomy can be exercised, as for instance, the

Koya region in Andhra, the Gondwana region in Baster District, Madhya Pradesh, the Warli area in Maharashtra, the Bhil tehsils or districts in Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan, various tribal areas in Orissa, the Jharkhand region in Bihar, the Nepali area in Darjeeling. The various Tribal District Councils in Assam enumerated in the Constitution are to have far greater autonomy.

21. In conclusion, the Central Committee recalls what the Linguistic Provinces Committee appointed by the Jaipur Congress (December, 1948) consisting of Sri Vallabhbhai Patel, Sri Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, although itself opposed to the formation of Linguistic States then, had to say: "Nevertheless, if there is a strong and widespread feeling in the areas for the Linguistic Provinces, a democratic Government must ultimately submit to it, unless there is grave danger to the State."

No one can argue that there is grave danger to the State.

The Committee itself accepted that there is widespread feeling. It stated: "We realise that there is not only strong feeling, but also much merit behind these proposals (for the formation of Andhra, Kerala, Karnataka and Maharashtra Provinces)... We also realise that some of these linguistic areas, notably Kerala and Karnataka, have rather suffered in the past from their association with larger multilingual provinces."

Today this feeling has grown stronger than what it was in 1949. The appointment of the Commission itself is a recognition of the growth of that feeling. Any delay or procrastination in conceding this demand is bound to lead to serious consequences.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India, therefore, urges upon the Commission not to give any cause for any anxiety to the people, but to submit an interim report before September 1954 at the latest, recommending the formation of States, primarily based upon languages, as stated in Para 8 above.

Communist Answer to Pandit Nehru*

Ajoy Ghosh

Since his return from China, Pandit Nehru has made a number of speeches which have stressed the supreme need of Sino-Indian unity. In a forthright manner, he has declared his conviction that the Chinese people do not want war. He has been emphasising that the friendship between these two great neighbours, big and powerful, is a mighty bulwark for peace and freedom.

Pandit Nehru has also paid a handsome tribute to the leaders of New China for the way they are striving to bring about a quick transformation of their country.

Chou-Nehru Declaration : Great Landmark

We Communists whole-heartedly welcome everyone of these positions; they constitute an unanswerable reply to the imperialist warmongers who are dead-set on branding China as having aggressive designs on the countries of South-East Asia.

Not only that, we hold that the initiation of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, enunciated by the Chou-Nehru Declaration, has been a significant landmark in the annals of Asia. The clear and unequivocal pledge of friendship between these two great Asian neighbours is a matter of tremendous importance not only for the countries of Asia, but for the cause of peace and freedom in the whole world.

It has dealt a big blow to the imperialist system, creating

*Published as a booklet in December, 1954

consternation in the entire imperialist camp, and jubilation in the camp of democratic states and among the people of every land.

It is, therefore, an imperative task of the democratic forces in India to mobilise our people behind these historic Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, and the Communist Party takes an active part in this national task.

Attack on Indian Communists

Coupled with these important steps furthering the cause of peace and democracy, Pandit Nehru has recently made quite a few attacks on the Communists, the peak of which was reached in the broadsides he fired in a public meeting at Delhi last week.

Coming as they do from Pandit Nehru, who holds a position of special eminence in the country, it is necessary to examine these points of attack upon the Communists.

Pandit Nehru has stated that the Indian Communists in the past had condemned his foreign policy and are now puzzled when his foreign policy has earned the praise of countries like the Soviet Union and China.

There is no question of the Communists being "puzzled" by the present shift in Pandit Nehru's foreign policy. They welcome this shift. Let it be remembered that the Communist Party, almost alone among the political parties in the country, has all these years, since the advent of independence, fearlessly and consistently called for orientation of India's foreign policy in a progressive direction and has campaigned for closer ties with the countries like the Soviet Union and China—countries that have freed themselves from the grip of imperialism and are on guard against its onslaughts.

From a party that has almost single-handedly warned our people against the menacing shadow of American imperialism over the countries of Asia, the present stand of Pandit Nehru's Government against the war-designs of American imperialism in Asia could not but evoke whole-hearted support.

Foreign Policy in the Past

But Pandit Nehru is right when he says that in the past we Indian Communists did attack his foreign policy as being influenced by Anglo-American imperialist powers. But this is an issue which demands self-examination not by the Communists but by Pandit Nehru himself. Can any serious student of Indian affairs deny that the foreign policy of Pandit Nehru's Government has undergone a shift in the last five years? Is it not necessary for Pandit Nehru to ponder and ask why was it that we Communists attacked his foreign policy in the past?

In those days, the Government of India had over and over again proclaimed its close association in the world scene with the imperialist powers of Britain and America.

Speaking in this very city of Delhi, five years ago, on March 22, 1949, Pandit Nehru declared:

"At the present moment you will see that as a matter of fact we have far closer relations with some countries of the Western World than with others. It is partly due to historic and partly due to other factors, present-day factors of various kinds. *These close relations will no doubt develop and we will encourage them to develop.*" (Emphasis ours.)

There is no gainsaying the fact that the "Western Powers" referred to above are in the main the British and American imperialisms.

We have also to note that India spectacularly sided with the Anglo-American bloc in the Security Council when on June 27, 1950, was passed the infamous resolution which branded North Korea as an aggressor and thereby gave the passport of the United Nations for the American invaders of Korea who brought the world to the very verge of war. Who the real aggressor was has been revealed since then by the utterances of Syngman Rhee and his American masters.

As late as March 1951 when India put her signature on the American offer under the Mutual Defence Assistance Pact, Dean Acheson, the U.S. Secretary of State, made it quite clear that the aid given under the Pact was "required by the Government of India to maintain its internal security, its

legitimate self-defence or permit it to participate in the defence of the area of which it is a part" and it stipulated that our Government, in case of transfer of the articles obtained under the world, "will obtain the consent of the United States of America," while it permitted the USA to retain "the privileges of diverting items of equipment or of not completing services undertaken if such action is dictated by consideration of United States national interest..."

When later on, the US imperialist circles clamoured against India taking the first steps marking herself apart from the imperialist bloc, Mrs. Pandit, as a spokesperson of Pandit Nehru's Government, tendered India's bona fides, as it were to the Anglo-American bloc when she beseechingly said:

"In the recent sessions of the General Assembly we voted as you did 38 times out of 51, abstaining 11 times and differing from you only twice."

Who was in the Wrong?

It is thus clear that it is not the Indian Communists who deserve to be criticised for attacking Pandit Nehru's foreign policy in those days, but it was Pandit Nehru's foreign policy in those days which deserves to be criticised, as in the main being influenced by Anglo-American imperialists.

The Communists have nothing to regret for having warned all through against India being guided by British advice in the matter of Kashmir. It is not the Communists but Pandit Nehru himself who, on the advice of Lord Mountbatten, took the Kashmir question to the Security Council, and agreed to abide by the protracted imperialist manoeuvre under the aegis of the United Nations.

Not till December 1952, did Pandit Nehru's Government stand up to the offensive and dangerous moves of the Anglo-American bloc in the Security Council with regard to Kashmir. And it was not till the beginning of this year that Pandit Nehru came forward against the American agents in Kashmir masquerading as UN Observers—about whom the Communists had warned right from the very beginning.

The Communists have nothing to regret for protesting against Pandit Nehru's attack on the heroic fighters for Malayan freedom during his trip there in 1949, an attack which could only be of advantage to the British butchers who have been perpetrating horrors in Malaya.

The Communists have nothing to regret for having unearthed the sinister arrangement by which Britain was allowed to recruit Gurkha troops on Indian soil for despatch against Malayan patriots. Pandit Nehru, after having denied it in Parliament in 1952, had to admit it when the Communists brought it to light with unanswerable evidence.

We can understand Pandit Nehru's embarrassment over the issue, but it does not behove him to attack the Communists for having condemned this sordid episode of his foreign policy.

Equally sordid was the episode of the transit facility that the French imperialists were enjoying, on the sly, at Indian airports for despatching troops to defend their empire in Indo-China. In this case too, right this year, Pandit Nehru's denial in Parliament was followed within a few weeks by the exposure by the Communist Party which compelled the Government to stop them.

Are we Communists to be blamed for having criticised this part of Pandit Nehru's foreign policy? Rather we are proud to have done it as a national vindication of India's refusal to help imperialists to crush other countries striving, as we did, to be free.

We Warn Again!

Right today, the Communist Party warns the Government and the country against the danger of accepting U.S. aid and points to the bitter fruits of abject subservience that came to the lot of many a free country in Europe after accepting the tempting aids that American imperialism had been offering them for years.

We have no hesitation in saying that we Communists are still opposed to the various U.S. aids being accepted, coming as they do from an imperialist power which has proclaimed

in no uncertain terms its objective of world conquest in the name of fighting Communism.

We have warned and shall not cease warning against this danger to our sovereignty, drawing lessons not only from distant lands but from the fate of the neighbour at our doorstep, Pakistan, which starting from economic aid has sold her pass to U.S. imperialism.

In his last speech in Parliament before leaving for China Pandit Nehru, while denouncing the SEATO war-combine stated :

"I realise that the motives may be and are good. I repeat that countries in Asia, as well as those outside have certain fears and those fears may have justification... Most of these countries are afraid not of what Governments do officially, but what they might do *sub rosa* through the activities of the Communist Party in these countries. This is one of the serious difficulties that have arisen in international affairs."

This was, in a way, giving almost a justification to the imperialists for hatching such a war plot, and it was hailed precisely for this very reason by the entire imperialist press. What was expected of Pandit Nehru, who has refused to be drawn into such a plot, was to show up that the talk of Communist menace was just a cover by the imperialists for their designs on the countries of Asia.

Nor can we overlook the fact that although Gurkha recruiting centres have been closed down after mass protests were voiced, transit facilities through India are still being afforded to the British Government for despatching Gurkhas to Malaya.

Pandit Nehru is irritated by the Communist warning against staying within the British Commonwealth. We make it quite clear that our stay inside the British Commonwealth goes against our independent defence. We need not go very far but quote from the *Economist* (London) which is the voice of British finance. Referring to the visit of the British Chief of Staff Harding, who is just now visiting our country, the paper says:

"His journey is unusual in that it is the first time since 1950

that a British Chief of Staff has set foot in India or Pakistan; the fact that he was invited by the Commanders-in-Chief of both the Pakistan and the Indian Armies, who delivered their invitations when they attended Commonwealth Staff exercises in London in August shows how close the professional relationship with the British Army remains even now that nearly all the British officers who were left behind in 1947 to train their successors have returned home." (November 20, 1954.)

Today Winston Churchill has openly bragged about his fiendish designs even during the war of using the Nazis against the very ally, the USSR, that saved Europe from Hitlerite slavery. This has sent a wave of horror and revulsion among all the decent sections of world public.

And yet, Pandit Nehru, agrees to go to the Commonwealth conference over which Winston Churchill presides. Not only that. The men with whom Pandit Nehru will confer there, the bosses of the British Dominions, are the very people who are actively building the SEATO war bloc, which Pandit Nehru has himself denounced.

For a statesman of Asia, whose advocacy of Sino-Indian amity has won the ready approbation of the entire peace loving mankind, to sit at the same imperial table with men who parade their perfidy brings neither glory nor honour to India but provides a respectable alibi to those who are plotting to build up new armies for another world war.

It is this aspect of India's foreign policy—the aspect that follows directly from our links with the British Commonwealth—that the Communists have never hesitated to attack.

But despite these links with the British imperialists, which we want to be broken, whenever and wherever Pandit Nehru has taken a definite stand that has helped the cause of peace and curbed the imperialists, the Communist Party has come out in whole-hearted support of each and every one of such moves.

Our Support Based on Principle

Even in the days when Pandit Nehru's Government was trying to suppress the Communists with armed violence, his demand

for the seating of People's China in the U.N., his warning against the crossing of the 38th parallel and the bombing of installations beyond the Yalu river by American troops, his move to stop the war in Korea and refusal to sign the San Francisco Treaty—all these brought forth the support of the Communists, though his Government was doing its best to stifle their voice.

In the recent past, everyone of his moves in the direction of peace—against the H-Bomb and the presence of U.S. Observers in Kashmir, the signing of the Sino-Indian Treaty on Tibet, the Chou-Nehru Declaration, the Geneva Agreement, the denunciation of SEATO or his visit to China—receives the whole-hearted support of the Indian Communists. Not only that. On many of the issues the Communists strove to mobilise the people, as against the U.S. observers in Kashmir the U.S.-Pak Pact, or for the popularisation of the Five Principles of the Chou-Nehru Declaration.

At the same time, where we did not hesitate to criticise and do not hesitate even today is precisely where there is attachment to the Anglo-American bloc, particularly to the link with the British Commonwealth, because it is clear that these attachments and links with imperialist powers undermine the very position of eminence that India has won today in the international field by siding with the forces of peace and refusing to be towed into the imperialist bloc for War. If India is to play her rightful role as a consistent defender of peace and freedom, it is essential for her to break the links with imperialist powers.

It is thus the Communists who can claim to follow a consistent line in foreign policy, for the touchstone of every one of their stand is whether a particular move strengthens India's position or throws her into the bandwagon of imperialism.

Pandit Nehru has talked about half-hearted support of the Communists for his foreign policy. But there is no half-hearted stand in the dictionary of Communists. What they think is correct, they come out in unequivocal support

for it. What they consider is wrong, they oppose equally unequivocally.

Why Shift in India's Policy?

The shift that has come over in Pandit Nehru's foreign policy in the last two years is not the result of an accident, It is due to the growing strength of the democratic world and, in the first place, to the exposure of the myth of American military might on the battlefields of Korea.

Its fiasco not only upset the calculations of U.S. imperialists themselves, but showed Pandit Nehru also how wrong his earlier assessments had been. On December 7, 1950, six months after the outbreak of the Korean war, he had remarked in Parliament: "The democratic nations may win the war—mind you, I have little doubt that they will..."

The failure of the American arms naturally helped to break the illusions of many, including Pandit Nehru, about the strength of the imperialist powers.

Secondly, these years have shown to all, particularly the Asian countries, that the threat to their freedom comes not from the democratic countries like China and the USSR, but wholly from the imperialist countries. As early as January 1949, Pandit Nehru himself had to refer to the treacherous attack of the Dutch on Indonesia:

"We confess with sorrow that the attitude of some Western Powers has been one of tacit approval or acceptance of this aggression. There is a Western Union of which Holland is a member. What does that Union stand for? Money has flowed from the Western Union."

In the current year itself, two documents signed by the two neighbouring countries reveal in a flash as to who is the enemy and who is the friend of free peoples of Asia. While Pakistan has signed the Arms Pact with the USA, selling off her sovereignty, India has signed the Chou-Nehru Declaration proclaiming the Five Principles guaranteeing Peaceful Co-existence on the basis of respect for the very sovereignty which

America threatens. And now with the Manila Treaty, the game is open and unashamed.

Thirdly, the tremendous growth of anti-British and anti-American sentiments in our people and the welling up of the urge for peace and revulsion against war are factors of no mean significance. It is the democratic and peace movement in the country, in which the Communist Party also plays its part, which has helped to foster this urge, and it is Pandit Nehru's party and Government which have from time to time frowned upon this movement.

Nevertheless, it is this movement of our people against the warmongering imperialists which has contributed substantially in bringing about a shift in our foreign relations and making India a world power today.

The fact of India becoming a world power is something about which every Indian is proud, the more so the Communists, for it has come along the path which they consistently and fearlessly advocated. We, therefore, support this change and have no hesitation in recognising it. We think that Pandit Nehru should also not hesitate to recognise this obvious change that has come over the very policy he directs.

Behind this Attack on US

Pandit Nehru has combined his praise for China with his attacks on the Indian Communists.

Why is it so? To some extent it is the first shot in the coming election battle in Andhra. It is there that the corrupt, crisis-ridden Congress is facing a powerful challenge from the Communist Party. And as it is nearly time for Pandit Nehru to give tongue to his own Congressmen in Andhra, his latest vitriolics against the Communists might be setting the line that he wants his followers to take up in Andhra.

But that is not all. There is something more basic which makes Pandit Nehru launch this vicious attack on the Communist Party precisely at this time.

The opening of the window into People's China and the closer liaison that is growing between India and the USSR

have revealed to our countrymen in growing numbers the phenomenal developments that have taken place in those countries and is inevitably provoking in the minds of many of our people the question as to the path of development that we should follow in our own country, the social changes which alone constitute a firm basis for the uplift of our country.

These new vistas have already startled the organs of Big Business, for they bring into relief the invidious contrast between the fast tempo of development in the once-backward China and the snail-speed progress in India accompanied by chronic suffering faced by millions. And it is through such appraisals that the people rapidly get a clear understanding of the correct path of development. The most conscious of them get increasingly drawn towards Socialism—towards the all-conquering ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin—which alone point the way towards freedom, prosperity and happiness to the toiling masses.

It is this 'dangerous' development that Pandit Nehru wants to prevent. Already his speeches praising China have caused visible concern in Big Business circles, both Indian and foreign. Perhaps to allay that concern and to assure them that they can continue to count upon his Government to protect their interests, that Pandit Nehru thought it necessary to make a pointed attack on the Communists.

Hence it is that he combines his praise of China's achievements, which can no longer be denied, with denunciation of Marxism, which in his opinion is outmoded. That it is this very 'outmoded' Marxism which showed China how to overcome her age-old backwardness and grow into a mighty power with a rapidity which has amazed the whole world—this, he wants to make out, is a fact of no importance. As this argument becomes less and less convincing, louder and louder grow Pandit Nehru's denunciation of Marxism.

Old and Discredited Arguments

Pandit Nehru has spoken in praise of the historic Long March of the Chinese Communists. But let it not be forgotten that

it was precisely at the time of the same Long March that Chiang Kai-shek repeatedly attacked the Chinese Communists branding them as bandits.

And these are the age-old tactics of all those who have to fight Communists and democrats. Ho Chi-minh, who could not but impress Pandit Nehru, was also dubbed a bandit by Bao Dai. And the Malayan Communists and patriots who are relentlessly fighting against British domination were denounced by Pandit Nehru himself in 1949. The Communists all over the world are used to this term of reproach, which their opponents hurl at them as they cannot crush or scare them into submission.

Even in our national movement, it is the British Government and its stooges who used such terms of reproach against the Congress leaders themselves.

So, when Pandit Nehru attacks us for indulging in violence, we do not think it necessary to go into any argument over it. The experience of these seven years since independence has proved to our countrymen as to who resorts to violence and who has to face it.

Propaganda in which Pandit Nehru has indulged this time also has tried to make out that the Indian Communists have no moorings among our people and they carry out the "dictates of Russia and China".

It seems as if Pandit Nehru this time has been caught in the foils of his own propaganda. Elated by the mighty ovation he received all over China and the friendly gestures from the Soviet Union in appreciation of his stand for peace, he seems to have almost come to believe that Indian Communists, as a result, would automatically come over to him, no matter what his policy is towards the masses of our own country. If Pandit Nehru has any such illusion, he is grievously mistaken. He should get rid of it once and for all.

The attitude of a Communist Party towards the Government of the country or, for the matter of that, towards any party, is determined by the attitude of the Government towards the interests of the masses. And this is as much true

of the Communist Party of India as of any other Communist Party in the world.

Loyalty to the ideology of Marxism and loyalty to proletarian internationalism teaches us, as it teaches Communist Parties in other countries (including the Communist Party of China that Pandit Nehru has praised), to be loyal to the masses of our own country, to serve them fearlessly, to oppose their oppressors and enemies.

It is this test that impels us to stand by the millions of evicted kisans and thousands of workers threatened by rationalisation and to show them how to struggle for their very basic needs. It is this which brings Communists to champion the cause of the refugees. It is this again which brings them among the newly-astir ranks of the middle-class employees. Above all, it is this test that makes us supporters of the present shift in Pandit Nehru's foreign policy and, at the same time, determined opponents of his Government, in the main, and the spearhead of the movement which strives to replace it by a democratic government.

Pandit Nehru has dubbed all these as "stirring up troubles". And he has quoted the case of the proposed strike of the bank employees as evidence of the Communist machinations. But he forgets that the broad mass organisation of bank employees is no racket run by the Communists, for in its ranks are people from practically all political parties as well as many belonging to no political party.

Instead of glibly attacking it as "Communist-inspired". Pandit Nehru would have done well to ponder why even the middle-class employees, traditionally loyal to the regime, are now coming out in thousands against the policies of the Government. He might have profitably asked himself why his own Labour Minister Giri could not stay in the Cabinet. Surely not because of Communist provocation!

He would have done well to remember that the bank employees have taken the steps towards struggle after years of waiting and a number of tribunals had given awards, none of which the Government could accept at the dictates of

bank bosses. It is not by cursing the Communists and protecting these bosses that Pandit Nehru can bring peace among the growing large number of discontented employees.

Our Loyalty : to Our People

These attacks on the living conditions of the different sections of the people, as also the renewed attacks on democratic liberties like the amending of the Criminal Procedure Code in a reactionary direction and the prolongation of the Preventive Detention Act, show the real character of the Nehru Government. So long as these attacks on the people continue the Communist Party shall continue to fight by their side, ranged against the Government.

While Pandit Nehru gets our whole-hearted support every one of his moves for peace and against imperialism, has to realise that the praise he has got from the democratic masses all over the world is not for the Preventive Detention Act or the suppression of the peasantry—these might have won him bouquets in the USA and Britain—and it is these very measures which the Communists also fight.

Further, the Communist Party realises that the capacity of a country to pursue its foreign policy vigorously in a progressive direction depends on the strength of the economy, the condition of the masses and the extent of mass support the government enjoys. It is precisely there that Pandit Nehru's internal policy hampers, for it operates against the extension of democracy and does not improve the condition of the people.

These economic and political shackles imposed on our masses—on the working class and peasantry, on the middle-classes and other progressive elements—hit at precisely those very forces inside the country that alone can guarantee the carrying out of the policy of peace and democracy, and brings new succour to those very reactionary elements in our midst who are anxious to take India back to the imperialist tutelage.

Who is Inconsistent?

Therefore, what is paraded as a paradox in a stand of support

to the peaceful aspects of Pandit Nehru's foreign policy and relentless struggle against the reactionary policies internally is nothing but a really consistent line of strengthening the forces of peace, freedom and democracy both at home and abroad.

Pandit Nehru has complained that China has unity while India lacks it. He should know why there is unity in China. Because, the people there are united to sweep away the obstacles that stand in the path of China's advance towards the happiness of the masses; Chiang Kai-shek, despite his talks of unity, could not achieve it because he was anxious to preserve those very things which prevented the improvement of the lot of the people.

Today, inside Pandit Nehru's own party there is disunity and he has to run hither and thither to solve internal Congress crisis. Let him ponder why it is so. The mass of people cannot be united behind a policy which seeks to perpetuate the atrocious exploitation of the foreign and Indian vested interests.

There can be no unity in the land if you keep up landlordism and suppress peasants' struggles. There can be no unity so long as monopolists go scot-free and British capitalists continue their loot, while you threaten workers with nationalisation.

Pandit Nehru is never tired of deriding the Communists or their alleged inconsistencies, for the contradictions in their position. If he thinks over the matter coolly he will see that it is he who is guilty of inconsistencies, it is his policy that is full of contradictions.

He condemns the designs of US imperialism but does not reject the aid whose avowed aim is furtherance of these very designs. He denounces the SEATO but refuses to break with British imperialism which is one of its main sponsors. He praises the achievements of the Chinese People's Republic but denounces the ideology which made these achievements possible. He takes a number of measures which help the cause of peace and freedom but pursues a national policy that weakens and shackles the very forces that are the true defenders of peace and freedom.

These contradictions and inconsistencies, as the Communist Party has many times pointed out, are not accidental. They follow from the class character and class policy of Pandit Nehru's Government.

The Masses Shall Decide!

Pandit Nehru's denunciation of the Communist Party will not make us withdraw our support from those measures of his Government which go to strengthen the cause of peace and of Indian freedom. We shall not merely continue to support them but strive to build the broadest unity behind them and for their implementation.

We know that these measures are the result of events and movements of world historic importance in bringing about and developing which we too, together with other patriots and democrats, have played our role. They are the result of the collective efforts of us all—of those who cherish freedom, democracy and peace. Hence, our duty and our task to further strengthen the unity of the people behind these measures, implement them and carry them forward.

Nor will Pandit Nehru's denunciation of the Communist Party scare us to line up behind his Government whose policy in the main continues to be a policy against the interests of the people.

Loyal to the cause of the masses, loyal to the ideology of Marxism, undeterred by threats and provocations, we of the Communist Party of India shall unflinchingly strengthen the movement of our people for freedom and peace, democracy and a better life. Ultimately it is the masses that shall decide.

Nehru's Socialism—A Hoax*

Ajoy Ghosh

Full employment within ten years through the creation of 24 million new jobs; annual investment of 1000 to 1200 crores of rupees; a “phased programme of agrarian reform” which will be gone through “as quickly as possible” steady march towards a “socialistic society”—such is the alluring prospect the government now holds out before the people through its recent pronouncements in Parliament. A thrilling prospect indeed, one that should warm the heart of every one and dispel the existing atmosphere of discontent and frustration.

Curiously enough, all this has left the people cold. Even the guarded comments made in the bourgeois press go to show that few take these assurances seriously.

Facts Belie Claims

Why? Because, facts, as has been said many a time before, are stubborn things. And facts, as revealed in the *Progress Report of the Five Year Plan* on which all these calculations are based, reveal a picture which, to put it very mildly, is none-too-promising.

Many a time, since the *Progress Report* was published, attention to these facts was drawn not only by the communists but also by well-known bourgeois economists. It is not necessary to narrate all of them here. Nevertheless, since the government persists in ignoring them, it is necessary to restate some of them.

*Published as a booklet in 1954

Food production in the country has increased by 11.4 million tons and there has been an easing of the food situation—a welcome development.

But the *Report* itself ascribes at least half the increase to the “good weather of 1953-54” (p 58) which is a most uncertain factor. Further, it is admitted, part of the increase in figures is due to better “statistical coverage”—the produce of 89 million acres being left out of calculation in earlier estimates.

With all this, however, the availability of foodgrains is only 15 oz per adult per day as against 16.3 oz in the years 1934-38.

In the industrial sector “the index of production rose during the year to 136.3 as against 118.2 in 1951 and 128.9 in 1952” Nevertheless production declined in the “three major industries of jute, sugar, and (most serious from the point of national development) iron and steel”.

Here again the fact must be remembered that 1946 which was taken as the base year was marked by low production. For example, the production of textiles which reached 4906 million yards in 1953-54 exceeded the target laid down in the plan and was much higher than the years immediately preceding the plan. But even in 1944, production had already reached 4852 million yards.

Further, if from the total cloth production—mill as well as handloom—the amount exported is deducted, the availability of cloth per head today is only 13-14 yards a year less than what it was in the pre-war years.

Paradoxically enough, increase in production has not been accompanied by increase in employment. With increase in workload and intensification of labour in various forms, more is being produced by industries with less workers.

Cottage and small-scale industries which form the source of livelihood of millions are declining everywhere throwing millions on the street. The number of registered unemployed has increased from 288,971 in 1950, a pre-plan year, to 589,000 in July 1954, the third year of the plan.

The total estimated investment in the country's entire economy was to be between Rs. 3500 crore and Rs. 3600 crore in five years in the public and private sectors—the latter including “agriculture, large-scale and small-scale industries, trade, banking, housing construction, etc.”—according to C. D. Deshmukh.

This works out to Rs. 700-720 crore a year. Admittedly this figure has not been reached. Investment in the state sector in three years has been Rs. 885 crore, 40 per cent of the five-year estimate. Investment in the private industrial sector has been Rs. 96 crore in three years—41 per cent of the total estimate of Rs. 233 crore.

Figures of investment with regard to all the other items in the private sector are not available. Still, in view of the decline in cottage industries and the conditions of the peasantry, this investment as a whole must have been far, far less than in the public sector and the private industrial sector.

Even if, for the sake of argument, the fantastic assumption is made that this too was 40 per cent of the estimated outlay of Rs. 1567 crore (Rs. 1800 crore less Rs. 233 crore) for five years—then the investment in the private sector as a whole comes to Rs. 722 crore in three years.

Adding this to the investment in the public sector we get Rs. 1605 crore—which works out to a little over Rs. 535 crore a year. But as already stated, this would be on the basis of a totally unreal assessment of the investment in the private sector as a whole.

How all this is to be changed, how the grandiose promise of ensuring food sufficiency, creating 24 million additional jobs, of investing 1000 to 1200 crores of rupees per year is to be fulfilled—one reads in vain the speeches made in Parliament by the spokesmen of the government to discover the answer.

The facts narrated above are well-known. They do not, however, tell the whole truth. They do not bring out the most significant features which the operation of the plan has revealed.

Rottenness of Plan's Foundation

Even the best of plans may not attain its full target. Many unforeseen and unfavourable factors may hamper its implementation. Therefore if the plan had failed merely to achieve its targets in certain spheres, or even in all spheres, that by itself would not constitute a condemnation of the government.

Increase in production, both in industry and agriculture, has been meagre. But this increase itself has shown why the whole basis of the plan is defective, this increase itself has laid bare the utter rottenness of the very foundation on which all the schemes and plans of the government rest.

One can understand a situation in which industries are working to capacity but are unable to meet the full needs of the people.

One can understand a situation when enough capital is not available for industrial development and hence unemployment figures remain high.

One can understand a situation when due to natural calamities, food production has fallen, the peasantry is hard-hit and is, therefore, unable to buy the things produced.

In such a situation, the difficulties can be ascribed to purely natural and economic factors and the way out sought in such measures as forced saving and lowering of consumption, harder work, concentration on specific sectors, etc. A nation which displayed a glorious capacity for sacrifice and discipline in the days when it fought for freedom could certainly be counted upon to display similar qualities in the task of reconstruction of the national economy.

But can anyone claim that such is the situation today? Can anyone assert that the difficulties which our country is facing and the reason why the plan has not attained even some of its own targets are due to purely economic and natural factors?

If that were so, the people would certainly have forgiven the government, or charged it at the most with

miscalculations, and rallied round it to carry out the economic programme with redoubled vigour.

Such, however, is not the truth.

The Truth about Our Economy

Fourteen month ago, on 12 October 1953, in a speech delivered before the central advisory council of industries, the planning minister, Gulzarilal Nanda, made the following significant statement:

“On the one hand, there was the complaint that the country did not produce enough consumption goods. But when they increased production and took credit for it, they were suddenly faced with accumulation of stocks.”

This one admission knocks the bottom out of the claim that the way out of our difficulties lies in “hard work”—which Pandit Nehru is never tired of repeating.

Has the situation changed during the last one year? Here is the testimony of the *Progress Report*:

“Despite the general rise, production in most industries was still much below capacity, due, in most cases, to lack of demand at current prices in the domestic and external markets. Falling off of demand in the latter was in some instances checked by appropriate revision of export duties.” (p151).

What was done to “overcome the lack of demand” in the internal market, why were “current prices” allowed to remain high? This the *Progress Report* modestly refrains from saying.

This is the situation. Increase in production in industries and in agriculture—which, common sense tells, should improve the condition of workers and the peasants and enable them to buy more—has not led to expansion of the market. The added wealth has enriched somebody else. Hence industries are working far below even their existing capacity. Hence the disease of plenty in the midst of poverty, and hence the palliative has to be sought in the “appropriate revision of export duties”.

With land rent remaining at the old high level despite the

much-boasted agrarian reforms, with millions of peasants being evicted from land by the landlords, with the colossal load of rural debt estimated at Rs 913 crore by the national income committee on which at a most conservative estimate an interest of Rs 86.5 crore has to be paid annually (which could have been used for improvement of agriculture), with irrigation rates increased from 50 per cent to 300 per cent in different states, with betterment levies and old and new taxes, including many imposed through district boards, local boards, panchayats, etc., with the peasant ground down by the catastrophic fall in the prices of agricultural goods while prices of what the peasant has to buy are kept high, with rural industries in decline—the entire agrarian economy is cracking up.

The situation is no better in the cities where lakhs of artisans are virtually starving, the working class has been subjected to new attacks and unemployment figures have steadily mounted.

All this has imposed restrictions on the market and created difficulties which no jugglery with words and figures, no sophistry can solve.

The question of capital formation is a vital question for all countries—especially for a backward country like ours. Investment in industries has been far less than what was expected. Was this due to lack of finance?

Let it be kept in mind that the index number of industrial profits which averaged 211 during the war years, 1940-45, rose to 259.9 in 1948 and to 310.5 in 1951.

Eastern Economist, the organ of big business, made the following comment on a study of profits made by the Reserve Bank of India for the years 1950 and 1951:

“In the first place, the gross profits of all private and limited concerns are now of the order of Rs. 225 crore to Rs. 250 crore. Their capacity to finance themselves might be reckoned as something like Rs. 100 crore, inclusive of depreciation. Assuming that depreciation makes an inroad of about Rs. 40 crore per year, this would still imply that Indian industry is capable of new investment of something

between Rs. 50 and Rs. 60 crore. These are figures so much beyond existing estimates that it seems difficult to explain the shortage of capital in the expansion of these industries. If the Reserve Bank estimate is correct, where is the private capital formation in Indian companies spending itself?"

The estimates of the Reserve Bank and of the *Eastern Economist*, both as regards profits and as regards availability of capital for new investment, are ridiculously low. Nevertheless neither Deshmukh nor his patron—big business—has answered the question: Where are the profits going? The answer, they know, would do no credit to big business to whose patriotism eloquent tribute has been paid, more than once, by Pandit Nehru himself.

No purpose would be served by further examination of the reality behind the promises made by the government about what it proposes to do in the coming years. What has been said should suffice to show that the government is stubbornly refusing to face the facts because the facts irresistibly lead to conclusions none-too-palatable either to the government or to the classes it serves.

The independence day pledge itself began with the memorable words that stirred hundreds of millions:

"We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any government deprives the people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter or abolish it."

The Essentials for Advancement

Admittedly the problems of the country cannot be solved in a day. But the least that the people have a right to expect when they have their own government is that they should "enjoy the fruits of their toil"—no matter how meagre the fruits are. That if more food is produced by the peasants' toil, the peasants' condition should improve. That if industrial production goes

by the workers' toil, they should have more employment and more of the necessities of life. That if more profits are made by the collective toil of the people, they should be so invested that the country's economy is strengthened.

If all that does not happen, if the argument of "market difficulties" is trotted out to justify the nonutilisation of even the existing industrial and labour capacities—then it should be evident to all that there is something seriously wrong somewhere.

What is that something? There was a time when Pandit Nehru knew the answer to this question. 21 years ago, he wrote:

"If an indigenous government took the place of the foreign government and kept all the vested interests intact, this would not be even the shadow of freedom". (*Whither India?*, 1933).

Why did Pandit Nehru feel it necessary to stress this? Was it just in the nature of a moral censure pronounced against the haves on behalf of the have nots?

Obviously not. Obviously he felt that the very existence of certain institutions linked with the vested interests stood in the way of people's progress, in the way of the content of freedom becoming real for the masses—food and cloth, housing and the necessities of life, cultural uplift industrialisation of the country.

The ending of British rule was essential; for that alone would make possible the sweeping away of the institutions connected with the vested interests which stood in the path of the country's advance.

It was this realisation that drew all patriotic parties and the masses into the struggle against British rule. Differences existed among them on many issues. But there was agreement on the key issue—freedom from British domination. This was the basis of the unity.

National Unity—For What?

Today Pandit Nehru moans the absence of unity in our country. He points to the example of China where the "people

and the government are working as one" to rebuild their country. He forgets that once there was broad unity of the democratic parties and of the masses in our country too.

He forgets that on the historic day when the national flag went up the Red Fort, the whole nation hailed that event with tumultuous joy and stood behind his party—the Congress—solidly because they expected it to fulfil the pledge it had given, to realise the dream for which hundreds of thousands had faced imprisonment, baton-charges and bullets.

Why did that unity break down? Because Pandit Nehru's government proceeded to maintain those very institutions—British grip over our economy, landlordism and usury, power of monopoly capital—which had retarded the advance of the country.

The history of the last seven years is a history of the sordid way this was done, of the way in which disillusionment grew among the people, of the way in which the masses rose in struggle in defence of their rights.

National unity is not an abstraction. It is always unity for a definite objective and, therefore, can only be the unity of those who are interested in the realisation of that objective. In the new setup that came into existence after August 1947, unity of the democratic masses could be maintained and carried forward only through a resolute policy of removal of these obstacles which hampered the country's progress.

This is what the Nehru government refused to do. It claimed to improve the conditions of the people, to strengthen the economy of the country, without the removal of these obstacles.

The historic programme of the Communist Party of India pointed out the path along which alone the economic and political problems facing the people can be solved. Basing itself on this programme, the Communist Party in its Madurai Congress resolution stated:

"It is obvious today that *abolition of landlordism and removal of the burden of debts* by freeing the vast peasant masses of our country from the heavy exploitation of the landlord

and usurious moneylender alone will smash the fetters on our agricultural production and release the creative energies of India's millions of peasants. That alone will assure for the national industries a vast expanding market and ensure capital formation on an ascending scale. Abolition of landlordism and handing over of land to peasants and agricultural workers are thus the prerequisites not only for the development of our agriculture but also for the industrialisation of the country.

"The confiscation of British capital will not only free our economy from the grip of the British imperialists and ensure the possibility of independent development unhampered by the fetters of imperialist monopolists, but will place in the hands of the state a powerful public sector with vast resources, which will ensure the possibility of effective control over the entire economy and thereby secure the possibility of successful planned development.

"A democratic state alone will be able to unleash the immense creative energies of the millions of our peasants, workers and the intelligentsia, and utilise the economic power and resources of the public sector obtained by the confiscation of British capital for a planned development in the interest of the entire people.

"The experience of the last three years has fully demonstrated that the prerequisites of planned development of our economy in the interest of the people are the smashing up of feudal relations in our agriculture, confiscation of British capital and the establishment of a democratic state". (section 24)."

All this Pandit Nehru's government refuses to do. It pays privy purses of Rs 5.5 crore to the princes while allowing them to retain their huge properties. It leaves vast areas of land in the hands of landlords, agrees to pay for land, that is taken over, compensation to the tune of 500 to 550 crores of rupees—about whose effect the following is stated in a publication of the All-India Congress Committee:

"While such becomes the liability of the state, the additional annual revenue which will accrue to the state government as the result of the abolition is pitifully low compared

to the compensation that will have to be paid... in part A states whereas 414 crores of rupees will have to be paid as compensation, the additional revenue of the state government will be merely 19.52 crores of rupees, that is, a bare 4.71 per cent of the total compensation payable". (H. D. Malaviya: *Land Reforms in India*, 1954, p 435).

The author proceeds to say:

"The sum involved, anywhere in the neighbourhood of Rs 550 crore, nearly 25 per cent of the total visualised for the five-year plan, is indeed very huge and will remain a constant source of anxiety for the state exchequers for years to come...."

He further quotes the opinion of an American professor who, when asked by the government of India to study the land reforms in India, stated, "compensation at current values will load the present tenants with considerable debts".

The government does not even agree to the demand that British owners should not be allowed to ship out profits and that these, as well as profits earned by Indian big business, should be compulsorily directed towards channels of investment in accordance with national needs. That, in its opinion, is violation of the sacred rights of private property. It does not stop big business from even entering into partnership with foreign capital on terms which are inimical to our national interests.

And what is the record of these men in terms of service to the people? This is what Khandubhai Desai, the present labour minister, has to say about the textile magnates and their loot:

"The industry (textiles) in equity, morality and even on economic grounds belongs to the nation which was made compulsorily to pay much more than the total value of these 420 mills which in fairness should now be transferred to the state without any compensation." (*Five Year Plan—A Criticism*, 1952, pp 70-71).

That despite all talks of 'control over industry' the government has no intention whatsoever to curb the power of

big business and its loot is evident from the reaction of G. D. Birla to the threat of socialism.

In his statement issued on 23 December he said that the "misgiving in the mind of a section of the business community" was "due to lack of correct appreciation of the fundamentals behind the economic policy of the government."

And in order to remove this 'misgiving' he said the following—thereby unwittingly exposing all the pretensions of the government:

"Private enterprise can do the job more efficiently, with greater economy. But the private sector comes into the picture only when it can secure adequate capital and attract progressively larger investments. On the other hand, if the huge investment required for the task is beyond the reach of the private sector, then some sector must come into the picture to do the job, and that sector can only be the public sector. That is in reality the genesis of the mixed economy which we have accepted and yet have not fully appreciated." (PTI).

Such is Nehru's 'socialism', a socialism which hardheaded realists among the monopolists heartily welcome.

And what does this 'socialism' mean for the masses?

The rationalisation drive of big business fully supported and aided by the government threatens lakhs of workers with unemployment.

As for the peasants, at a meeting of the standing committee of the Congress Parliamentary Party, held on 21 December, "it was pointed out that the burden of various taxes, irrigation rates and municipal levies on the agriculturist has gone up by as much as 400 per cent in many areas while the price of paddy, for instance, has sharply gone down." (*Hindustan Times*, 22 December 1954).

As regards the conferring of real democracy on the people, the conferring of real power on the people's elected organs at all levels, through which alone the creative energy of the people can be mobilised—all the condemnation of the bureaucracy and police indulged in the pre-freedom days has

ended, while their powers remain as unrestricted as ever and grow more.

Through various measures like the Preventive Detention Act the liberties of the people are curtailed, the panchayats about which much was promised are stagnating and have become the vehicle for imposing new taxes on the people.

Such is the record of the government in the realm of economic and political policies.

Nehru Distorts Communist Stand

While in the sphere of foreign relations the government, due to many factors, has shown a welcome shift from its previous position, a shift which has been supported by all democratic elements, its internal policies remain reactionary and anti-national.

They sap the strength of the country and expose it to danger from abroad. They seek to chain and weaken the democratic forces, while strengthening those which are the pillars of reaction. They thus damage the cause of freedom and weaken the struggle for peace.

Thanks to its policy of refusal to attack big business in any way, to mobilise its resources the government has to woo foreign capital, impose more and more burdens on the people and resort to deficit-financing—all of which threaten the sovereignty of the country, weaken its economy and intensify mass misery.

Hence it is the Nehru government that bears the responsibility for the present state of our economy, as well as for the existing strife and disunity. To cover up the fiasco of its policies, it has to make promises which it knows can never be fulfilled; talk about socialism while helping big business and landlords, launch repression against the masses when they rise in struggle, and resort to lies and slanders against the democratic forces and the Communist Party.

This campaign of lies and slanders against the Communist Party is led by Pandit Nehru himself who, realising the untenability of his position and unable to answer real criticism,

has to adopt the age-old method of putting absurd arguments in the mouth of his opponents and then 'demolishing' them with great fanfare.

Consider, for example, the following which is supposed to be an answer to our criticism:

"You may say that we want India to be, let us say, like the Soviet Union. Therefore we must have the revolution of the type of the Soviet Union. Therefore we must have some kind of war preceding that revolution as it occurred in Russia. We are going to produce a war first and then civil war and all that in order to bring about a state of affairs which may enable us to go ahead. It is absurd." (*Speech before the Congress Parliamentary Party, 2 December 1954*).

And about learning from China, he had to say this:

"Take China, Forty years of civil war, Japanese invasion, destruction—it made the history of 40 years. Now something happened in China, a new centralised... government. That is the outcome, the result of 40 years of Chinese history. Now, how are we to produce forty years of Indian history of civil war before we get these? But the communists do not reason it. They seem to think that things come out of nothing. If we try to go along the communist way, how are we to get it? By going through a process of destruction for a generation or two?" (*ibid*).

And with a zeal worthy of a better cause, he proceeded to draw a lurid picture of what would happen—the 'terrific problems' that would be created, the 'mutual hatred' that would be unleashed if the 'communist way' were to be adopted.

The whole line of argument is one which does no credit to the speaker and would have been completely ignored by us as irresponsible demagoguery and tissue of lies if it had come from anyone other than Pandit Nehru. Since, however, he has indulged in it, one may ask him: Where did he get these ideas from? Who told him that this is the 'communist way'?

What the Communists Say

What the communists have stated and continue to state is

that certain *basic measures* have to be taken in order that the material and human resources of the country may be mobilised for the task of reconstruction.

What the communists have stated and continue to state is that certain institutions have to be swept away, certain property relations have to be ended, certain new institutions brought into being and new property relations created *before* planning becomes possible and *in order* that planning may be undertaken.

What the communists have stated and continue to state is that if these *fundamental steps* are not taken, then whatever progress is recorded will be meagre and halting, of an extremely uneven character, giving rise to new problems and new contradictions, paralysing advance or at least slowing it down.

What the communists have stated and continue to state is that our economic and cultural problems will not be solved, freedom itself will not be full and real as long as these measures are not taken and on their basis India built up as a modern industrial country of a prosperous and united people.

What the communists have stated and continue to state, when giving the example of the USSR and China, is that the USSR and China registered such rapid advance precisely because their governments dared to take those necessary measures which were needed in their respective countries.

Finally, what the communists have stated and continue to state is that the task of *economic reconstruction* should not be confused with the task of taking those *basic measures* which are needed for reconstruction, that while reconstruction is bound to take a long time in a backward country, the taking of the basic measures—like giving land to the peasants—does not take time but can be done immediately if the government has the necessary will and represents the real interests of the people.

Need all this necessarily lead to civil war and violence? Pandit Nehru, with his extensive knowledge of history, knows well that the Russian and Chinese people had to go through

civil war precisely because the governments of those countries refused to take these measures, protected the vested interests and the institutions which blocked the advance of economy and of the nation.

He may also note the opinion on our agrarian setup expressed by two well-known economists whom no one would call irresponsible agitators:

"The choice lies between drastic and radical measures planned with a view to bring about reconstruction of our social and economic organisation or a continuance of the present drift, with sporadic attempts at halting reforms which may end in a grave agricultural crisis followed by a violent revolution." (Merchant and Wadia: *Our Economic Problem*, 1954, p 266).

By raising the bogey of civil war and violence, Pandit Nehru seeks to confuse the issue. He attempts to conceal the fact that the reactionary classes, who are interested in preserving the present system, are discredited among the masses, are hated by them and are in no position to offer resistance to the urgently needed reforms, except with the backing of the army and police which his government commands.

To argue that if the privy purses of the princes were stopped and their properties taken over, if land were to be given gratis to the peasants, if British capital were to be confiscated and Indian monopoly capital brought under control—if all this were done, there would be an 'upheaval' in the country—to argue like this and think that it can carry conviction means not to rate very high the intelligence of the people.

People's Discontent is Rising

But unfortunately for Pandit Nehru, the days are gone when people could be deluded so easily. They are examining the policies of his government and seeing its real face. They know whom it represents and whom it serves. Neither talk of 'socialism' and the holding out of big promises, nor threats and repression can dampen the wave of mass discontent which is rising everywhere.

India urgently needs national unity—of all democratic and patriotic forces, both inside and outside the Congress, But it cannot be a unity on the basis which existed before 1947. Nor can it be unity behind the policies of the present government which maintains the institutions and interests that seek to perpetuate the present condition of the country and doom its people to starvation and nakedness, illiteracy and disease, backwardness and dependence on imperialist countries—thus imperilling the cause of freedom, democracy and peace.

The only unity that can be forged on that basis was the unity that was seen in Travancore-Cochin between the Congress and catholic reaction, in PEPSU and Rajasthan between the Congress and the princes, and that which is being witnessed in Andhra today where an unprincipled ganging up has taken place between the Congress and the “parties” that betray the people for a few seats in the assembly and for ministerial posts.

While the democratic forces would continue to fully support all those measures of the government which strengthen peace and defend national freedom, they know that the struggle for unity today has inevitably to proceed along the line of resistance to the attacks of the vested interests, defence of peace against the war-drive of the imperialist headed by the USA, and in opposition to the general policies of the government.

That unity is being forged in numerous struggles breaking out in all parts of the country—in fields and factories, in offices and educational institutions, on the streets. That unity is growing in the solidarity campaigns with the resurgent peoples of Asia. That unity is being witnessed in Andhra where the democratic forces led by the Communist Party are striving to put an end to the corruption, nepotism and oppression that the Congress rule signifies.

Out of the united mass struggles, and on the basis of the growing consciousness of the people, the force is emerging that will remove the present government from power, clear

away the decadent load of the past and lay the foundations of a free, strong and prosperous India.

It is towards the fulfilment of this task that the Communist Party works and shall continue to work. It bases itself on the working class and the people who are the makers of history.

Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India on National and International issues*

I. India Upholds the Cause of National Freedom, Asian Unity and Peace

1. The period we are passing through is rich with events of world-historic importance. The breach that was made in the system of world imperialism by the October Revolution was further widened, after the victory over the forces of fascism, by the ending of capitalist rule in the countries of Eastern Europe, by the emergence of the Chinese People's Republic, by the formation of the democratic republics of Korea and Vietnam. Over nine hundred million people have broken away from the orbit of imperialism. The balance of forces has decisively shifted in favour of the camp of socialism and democracy. These developments and the growth and strengthening of the socialist world market have further deepened the general crisis of capitalism and sharpened all its contradictions. The great victories and the phenomenal advance of the national-liberation movement in the colonial and semicolonial world and the growing unity and might of resurgent Asia are dealing powerful blows to the whole imperialist order, cracking its very foundation. The imperialist powers, headed by the USA, are striving to build ramparts against the advancing tide of the people's movements and are engaged in preparation for a war for world conquest as their way out of the crisis.

2. The mighty camp of peace, democracy and socialism, led by the USSR and China, is conducting a great battle for peace, rallying in this battle progressive and peaceloving forces throughout the world.

*Resolution adopted in Delhi meeting on 14-26 June, 1955.

The mass movement for peace, the movement which unites hundreds of millions of people in all countries and from all classes, has repeatedly frustrated the plans of the warmongers and has grown into one of the most powerful movements in all human history.

3. However, the menace of war continues to threaten humanity. Though suffering defeat after defeat, the imperialists resort to new measures, sabotage agreements which they were forced to sign and intensify preparations for an atomic war. They seek to bring every country under their domination, build war-bases there. They threaten the sovereignty and freedom of every country and strive to suppress the forces of democracy everywhere. Under the circumstances, the struggle for peace has become the central issue of world politics today and task of decisive importance for all countries. It has the most vital bearing on the struggle for defence of national independence and democracy.

4. Important changes have taken place in India's role and position in world affairs during the last few years. The immense and growing might of the socialist and democratic world, the staggering defeats suffered by the imperialists in their adventures in Korea and Vietnam, the sweeping advance of the national-liberation movements in Asia, the growth of the anti-imperialist, anti-war and mass democratic movement of the Indian people, the weakening of the imperialist camp and the sharpening of Anglo-American contradictions—all these developments on the one hand, and the increasing pressure from American imperialism which threatens India's sovereignty and tries to transform India into a satellite and war-base on the other, have brought about a radical change in the Indian government's foreign policy.

5. Today India's foreign policy, in the main, opposes the war drive of imperialism and helps the cause of world peace. It upholds the cause of Asian solidarity and generally opposes colonialism. It builds friendly relations with the Soviet Union, China and other peaceloving states.

Of historic importance was the Nehru-Chou declaration

of 28 June 1954—the *panch shila*. It became a powerful factor in the Asian people's struggle for unity, peace and freedom.

This orientation in India's foreign policy has since been carried forward.

The Bandung conference, of which India was one of the chief sponsors, became a rally for Asian solidarity and against colonialism and dealt another blow to the war-plans of imperialism.

The friendship between India and Soviet peoples has been further strengthened by the visit of India's Prime Minister to the USSR. The joint statement issued by Jawaharlal Nehru and N.A. Bulganin is a document of profound international significance, a powerful contribution to the cause of peace and friendship between nations. The evaluation of the international situation made in the statement, the principles it formulates, further isolate the instigators of war and have been welcomed by the whole of peaceloving mankind.

6. With this orientation in its foreign policy, India has been playing a great role in the worldwide battle for the préservation of peace—a role that has heightened India's international prestige and evoked in every patriotic Indian a sense of national pride.

The Communist Party which has been fighting for a consistent policy of peace welcomes and supports this orientation and will strive to further strengthen it.

7. In India and throughout Asia the struggle for peace is getting linked with the struggle for defence of Asian freedom and the building of Asian unity against the imperialist warmongers and the colonial powers who have banded themselves together in war-pacts like the SEATO. The struggle for peace is tremendously strengthening the struggle against the whole imperialist camp. Further, the coming together of masses of different parties in the common struggle for defence of peace and freedom and for Asian unity has strengthened the mass democratic movement and extended its sweep. The growth of mass struggles in defence of the immediate

demands of the people, growth of mass organisations and the strengthening of the general democratic movement have given added strength to the movement for peace. Life has shown how the struggles for peace, for defence and strengthening of national freedom, for democratic rights and vital interests of the masses are inseparably linked and strengthen each other.

8. Inasmuch as the Indian bourgeoisie does not want war and wants to preserve its independence, the present foreign policy is broadly in conformity with its class interests. At the same time it is necessary to recognise that in initiating the progressive shift in the government's foreign policy, in imparting to it a pronouncedly democratic, anti-imperialist and Asian unity content, the personal role of Prime Minister Nehru has been an important factor. Powerful forces in the ruling class, with their close economic links with the imperialists, as well as influential men in the government, are getting apprehensive about the radical and democratic implications of such a policy and desire its reversal, or at least modification in a reactionary direction. The party has to expose these sections, isolate them and help to strengthen the broad mass movement of people of all parties and from all walks of life for the five principles and their consistent application for Asian unity, or still closer relationship with socialist and democratic states, for banning of atomic weapons. The extension and further strengthening of the mass movement for peace, the drawing into the movement of the masses of workers, peasants and other classes are imperative tasks. Governmental declarations alone are not enough to enable India play its rightful role in the struggle for peace.

The Communist Party will campaign for pacts of friendship and cooperation between India and all other peaceloving countries; it will campaign for the Indian government taking a firm stand against colonial wars waged by imperialists, particularly British imperialists, in Asia and Africa; it will mobilise mass support for more trade and greater cultural and social exchanges between India and the socialist countries

and for an all-round strengthening of Asian solidarity against imperialist powers. It will simultaneously demand the removal of pro-American and pro-British elements from the key positions in the Indian government and administration.

In these tasks the Communist Party will strive to secure the cooperation of all parties, organisations and individuals.

The party will systematically combat the false propaganda about 'two power blocs', about the 'menace of international communism', and explain to the masses the consistent peace policy pursued by the USSR ever since its formation.

9. The cause of freedom, of Asian unity and peace demands the strengthening of the struggle for break with the British Commonwealth and severance of the political and military relations which Commonwealth membership involves. Membership of the Commonwealth headed by Britain, which is one of the chief enemies of world peace and of Asian peoples is inconsistent with India's present role in world politics, with its policy of resistance to war and of building Asian solidarity. Also Commonwealth membership subjects our foreign policy to British imperialist influence.

10. The existence of the powerful socialist and democratic camp and of the parallel socialist world market, the resurgence of the freedom movement in Asia, the growth of the democratic and peace movements inside the country, a relative improvement in certain aspects of Indian economy, the deepening contradictions in the imperialist camp resulting in its constant weakening and the growing conflict between the Indian bourgeoisie and imperialism—all these have made it possible for the government of India to assert increasingly India's sovereignty and independence. By defending its independence, by opposing the war drive of imperialism, by taking steps to build Asian unity and to establish closer relations with socialist and democratic states, India has strengthened its own sovereignty and freedom. The policies that the government of India pursues today in its relation with other countries are essentially independent and are not under the decisive influence of any foreign power. The

emergence of India as a sovereign and independent republic upholding the causes of peace and freedom is a factor of profound significance in the present-day world.

II. Results of the Government's Economic and Political Policies

1. However India's freedom rests on an insecure foundation. Due to the strong position of British capital in the country and the remnants of feudalism, India's economy remains weak, backward and, in many respects, dependent. The breaking of the power of British capital by its confiscation and nationalisation and the complete abolition of feudalism alone can place Indian freedom on a firm basis, remove the threat to its sovereignty and create conditions which will make freedom itself real in terms of economic advance and prosperity for the people. These anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks have yet to be completed. And since the government of India, led by the big bourgeoisie, refuses to carry out these tasks and, on the contrary, protects, compromises with and makes concessions to foreign capital and landlordism, the mass movement for the completion of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist tasks has to develop in opposition to the government's general internal policies.

2. Conceived within the existing socio-economic framework and making no attempt to change the pattern of Indian economy, the first five-year plan did not lay the basis for a strong and prosperous economy. At the same time the plan, aided considerably by favourable climatic and other factors, did achieve certain results. The increase in food production, the increase in production of jute and cotton, the improvement in India's balance of payment position, the reduction of the drain on India's sterling balance caused by heavy trade deficits and the arresting of inflation—have resulted in partial improvement of certain aspects of Indian economy, as compared to earlier years, and have strengthened the position of the Indian bourgeoisie. Nevertheless the actual achievements of the plan are extremely meagre, despite the huge

sums that have been spent. Even many of the modest targets of the plan have not been attained.

3. The increase in the production of foodgrains (due largely to good monsoons) and of certain industrial goods have not meant an all-round strengthening of national economy and general improvement in the condition of the people. All the economic features of a backward country continue. The building of certain power and irrigation projects, though in themselves useful, has been accompanied by heavy enhancement of water-rates and other taxes while such measures as community projects and national extension service have conferred only limited benefits, mainly on the richer sections of the peasantry. The standard of life of the vast majority of people remains as low as before.

4. Our economy has not been freed from the grip of British capital. Industrialisation has hardly registered any progress, despite huge profits made by monopoly capital, Indian as well as foreign. Our agrarian economy faces a serious situation due to catastrophic fall in prices of agricultural goods, mounting burden of debts, heavy taxes, eviction offensive of the landlords, decline of rural industries, pauperisation of the mass of pesantry. In large-scale industries, increase in production has not meant increase of employment or improvement in the condition of workers.

On the contrary mass unemployment has assumed menacing proportions all over the country—among workers, as well as middle classes and artisans, in cities as well as in villages. The working class has been subjected to increased workload and rationalisation, denial of bonus and retrenchment. No wonder under these conditions our internal market remains narrow and many of our industries work below capacity which is symptomatic of the basic crisis from which our economy suffers.

5. These results are not accidental. The main direction of the government's economic policies has been towards the development of capitalism. But since this attempt is being made in the period of general crisis of capitalism, without

basic agrarian reforms which alone could create an expanding internal market, and on the basis of collaboration of Indian monopoly capital with British capital, no significant advance has taken place towards industrialisation. Monopoly capital has, of course, strengthened its position in national economy as a whole but it has utilised its power to amass wealth at the cost of the people.

In agriculture, government policies have resulted to a limited extent in curbing feudal landlordism, transformation of a number of feudal and semifeudal landlords into capitalist landlords and some concessions to the upper strata of peasants. But, despite these reforms, the conditions of the majority of the peasantry and agricultural workers have registered little improvement. On the contrary, their conditions are deteriorating due to the steep decline in agricultural prices, growth of debt burdens and taxes, evictions and increase in rural unemployment. Such have been the concrete results of the policies of the government which sought to strengthen national economy without smashing the grip of foreign capital, without wiping out feudalism and by reliance of profit-motives of monopoly capital.

6. Such policies could not be carried out without giving rise to mass opposition—struggles of workers against retrenchment and intensification of workload; struggles of peasants against evictions, new taxes, low prices for their goods; struggles of agricultural workers for living wage; struggles of middle class employees for human conditions of life; struggles of students against rising educational fees and for academic rights; struggles of citizens of all classes for civil liberties. These struggles have, in many cases, brought together masses following different parties, helped the growth of common mass organisations, evoked wide popular sympathy and have been supported by solidarity actions. They have heightened the consciousness of the people, ranged them against the attack of vested interests and the anti-popular policies of the government, halted in many places the offensive of monopolists and landlords and won important concessions.

7. The general attitude of the government towards the demands and struggles of the people has been one of unconcealed hostility and of full support to the vested interests. Wherever the masses have fought against worsening conditions of life, the attempt of the government has been to suppress them with a heavy hand. The policies of the government have thus meant attack on the standard of life of the people and their democratic rights, interruption in production, increase in police expenditure, intensification of strife and conflict all over the country.

8. It is evident, therefore, that the limited gains made by the first five-year plan rest on a precarious economic and political basis. Conditions have not been created yet for steady and continuous advance, for full utilisation of the productive forces of our country and its vast manpower, for popular participation in an effective manner in the work of national reconstruction. These conditions have yet to be created.

III. Plan-Frame of the Second Five-Year Plan

1. The experience of the first five-year plan in India, as contrasted with rapid all-round development in People's China in the same period, proves that a backward and undeveloped country like ours can rapidly advance to happiness and prosperity only if it puts an end to exploitation of foreign capital, abolishes feudalism in all forms, distributes land to agricultural workers and poor peasants and takes to the path of people's democracy which creates conditions for the transition to socialism. This is the objective which the Communist Party placed before the country in its programme and this is the objective for which it continues to fight.

2. At the same time the party is conscious of the fact that with the existence of a powerful world socialist market and the existing correlation of class forces in our country, where there is an intense urge for national reconstruction on the part of the people, it is possible even today for the democratic movement to secure a limited advance in the direction of economic development of the country. Such development

will be realised mainly in the measure that the positions occupied by imperialist, feudal and monopolistic interests in the economy of the country are weakened and undermined, the standard of life of the masses is raised, creating an expanding internal market and the democratic rights and liberties of the people are extended.

It is from this point of view that the Communist Party views the proposals regarding the second five-year plan.

3. While the leaders of the government are never tired of emphasising the great achievements of their plans and projects, they are quite conscious that these 'achievements' have not satisfied the people, have not overcome the basic weakness of India's economy, have not fulfilled even their own modest expectations. No wonder the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries in its memorandum on the second five-year plan has only touched the fringe of the problem. The leaders of the India government can no longer ignore the lessons of the first five-year plan. They have had their bitter disappointment in the expectations that imperialists would pour in capital to help them build up industries and thus make speedy capitalist expansion possible. Not only have these hopes been belied, but Indian capitalists are now faced with fierce competition from imperialist quarters, both here in India and in the export market outside. Feudal remnants in agriculture prevent the expansion of the internal market.

In fact the contradictions between imperialism and feudalism on the one hand, and the needs of Indian economy on the other, are sharpening every day.

4. Faced with such realities, and guided by their urge for capitalist development, the Indian ruling class and its planners have begun reformulating their approach and have already given some indication of a new orientation. The government's agreement with the Soviet Union for the building of a steel plant in the state sector, for example, represents a significant departure from the earlier abject dependence on the British and American imperialists for capital goods and technical knowhow.

5. The plan-frame that has been recently published proposes rapid industrialisation of the country with particular emphasis on the development of basic industries which would be mainly in the public sector. For meeting consumer goods demands, it proposes fuller utilisation of existing capacity and encouragement and development of small-scale and cottage industries.

The proposals to build basic industries, if implemented, would reduce the dependence of India on foreign countries in respect of capital goods, strengthen the relative position of industry inside India and strengthen our economic position and national independence. The party, therefore, supports these proposals and also the proposal that these industries should be mainly developed in the public sector. It supports the proposal that the demand for consumer goods should be met, as far as possible, by better utilisation of the existing capacity and by development of small-scale and cottage industries so that jobs are provided for an increasing number of people and maximum possible resources are available for the development of basic industries. The party not only supports these proposals but will expose and combat those who want them to be modified in a reactionary direction.

6. The attempted industrial development and expansion, if pursued, will bring the Indian bourgeoisie into growing conflict with the powerful positions of British capital in India and with the feudal and semifeudal relations in agriculture. It will sharpen the conflict between various sections of the bourgeoisie themselves facilitating the weakening and isolation of the most reactionary elements. In the context of growing mass democratic movement in India, this growing conflict can result in the adoption of limited measures by the government against imperialist, feudal and reactionary monopolist interests.

7. We are not only interested in all such developments but it shall also be our endeavour to carry them forward by mass mobilisation. Every step that is taken against the interests of foreign capital, against feudal and semifeudal agrarian

relations, for curbing monopoly capital will receive our most energetic and unstinted support.

8. The proposals made in the plan-frame will not, however, automatically bring about all this. Those proposals, despite their relative bolder targets and professed objectives, do not constitute the basis for a democratic plan, a real national plan. They are totally inadequate. Some of them are even reactionary.

The plan-frame does not propose any check or control on the operation of British capital in India, even in relation to remittance of profits abroad—let alone the taking over of British concerns. There are no indications that the government intends to restrict the profits of monopoly capital and gives decisive importance to the question of radical agrarian reforms. No effective proposals have been made for liberating the peasant masses from the grip of landlords and moneylenders. On questions of labour-management relations, living wage, popular rights, the planners have nothing new to propose.

The plan is mainly linked with the world capitalist market which is crisis-ridden. This will adversely affect the stability of prices in India and result in continuation of unequal exchange in our foreign trade.

The policy of the government in the past has been to make the common people bear the burden of its plans, while giving free rein to the rich to amass profits. The plan-frame makes it clear that in this respect no basic change is contemplated. Finances are proposed to be raised by increasing the burden on the common people—increased taxation in various forms, forced saving, deficit-financing. All this will be accompanied by a powerful propaganda drive calculated to create the illusion that if people cheerfully bear the burden now, they will be laying the foundation for a happy and prosperous future.

IV. Guiding Principles for a National Plan

1. These reactionary features and the significant omissions are not fortuitous or due to oversight. They follow from the

class character of the government and its basic policies. They are the product of the outlook which refuses to recognise that for all-round strengthening of national economy it is necessary to take bold action against British capital and landlordism, curb monopoly capital, improve the condition of the people, carry out democratic measures.

These reactionary features are essentially due to the fact that although the contradiction between the needs of India's industrial development and the interests of imperialism, feudalism and reactionary monopoly capital has grown in the last few years, yet the government is not prepared to attack them. Even when seeking to curb them, under the growing pressure of the masses and due to its own needs, the government proceeds by way of compromise, by way of heavy concessions and compensation which seriously jeopardise the very objective of economic advance.

2. The Communist Party opposes the main trend of the taxation inquiry commission's recommendations, which envisages not reduction but increase of tax burdens on the common people and which the authors of the plan-frame have accepted. We are determinedly opposed to such policies. No additional tax burdens on the masses on any account until and unless, on the one hand, the classes that are in a position to pay and other resources have been fully tapped; and on the other, the living conditions of our people have been improved.

3. In these circumstances the Communist Party, while giving support to every step that the government may take to strengthen national economy, will put forward concrete proposals which it wants to be adopted as an integral part of the second five-year plan.

A full-fledged people's plan can only be based on confiscation of British capital and transfer of land to the tiller without compensation.

Even in the existing circumstances, a patriotic plan must make decisive inroads into the position of foreign capital in India and also of landlordism. It must weaken the position

of monopoly capital in our national economy. It must raise the standard of life of the people, constantly and continuously, and create an expanding internal market. It must be based on an equitable system of taxation, raising the necessary resources primarily from those who can bear the burden—the foreign capitalists, the landlords and princes, the big bourgeoisie. It must strive to create a stable price structure. It must make possible all-round advance—in the sphere of health, housing, culture, etc. It must mean the adoption of progressive labour laws, the ensuring of popular cooperation and the unleashing of popular initiative through extension of democratic rights and civil liberties.

Unless these things are done, the problems facing our country will not be solved.

V. For Overcoming the Division Among Democratic Forces

1. The proposals of the Communist Party in relation to the second five-year plan will be guided by the above principles. The Communist Party holds that these principles are not merely correct, not merely do they conform to the interests of the masses, they are also principles whose implementation would strengthen national economy as a whole. They should therefore be supported by every patriotic Indian, no matter to which party he owes allegiance.

The Communist Party will strive to bring about the broadest unity on the basis of these proposals and create mass sanction behind them. The party will immediately launch a mass campaign to popularise these proposals on a nationwide scale.

2. An essential part of such a campaign is the struggle against the reactionary policies of the government and the defence of the vital interests of the masses.

The task of organising mass resistance against the attacks on the standard of life of the people, solidarity actions, struggles for civil liberties acquires exceptional significance. By conducting such struggles we defend the immediate interests of the masses, consolidate their organisations and forge their

unity and also help the strengthening of those forces inside the Congress that desire to develop our economy by attacking the position of British capital, landlordism and monopoly capital.

3. These mass struggles will also bring to the forefront the question of governmental policies—agrarian, labour, civil liberties, taxation, etc. They will strengthen the movement against the reactionary policies of the government and forge mass unity for the adoption and implementation of progressive policies. They will thus be a powerful weapon to build the united front of the people.

4. These partial struggles have to be combined with (i) broadening of the mass movement for peace and Asian unity; (ii) sustained and continuous mass campaign for the concrete alternative policies proposed by the party; (iii) correct united-front tactics to overcome the division in the mass movement; (iv) correct tactics to forge unity of different classes and organisations that constitute the democratic front; (v) sustained mass activity in all spheres which includes participation in, and securing for the people maximum benefit from government projects and schemes; (vi) extension and strengthening of the mass organisations; and (vii) building a mass Communist Party. Only if all these tasks are carried out simultaneously and mass struggles waged in the context and as an integral part of such activity will it be possible to extend and strengthen the democratic front continuously, to coordinate partial struggles and transform them into a mass political movement on a national scale—powerful enough to defeat the anti-people policies of the government and force the adoption of progressive policies. Failure to carry out these tasks will mean the partial struggles remaining on a local and sectional plane, evoking sympathy and even admiration when fought heroically, winning some demands, but unable to create a strong impact on the democratic movement as a whole, strengthen and broaden it.

5. For overcoming the disunity of the democratic forces and for adopting correct methods to develop the mass move-

ment, a correct appraisal of certain important features of the present political situation is essential.

The Congress is trying to consolidate its position by utilising the democratic anti-imperialist sentiments of the people, as well as their urge for national reconstruction and also by forging unity with such landlord and other reactionary elements as well opposing it in the past. It has attained a measure of success in this. The limited economic gains under the first five-year plan, the easing of the food situation, the proposal for industrialisation under the next plan, and the talk of a socialist pattern of society have given rise to hopes and illusions. These together with the prestige that India has acquired as a result of its foreign policy, are utilised by the Congress leaders for the consolidation of the position of the Congress.

Voting figures of the Andhra and Travancore-Cochin elections, of byelections to parliament and the state assemblies, as well as of district boards, municipalities and panchayats reveal that, broadly speaking the gain of the Congress has been at the cost of independents and of parties of feudal and communal reaction, many of whose leaders have joined and are joining the Congress. As regards the parties that oppose the Congress from the Left, of whom the Praja Socialist Party and the Communist Party are the most important, they have secured a higher percentage of votes than in the general elections. The votes polled by the Communist Party in byelections to state assemblies up to the end of December 1954 rose to 12.2. per cent from 6.8 per cent in the general elections. In several areas the Communist Party has strengthened its position to a considerable extent.

However it must be admitted that the gain of the Congress has been greater than the gain of the Left parties. In relation to the democratic opposition as a whole, the Congress is stronger today than it was some years ago. This is not due to objective factors alone. The prevailing disunity among the opposition parties and, above all, the failure of the Communist Party to mobilise the masses on a big scale

for intervention on national-political issues have also contributed to this strengthening of the Congress.

6. The building of the democratic front demands the establishment of mass unity in action. In carrying out this task, the fact must be taken into account that a vast number of democratic elements are inside and under the influence of the Congress. The division between the masses following the Congress and masses following the parties of the democratic opposition is the main division among the democratic forces—a division that manifests itself in every class in Indian society. Nevertheless the possibility of achieving greater and greater degree of unity for progressive measures and policies exists and is growing.

7. It is an important fact of our present-day political life that the masses under the influence of the Congress, as also sections of Congressmen, are becoming increasingly critical of the anti-people policies of the government. In a number of places many of them come forward to oppose the repressive measures of the government and to support the working class and peasant struggles. Both in the state legislatures and parliament, as well as outside, many Congressmen are voicing opposition to the undemocratic features of government policies and demanding that government should speedily carry out reforms to give relief to the people. Our party naturally welcomes this development. It will strive to organise common activity with Congressmen and masses under Congress influence. Such common activity will go a long way in overcoming the division that exists between Congress and non-Congress masses.

8. Of great importance also is the task of establishment of unity of action with units, members and supporters of the Praja Socialist Party which, apart from the Communist Party, is the most important all-India party in the country with a mass Left following.

The crisis that has developed in the PSP is the result of the policies which the dominant leadership of the party pursued—policies against the movement for world peace, Asian

solidarity, friendly relations with the USSR and China, policies of disruption of democratic unity (as in Travancore-Cochin), policies of refusal to build mass unity in action.

The errors of these policies are becoming evident to increasing number of PSP members. The realisation is growing that continued dissensions among opposition forces help only the government and the Congress Party and weaken the democratic movement. On the other hand unity among opposition parties, helping the extension and strengthening of the democratic movement, strengthens each of these parties. The urge for unity has found concrete expression in a number of united workers' struggles and in the movement for the liberation of Goa. Our party will make every endeavour to consolidate and carry forward this process.

9. Our party will strive to build a united front with other democratic and Left parties that have a mass following and with progressive individuals and organise common activity with them on every issue.

10. In relation to parties of communal reaction, parties that divide the masses on religious basis (Jana Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha, Rama Rajya Parishad, Muslim League and Akali Party) the attitude of the Communist Party is one of uncompromising opposition, ruthless exposure and combating of their disruptive slogans and tactics, determined struggle against their ideology. The party will not have united front with them in any elections. At the same time the party will strive to draw the masses and individuals following these parties into common struggle and common activity.

11. The tasks of the democratic movement in relation to the present government have to be determined on the basis of the actual practice of the government, on the basis of a concrete assessment of its policies and measures as they affect the life of the masses of the people. Although the foreign policy of the government of India has undergone a radical change in recent years in a progressive direction and must therefore be supported and although some of the declarations and proposals made in the plan-frame of the second

five-year plan are to be welcomed, the internal policies of the government, taken as a whole, continued to be reactionary and undemocratic in practice— despite talks about socialist pattern of society.

They are policies of serious compromise with and protection of foreign capital, heavy concessions to landlordism, support to the monopolists in their attacks on the working people, imposition of fresh burdens on the masses, suppression of democratic rights and civil liberties. They are policies that seek to weaken and shackle the very classes that are the most resolute defenders of peace and national freedom while making concessions to reactionary anti-national classes in our economy and political life.

Hence the mass movement has to develop in opposition to these policies, with a view to defeat and reverse them, and to secure relief for the people, improve their condition and position. The immediate task is to establish the broadest unity in action, of masses following all parties including the Congress, to win the demands of the people and to create mass sanction for the adoption and implementation of progressive policies.

VI. The Basic Objective—People's Democracy

1. While laying utmost emphasis on the task of building the broadest mass unity for immediate demands and for progressive policies, the Communist Party will also strive to make the masses realise, through their own experience, the necessity of bringing about basic transformations in our economy, in our social and state structure, and the necessity of establishing a new government which can carry out these transformations.

2. In the course of its general propaganda and ideological-political activity among the masses, the party will systematically, concretely and constantly popularise the fundamental slogans of the programme and emphasise the necessity of establishment of a government of people's democracy.

3 The attainment of political freedom by India and the

leading position of the big bourgeoisie in the Indian state do not alter the basic objective and basic strategy of the Indian revolution. Allied with landlords and compromising with imperialism, the Indian bourgeoisie cannot complete the bourgeois-democratic tasks that our country has to fulfil in its present stage. Only the establishment of a government of people's democracy—which includes all the democratic classes including the national bourgeoisie, but is led by the working class—can fulfil these tasks speedily and effectively. The people's democratic revolution will not only carry out these tasks but also put the country on the path to socialism—the only correct path, in the present epoch, for the advance of every country.

4. The possibilities of advance along the capitalist path in the present epoch of the general crisis of capitalism, in the existing conditions in India where British capital holds a powerful position and outmoded feudal and landlord agrarian relations continue, are limited and even these possibilities cannot be realised without infliction of misery on the people, leading in its turn to market difficulties which would repeatedly slow down advance and would, at times, paralyse it, giving rise to crisis and anarchy. Therefore, while resolutely fighting for every progress that can be made under the present conditions, the Communist Party will carry mass propaganda in favour of people's democracy and socialism.

VII. For Strengthening and Extension of the Democratic Front

1. The struggle for the immediate demands of the masses continues to be the most important task before the party and the most important means for forging popular unity. It is through these struggles that the masses of different parties come together, become conscious of the need for unity and win concessions. It is through these struggles that their morale is heightened, popular support evoked and the attack of the vested interests and government repulsed. It is through these struggles that conditions are created for the building of united

organisations which are of vital importance for the extension of the democratic movement and the strengthening of the democratic front.

It is necessary that wherever possible such mass struggles are conducted through broad united committees representing the unity of the fighting masses.

2. A serious weakness of the democratic front is the disunity among industrial workers who are split in rival and parallel trade unions. The growth of working class struggles against rationalisation and retrenchment and for adequate wage and bonus has helped to forge working class unity and has also led to the formation of united unions in a number of places and industries. This process has to be carried forward.

An equally serious weakness, a weakness which keeps the whole democratic movement at a low level, is the inability of the party to inculcate political consciousness even among workers who are under its influence and move them into action on a big scale on such broad democratic issues as peace, civil liberties, support to the demands of the peasants and other classes. The overcoming of this weakness is one of the most important tasks before the party.

3. The development of peasant struggles against evictions, heavy taxes and for adequate prices as well as struggles of agricultural workers for minimum wage have made significant headway in recent period and registered several victories. With the rapid deterioration in the condition of the mass of peasantry, due to factors already enumerated, these struggles assume great importance throughout the country. Special stress has to be given to the task of further extension and strengthening of the kisan sabhas and agricultural workers' unions.

Middle-class employees (teachers, clerks and others) face many problems similar to the working class—inadequate wages, retrenchment, menace of unemployment and starvation. We have to defend their interests and help to strengthen their organisations.

4. The building of the democratic front, in the present

situation in the country, is a complex task. The policies of the government have, on the one hand, intensified the misery of the people, on the other hand, some of the measures of the government, backed by a powerful propaganda drive, have given rise to hopes and illusions. They have, on the one hand, imposed heavy burdens on the people, on other, conferred some limited benefits on certain sections. All these factors have to be taken into consideration when working out concrete tactics.

5. At the same time, it has to be remembered that all these do not prevent the masses, even now, from coming together in defence of their demands and rights. The discontent is deep, the urge for unity strong, all the objective conditions for building mass unity in action continue and are growing. With a sober and realistic appraisal of the situation, with correct slogans and forms of struggles and activity, with sustained mass work, in all spheres, it is possible not merely to develop united mass actions in defence of the immediate demands of the people, but also build a powerful mass movement. This has been adequately proved by the events of recent months.

6. The party has to defend resolutely the interests of the most oppressed masses—the working class, the agricultural labourers, the poor and middle peasants, the artisans and urban middle classes, who are the worst sufferers under Congress rule, who form the majority of our people and who must constitute the firm basis and the main force of the democratic movement at all stages of its development. The party must simultaneously champion the demands of the rich peasants, of the national bourgeoisie, of the small manufacturers and businessmen and initiate such campaigns and struggles as can unite all sections of the poor, for civil liberties, for protection to national industries against foreign competition, for concrete proposals regarding plans and projects, for implementation of schemes in the interest of the people. The party has to fight for equal rights of women and against the evils of untouchability in all its forms. It has to pay

serious attention to the problems facing the students. It has to unfold activity on the widest scale, in cooperation with all sections and elements, to fight the menace of flood and famine, to combat unemployment and poverty, disease and illiteracy, making use of all measures of the government and existing laws. It has to constantly strengthen the mass movement for peace and draw into it all patriotic and peaceloving Indians belonging to all parties.

The tendency to keep away from schemes and projects sponsored or run by the government must be given up. We have to participate in them, actively and effectively, combat corruption, inefficiency and bureaucratic practices, help to implement and run them in such a way that maximum benefit is secured for the people. This must become an important part of the activity of the party and of mass organisations where we work.

It is only through such sustained and all-sided activity combined with ideological-political work that the mass organisations can be strengthened and the most militant and self-sacrificing elements drawn into the party making possible its growth into a mass party—essential for the development of the democratic front.

7. Ideological-political work among the broad masses is an essential weapon for the forging of mass unity. Importance of ideological struggle has increased because of the growth of democratic and socialist sentiment among the masses on the one hand and the intensified propaganda carried on by the government and by communal reactionaries on the other.

The government and the ruling party, the Congress, no longer able to deny the necessity for radical reforms, preach that these reforms can be brought about without mass struggles and the strengthening of the mass movement. They denounce class struggle as something alien to Indian traditions while supporting the vested interests in their offensive against the people. They foster belief in changes being brought about, from top, through governmental action alone, slowly, with

the 'consent of all'. They denounce all militant action, all popular resistance, as anarchy.

The communal reactionaries raise false issues, fan hatred and disrupt the unity of the people with such slogans as ban on cow-slaughter.

Patient, sustained ideological work, carried on not merely through the press and platform but by each party member, each militant in day-to-day contact with non-party masses has to be undertaken in all parts of the country and by every party unit. This task is an integral part of the task of building the democratic front.

8. The carrying out of all these tasks, the growth of the mass movement and of the consciousness and fighting unity of the masses can help to bring about in states, where the democratic forces are strong, such conditions as make it possible to raise as a practical slogan, the replacement of the present state government by a government of democratic unity. Where the democratic movement and the party attain sufficient strength, it will be particularly necessary to bring forward this as the major slogan in the general elections.

Representing a coalition of democratic parties and elements, such a government, wherever formed, will defend the interests and rights of the people, carry out maximum possible reforms under the given conditions, inspire and help to carry forward the democratic movement and strengthen the fight for peace. In states where it is not possible to conduct election battles on the slogan of the government of democratic unity, the party will strive for strengthening the democratic opposition inside the legislatures through such elections as an essential task for carrying forward the democratic movement. The strengthening of the democratic opposition inside parliament and the state legislatures requires that our party secures a strong position as a constituent of the democratic opposition.

9. The objectives that the Communist Party puts forward and the policies and measures it advocates correspond to the interest of our country and our people. The party, therefore,

will do its utmost to unite the masses of all political parties and all sections of our people for support to these policies and measures and for the realisation of this objective. The party is confident that in this truly national task it will secure the cooperation of all patriotic and revolutionary forces inside the country.

Resolution of the Central Committee of the C. P. I. Opposing the Proposal for Merger of States*

The central committee views with grave concern the determined efforts of the Congress working committee and the government of India to create multilingual states such as West Bengal-Bihar, Dakshina Pradesh and Paschima Pradesh through undemocratic and unprincipled merger and integration of states.

Far from strengthening the unity of India and the solidarity of our peoples, these efforts, if allowed to succeed, will create conditions in which conflict between various nationalities will be a permanent feature, thereby constantly undermining the unity of India.

Experience has already shown how such multilingual states prevent the full participation by the mass of the people in the administration and political, economic and social life of the country, stifle the growth of the language, literature and culture of different nationalities and finally hamper the growth of democracy in our land.

Experience has equally proved how these multilingual states, by giving rise to conflicts and discord, disrupt the democratic movement and thereby retard the advance of the people.

Ever since it came to power, the Congress leadership has sought to throw to the winds its earlier promises and commitments to reorganise the provinces on the linguistic basis—

*Resolution adopted in the meeting held from January 28 to February 4, 1956.

promises which had been repeated time and again by the Congress leaders before they came to power.

It will be recalled that in the election manifesto of 1945-46 the Congress had reiterated unequivocally this pledge and commitment to the country. But after coming to power, instead of proceeding to redeem the pledge, it sought to put it in cold storage by the appointment of a number of committees.

However the unity and strength of the people achieved a great victory in the formation of the Andhra state in October 1953. It was again the upsurge of the people that led to the appointment of the states reorganisation commission.

The Congress leaders and committees, all these years, raised chauvinistic claims and roused passions of hatred and animosity. The Congress working committee looked on as their provincial leaders and committees vied with each other in rousing such passions.

Despite its rejection of the linguistic principle, the SRC could not but recommend the formation of Kerala, Karnataka and Madras mainly on the basis of language.

At the same time it denied the demand for linguistic states to the peoples speaking Marathi, Gujarati and Punjabi. Although it adduced cogent arguments for the demand of Vishalaandhra, the SRC refused to recommend its immediate formation. In the matter of boundary adjustments the SRC discarded all democratic principles and based itself on sheer opportunism.

In making its recommendations, the SRC patently permitted itself to be guided by all sorts of extraneous and opportunist considerations and, above all, by its most unwholesome concern for the interests of big business.

Any government true to its pledge and responsive to the just and democratic aspirations of the people, would have at once proceeded to modify the reactionary features of these recommendations in a democratic direction. But not so the government of India.

Although, due to the pressure of the people, the recommendation for a bilingual state of Bombay was modified,

yet the government decided to bring the city of Bombay under central administration, instead of making it a part of Samyukta Maharashtra.

It also came out with the proposal to create zonal councils as a first step towards the denial of linguistic states. On the question of boundary adjustments, it modified the SRC recommendations in a reactionary direction in certain cases, such as in the case of West Bengal and Bihar.

Conscious of the fact that such arbitrary and undemocratic decisions would never be acceptable to the people, the government launched a campaign of provocation and terror. Even before announcing these decisions, it arrested the leaders of the Samyukta Maharashtra movement and banned meetings in many places.

Naturally these provocative actions on the part of the government have given rise to spontaneous demonstrations by the people in Bombay and in other places.

The government sought to suppress these demonstrations with police terror. In Bombay, particularly, the orgies of police violence and terror reminded one of the darkest days of British rule. Over a hundred people have been killed and hundreds of people wounded as a result of police firings. In Bombay city alone over 5000 were jailed. Shootings and arrests have also taken place in Orissa. Among those arrested and detained without trial are six members of the central committee of our party.

The central committee pays its homage to the memory of those patriots who have fallen in the cause of the linguistic reorganisation of the country and sends its deepest condolences to the bereaved families. The committee greets the people who have so valiantly fought for a noble cause in the face of unmitigated police terror.

The central committee demands the immediate release of all those arrested and the revocation of all repressive measures.

The central committee takes note of the most unfortunate fact that this situation has been utilised by certain anti-social

elements, inspired and financed by the vested interests, in engineering attacks against the minorities and in destruction of public properties.

The responsibility for creating this situation and these ugly incidents rests on the government and the Congress leadership.

The central committee appeals to our people to steer clear of such provocations, prevent such disruptive and harmful activities, and, in particular, protect at all costs the minorities. It is only thus that the foul game of the provocateurs can be foiled, the unity of the people preserved and the movement for linguistic reorganisation of our country carried forward to its victory.

The Congress leadership and the government of India have seized upon these incidents and are utilising them for depriving the people of the success they have achieved in their fifty years of struggle for linguistic states and wiping out from the map of India even the existing linguistic states. The merger proposals are nothing but an attempt to completely reverse the course of history.

The central committee strongly opposes these merger proposals and demands their immediate withdrawal. It demands the modification of the SRC recommendations in strict conformity with linguistic principles.

Consistent with these principles, Bombay city must form part of Samyukta Maharashtra, the demand for Vishalaandhra must be immediately conceded. The democratic setup must be maintained in Delhi, similarly Tripura and Manipur must be granted democratic setup.

The institutions set up under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution in the tribal areas must have enlarged powers so as to make autonomy real and effective.

As far as the boundary issues are concerned, they should be settled on the basis of language and geographical contiguity taking village as the unit. Border questions can be solved not by rousing the people on the question of this border area or that, but by all the people and parties fighting together for

the acceptance of the democratic principle enunciated above. Once this principle is accepted, the drawing of boundaries is an easy matter by means of mutual discussion or by some other machinery such as the boundary commission.

The central committee appeals to our people to be fully aware of the dangers of the merger proposals. Defeating this government has now become a supremely urgent task for our entire people.

The central committee, therefore, calls upon all patriotic parties and organisations, upon all right-thinking men and women, to immediately launch a vigorous campaign, not only in the states proposed to be merged but throughout the entire country to defeat the merger proposals.

In this situation a heavy responsibility rests on the shoulders of our party units and members. The central committee is proud of the part they have already played in the struggle for linguistic states. Today they have to carry forward the struggle in a difficult and complicated situation.

The success in this great struggle for the linguistic reorganisation of our country lies in fighting back all provocations and manifestations of chauvinism and above all, in building the broadest possible unity of our people throughout the country.

Amendments to the Party Programme*

Adopted by the Central Committee of C. P. I. for placing before the Fourth Party Congress at Palghat

The following will replace the Preamble from paras 1 to 19:

1. As a result of the general weakening of imperialism due to the defeat of the fascist powers in the Second World War and faced with the rising tide of anti-imperialist struggles in India, which threatened to develop into a general uprising, British imperialism came to a settlement with the leaderships of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, partitioned the country and transferred power in India to the Congress leaders on August 15, 1947. Later, on January 26, 1950 came into force the new Constitution which declared India a sovereign Republic.

2. In more recent years as a result of the weakening of the camp of imperialism and of the immense strengthening of the socialist and democratic camp, of the mighty advance of the struggle for peace, freedom and democracy all over the world including in our own country, India has been able to increasingly assert her sovereignty and acquire the status of a politically free country.

3. This freedom, however, rests on insecure foundations. It has not resulted in ending the exploitation of our resources and labour by British imperialism. Nor has it resulted in the elimination of feudal and landlord exploitation of our peasant masses. The continuance of such imperialist and landlord

*These amendments were passed and adopted by the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of India held at Palghat from 19-29 April, 1956.

exploitation keeps our economy dependent and backward and thus perpetuates its semi-colonial character. Despite various measures and plans for reconstruction of India's economy along capitalist path, the Congress government protects the vast assets and investment holdings and financial interests of British imperialism in our country and even allows further penetration of American and British capital into our economy. Similarly, despite various limited measures of land reforms, the government refuses to distribute land to agricultural labourers and peasants *gratis*. It provides for heavy compensation to landlords thus enabling these oppressors of the people to indirectly realise their rents from the toil of the peasants. It leaves large tracts of land in their possession and compromises with and protects feudal and landlord interests in other ways. Thus in every sphere of life, the government has failed to carry out its promises to the people. Naturally, conditions of life for the masses have worsened while landlords and profiteers have enriched themselves at the expense of the people.

4. The millions of workers manning our factories, railways, mines, shipyards, plantations, etc., are suffering due to fall in real wages, high prices, capitalist rationalisation and other forms of intensified exploitation and unemployment. Their struggles in defence of their vital interests are met with heavy repression and are often sought to be drowned in blood by shooting and police terror. Their fighting trade union organisations are disrupted, divided and suppressed by the government and its henchmen. Under the plea of increased production for the needs of the country, the government imposes worsened conditions of labour on the workers and enables the profiteers to increase their profits.

5. The millions of peasants constituting seventy per cent of our people are ground down as before. The fruits of labour of those who have land and cultivate it are looted by the landlords, the moneylenders and the government through exorbitant rents, interest charges and high taxes as well as by manipulations in the capitalist market. Vast majority of the peasants have very little or no land of their own and those

who have no land and find no work live in conditions of perpetual pauperism. And those who find work in landlords' and *sowcars*' estates as agricultural labourers or tenants have to work like serfs, not getting even a subsistence wage for the family. As a result, the production of food and industrial raw materials is still far below the needs of the country. The struggles of the peasantry for land, for reduction of rent, interest and taxes are also sought to be suppressed with a heavy hand.

6. The middle classes in the towns are faring no better. High cost of living, low salaries and widespread unemployment have become their lot. The middle-class wage earners are faced with the same problems of life as are faced by the working class.

7. The demands of the various nationalities of India for their free development, for the reconstitution of the former mixed British provinces and the princely states into autonomous linguistic provinces in a united India are denied. In the name of the unity of the country, the language of a part of the country, namely, Hindi, is being sought to be made an obligatory state language for all the nationalities and states. Vast areas and millions of people of one nationality are compelled to live under the rule of bureaucrats and governments dominated by another nationality. Large tribal areas, with their own economy and culture are put at the mercy of the landlords of this or that alien group. Thus the urge of the masses for strengthening the unity of the country is sought to be utilised for perpetuating the division and discord among the people created by the British.

8. The policies of the government in regard to industry, trade and commerce serve in the main the interests of monopolists. In the matter of state assistance to industry and trade and in the allocation of capital issues, raw materials, transport facilities, and export and import licences, government measures and its bureaucratic machinery injure the interests of smaller industrialists and traders and benefit the Indian monopolists and foreign interests.

9. Whether carried out directly by the state or in partnership with private capital, the various schemes of "reconstruction" conceived within this semi-colonial economic framework, fail to lay the foundations of an independent and prosperous economy. In many cases, these schemes are turning out to be the means of looting the public exchequer by foreign firms and experts, by high-placed bureaucrats and by contractors and speculators. No wonder, therefore, that the industrialisation of the country makes no appreciable headway.

10. Even the existing industries are continually finding themselves in crisis. The poverty of the masses, especially the peasantry, does not provide the industries with an adequate internal market. Both in India and outside they come up against the powerful competition of the imperialists.

11. On the top of it all, this government, when faced with the rising discontent and struggles of the masses, suppresses civil liberties, attacks political parties and groups, trade unions and other people's organisations. It imprisons workers, peasants, students, men and women and frequently resorts to firing on the people. The supreme ruler in the countryside is the police official and the bureaucrat, helped by landlords and other henchmen of the present regime. No wonder, in order to maintain such a police state the burden of taxes and the expenditure on the police and military increase.

12. The people of India are gradually realising the meaning of this state of affairs as also the necessity to change this bourgeois-landlord government, headed by the big bourgeoisie having links with British imperialism. No longer able to put up with poverty and want, with unemployment and starvation, the disillusioned masses are slowly rising in struggles.

13. In order to prevent the growing unity of the people, particularly the unity of the working class and its alliance with the peasantry, the government utilises other means apart from police repression.

14. Knowing the desire of the people to make our country

completely independent of British imperialism, the ruling classes have proclaimed India a Republic. But unwilling to break its ties with imperialism, the government upholds the collaboration of the Indian big business with British imperialism as also India's continuance within the British Commonwealth.

15. The membership of the British Commonwealth is not a formal matter as is declared. The membership of the Commonwealth together with the economic and strategic links with British imperialism subjects India's foreign policy to the influences of the ruling circles in Britain.

16. And, finally, the government parades its Constitution and tells the people that they can instal in power any government of their choice for carrying out the policies that they desire. While it is a fact that universal adult franchise now exists in the Constitution of India and it can and will be used by the people, it is a deception of the people to say that elections alone under this Constitution can end the capitalist-landlord rule in the country and the imperialist hold over our life. Adult franchise serves to gauge the maturity of the working class and the people and is formally an element of democracy but it cannot express the true will and the true interests of the exploited masses as long as the land is not the property of peasants but that of landlords, as long as the power of landlords and capitalists holds the people in subjugation in fields and factories, as long as the press and other means of propaganda remain under the power of capital and drug the people, as long as the power of money utilises religious and caste frictions and rivalries to divide and to weaken the people, and as long as the bureaucrats and the police persecute political parties, suppress civil liberties and imprison without trial even the elected representatives of the legislatures for their political opinions and for championing the interests of the masses.

17. It is also a deception of the people to say that under the new Constitution the masses or the government elected by them can work their way to freedom and happiness. The

Constitution guarantees no rights to the people which are enforceable in any way or which are not subject to violation by the autocratic emergency decrees of the executive. The bureaucracy continues to be irremovable and inviolate. The right to strike, to living wage, to work and rest for the working class and salaried employees are not guaranteed and made enforceable. The land of the landlords and the properties and incomes of the princes are made inviolable. The peasant can have land but only if he can buy it or compensate the landlord for it. But to buy land and to pay compensation, capital is needed, and tens of millions of poor peasants who live from hand to mouth have no capital. Therefore, the poor peasants have to stay without land and continue their existence in poverty. It is characteristic that by several agreements with Britain and America, the government had made the property of foreign holders in our country sacred and inviolable, having provided them with such guarantees that even their profits would not be touched but would be allowed to be remitted out of the country without any restriction. And this at a time when the government refuses to guarantee protection to the citizens from the club-law of the police officers and from the plunder on the part of the moneylenders and profiteers.

18. Thus while the rights and privileges of landlords, princes and imperialists are guaranteed by this Constitution not even the most elementary rights of our masses are safeguarded. The Constitution is not and cannot be called a truly democratic constitution. It is a Constitution of the state of the capitalists and landlords headed by the monopolists linked with foreign imperialist interests—mainly British. Armed with such a Constitution the Indian bourgeoisie uses the state power to strengthen itself.

19. While collaboration between Indian big bourgeoisie and British capital continues, the contradictions between the requirements of capitalist development in India and British vested interests are growing. This brings the Indian bourgeoisie as a whole, including the big bourgeoisie, into conflict with

British imperialism on various issues. Similarly, the contradictions between the requirements of capitalist development and the semi-feudal agrarian relations are also growing.

20. The sharpening of such conflicts and contradictions enhances the possibilities for the democratic movement to weaken the position of imperialism and feudalism and advance the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle. Nevertheless, it must be recognised that the government, headed by the big bourgeoisie, due to its policy of compromise with the imperialists and landlords, cannot wage a consistent struggle against them and shatter the shackles on our economy, without which our country cannot take to the path of independent and all-round development.

21. Having regard to these facts, the Communist Party of India places before the people its Programme. The Party holds that this Programme should be carried out by the people of our country in order to overcome their economic dependence and to build an independent and prosperous India on firm and secure foundations.

22. The Communist Party of India firmly adheres to the aim of building a socialist society in India. But, in the present stage of development, in view of the backwardness of our economy and of the weakness of the mass organisations of workers, peasants and intelligentsia, it is not possible to carry out socialist transformations immediately. Our party regards as quite mature the task of replacing the present anti-democratic and anti-popular government by a new government of people's democracy based on a coalition of all democratic anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces in the country capable of effectively guaranteeing the rights of the people, of giving land to the peasants *gratis*, of protecting our national industries against the competition of foreign goods and of ensuring the industrialisation of the country, of securing a higher standard of living to the working class, of eliminating unemployment in the country, and thus ensuring progress, cultural advancement and independence. The fulfilment of these tasks will enable the country to take to the road to socialism.

What are the practical tasks, which in the opinion of the Communist Party of India, should be carried out by the new people's democratic government?

These tasks are as follows :

* * *

The following will replace the Section "National Independence For India":

In spite of the attainment of political freedom by India, British imperialism continues to occupy a powerful position in our economy. A large number of factories and workshops, mines and plantations, shipping and banking concerns in India are owned by British capitalists, who annually draw hundreds of millions of profit from them. With this power over our economic life and their ties and partnership with the big capitalists in our country who are collaborating with them, the British imperialists are able to hamper the development of our industries and thus perpetuate our poverty.

Our country cannot be a strong and prosperous country until it is industrialised on a big scale; but this cannot be done as long as British capital holds a powerful position in our economy and is even allowed to export the profits of British enterprises which could otherwise be utilised to expand our industries and as long as the big national capitalists collaborating with British imperialism keep our economy linked with it.

Moreover, one has to take into account the continued existence of British elements in our armed forces and our country's dependence on Britain for armaments.

In order to remove all restrictions on our freedom, India has to break with the British Commonwealth, to put an end to the domination of British capital in the country's economy, and to get rid of the British elements in our armed forces.

Therefore, the Communist Party considers necessary :

47. The withdrawal of India from the British Commonwealth.

48. The confiscation and nationalisation of all factories, banks, plantations, shipping and mining owned by the

British, whether in their own name or under the signboard of Indian companies.

49. Removal of British elements in India from the posts held by them.

* * *

The following will replace the Section "Foundation of The Foreign Policy of India."

India needs peace and peaceful development. She is interested in peace and economic co-operation with all states. In this respect Britain is not an exception if she only proves capable of carrying on economic co-operation on the basis of equality.

The chief enemy of peace and advocate of an aggressive war is now the United States of America which has rallied round herself all aggressive countries. This camp of war is facing the camp of peace which includes such states as the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other countries of people's democracy. What India needs is a consistent policy of peace which can be realised by a united front with peace-loving countries and friendship with them.

The foreign policy which the Government of India pursued in the past, facilitated, in the main, the struggle of aggressors against peace-loving countries. But international and national developments of recent years have brought about a new orientation in the Government of India's foreign policy. It is today, in the main, a policy that helps the cause of peace and national freedom, builds Asian unity and stands for friendly relations with socialist and democratic countries. Nevertheless, due to India's political and economic links with British imperialism and the class character of the Indian Government, its policy is still marked by vacillations and inconsistencies. The Indian Government, striving to utilise the contradictions between the camps of socialism and imperialism, makes concessions to the latter on several occasions. It is in India's national interest that these vacillations and inconsistencies are eliminated, the present orientation

further strengthened and carried forward in order to wage a firm struggle in alliance with all peace-loving forces and countries for the establishment of conditions of peaceful co-existence and mutual co-operation between all countries.

The unbalancing of the integral economy of India caused by the division of the country, the strife between Pakistan and India, which enables reactionary circles to divide the people and provides the American and British imperialists with opportunities for intervention, as in Kashmir, will be overcome by a firm alliance of friendship and mutual assistance between India and the state of Pakistan. India must also enter into friendly alliance with the states of Ceylon and Nepal.

The economy of Ceylon is dependent on and complementary to that of India. Quite a large section of its people is composed of Indian plantation and other workers who have migrated to Ceylon. The Ceylonese and Indian landlords and traders incite the Indian and Ceylonese workers against each other to gain their selfish ends.

The absence of alliance among these states is utilised by the imperialists and their henchmen to sow discord among them and hatred among their peoples, leading to the eviction of millions of people from their homelands. Only a firm alliance and friendship can defeat this game of imperialists and the reactionary ruling circles of these countries.

Therefore, the Communist Party of India considers it necessary to lay down the following principles:

50. Consistent policy of peace in alliance with all peace-loving states and united front with them against aggressors.

51. Building of unity of Asian and African countries and peoples for defence of freedom and elimination of colonialism.

52. The policy of economic co-operation with all states capable of carrying on economic co-operation without any discrimination whatsoever on the basis of full equality.

53. The policy of alliance and friendship with Pakistan, Ceylon and Nepal.

54. The policy of doing its utmost to protect the legitimate rights and interests of Indians residing abroad.

* * *

The following will replace the concluding para of the programme :

The people of India led by its working class and its Communist Party, guided by the teachings of Marx, Engles, Lenin and Stalin, firmly allied with the millions of peasants of our land, will achieve this Programme.

Guided by the principles and philosophy of Marxism and led by the Communist Parties, more than a third of humanity have advanced to socialism, to freedom, to real democracy. At the head of this humanity stand the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

The peoples of Asia, including our own, are fighting against imperialism and have already won great victories. However, India still remains the biggest country in Asia with a semi-colonial economy, subject to imperialist exploitation. The Communist Party believes that India shall soon emerge as a victorious people's democracy, unswervingly advancing the cause of peace and shall take the road to prosperity and happiness.

Political Resolution of the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of India*

I. India Upholds the Cause of National Freedom, Peace and Asian Unity

The period we are passing through is rich with events of world-historic importance. The breach that was made in the system of world imperialism by the October Revolution was further widened, after the victory over the forces of fascism, by the ending of capitalist rule in the countries of Eastern Europe, by the emergence of the Chinese People's Republic, by the formation of the Democratic Republic of Korea and Vietnam. The emergence of socialism from within the bounds of a single country and its transformation into a world system, the growing consolidation and unity of the socialist world exercise powerful influence on the entire course on world developments. The balance of forces has decisively shifted in favour of the camp of socialism and democracy. Due to the massive achievements of the socialist world and its growing contrast with the world of capitalism, the ideas of socialism are gaining support in every country among ever broader sections of the people.

The great victories and the phenomenal advance of the national liberation movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries have delivered shattering blows against the imperialist colonial system, which is rapidly disintegrating. Countries of the former colonial world, which have shaken off imperialist rule and taken to the path of independent

*Adopted at the Fourth Party Congress held at Palghat from 19 - 29 April, 1956.

development, find in the socialist world a firm ally in the struggle for defence of freedom and peace. They find in the socialist world market a powerful means to strengthen their national economy and rid themselves of dependence on imperialist powers. This leads to the establishment of increasingly closer relations between the socialist countries and the former colonial countries—a factor that further weakens the imperialist system.

These developments have considerably reduced the sphere of domination of the imperialist powers and deepened the crisis of the capitalist system. They have accentuated all its contradictions. In order to solve these contradictions and overcome the crisis of their system, the most aggressive elements among the imperialists strive to suppress the working class, democratic and national liberation movements, to reimpose their colonial rule on the peoples of Asia under the garb of military alliances and to win world supremacy by means of war. They reject proposals for the banning of atomic weapons. They press forward with the rearming of Western Germany and prevent the peaceful unification of the German people. They are sabotaging the agreement for the unification of Vietnam. They are trying to whip up tension in several areas. But the efforts of the imperialists are suffering defeat after defeat. A number of countries, declaring non-participation in military blocs as the principle of their foreign policy, are opposing the war plans. A vast zone of peace has come into existence. The bold and resolute measures taken by the socialist and peace-loving states in defence of peace, their growing unity and might, their positive steps in the direction of relaxing tension, the peaceful rôle played by a number of non-socialist countries headed by India, the powerful growth of the democratic, working-class and peace movements, have not only repeatedly frustrated the plans of the warmongers but have led to the creation of a new atmosphere in international relations. The idea of peaceful co-existence, the principle of settlement of disputes between states by peaceful means, have won historic victories.

The danger of war remains and will require constant struggle on the part of the forces of peace. But these forces of peace have already attained immense strength and are rapidly growing stronger. In this situation, the possibility has opened out of defeating the attempt to drag the world into war and of ensuring lasting peace. It is this possibility and the confidence born out of it that moves the partisans of peace in all countries to strive to build the broadest unity of all forces, parties and organisations opposed to war, for more resolute struggle for further relaxation of tension and for establishment of relations of friendship between states.

The Communist Party of India had warned that India's newly-won independence and sovereignty would be threatened by the imperialist powers who were bent on subjugating independent nations in pursuit of their drive for war and colonial conquests.

The Party had warned that the NATO and other military pacts of American imperialism with European powers were not only directed against the USSR, but constituted a menace to the independence and freedom of all nations, including the nations of Asia. It had declared that notwithstanding Britain's pretended friendship with India and India's connection with the British Commonwealth, Britain, which is one of the chief colonial powers, would do everything to undermine Indian independence. From the beginning, therefore, it had demanded a foreign policy free from British influence, a policy based on friendship among all nations, a policy of peace and opposition to colonial conquests and war. The Party had repeatedly stated that only by pursuing a consistent policy of opposition to imperialism and war, could India's interests be protected and her independence strengthened.

The years that have passed and the shifts that have taken place in the Government's foreign policy have vindicated the line of the Party. Under the stress of the war danger, of imperialist pressure against Indian independence, and in the background of the increasing strength of the forces of peace and democracy in the country and the world, the Government

of India has moved more and more against imperialist powers and openly championed the cause of world peace, Asian independence and solidarity and Indian freedom.

In this world-wide battle against the menace of war, against military pacts, for the establishment of relations of peace, for the banning of weapons of mass destruction, the Republic of India in recent years has played an increasingly important role, a role that has heightened India's international prestige and evoked in every patriotic Indian a sense of national pride. This role has won India the friendship and respect of peace-loving states and forces. It has heightened the isolation of the imperialists, strengthened the resistance of the countries of Asia to imperialist pressure. The emergence of India as a sovereign and independent Republic upholding the cause of peace and freedom is a factor of profound significance in the present-day world.

Of historic importance was the Nehru-Chou Declaration of June 28, 1954, which enunciated the Panch Shila. The Five Principles that should guide all countries in their mutual relations have since then been accepted by the USSR and by a number of countries and have exercised great influence on the whole world.

The Bandung Conference, of which India was one of the chief sponsors, became a rally for Asian-African solidarity and against colonialism and dealt a powerful blow in defence of peace.

The friendship between the Indian and Soviet peoples which was strengthened by the warm welcome accorded to Prime Minister Nehru when he visited the USSR, the friendship which found unforgettable manifestations during the visit of Comrades N.A. Bulganin and N.S. Khrushchov to India is a most important factor for world peace. This friendship and the agreements that have followed from them, set a model before the whole world of the relationship that can be established between states with different political systems.

The new relationship between India on the one hand and the socialist world headed by the USSR and China on the

other is not merely a factor that strengthens world peace. It is also an important means to strengthen India's own position in world affairs, to strengthen India's freedom and economy—as can be seen from the declarations made by the leaders of the USSR on Kashmir and Goa and from the economic agreements that India has concluded with the USSR and other socialist countries.

The Communist Party which has been fighting for a consistent policy of peace and for friendly relations with peace-loving states, welcomes and supports these achievements and will continuously strive to rouse and unite the people to carry them forward.

The policy of peace is a genuine national policy, an anti-imperialist policy which continues and carries forward the traditions of our democratic movement. Hence, it is that the struggle for such a policy provides the basis for broad unity embracing every class and every section of our people that desires to heighten India's world prestige and consolidate her freedom. In India and in many countries of Asia, the struggle for peace is getting linked with the struggle for defence of freedom, for Asian unity, against the pressure of imperialist warmongers who have banded themselves together in war pacts. The struggle for peace is tremendously strengthening the struggle against the whole imperialist camp. Further, the coming together of masses of different parties in the common struggle for defence of peace and freedom, for Asian unity, for friendship with the USSR and China, has strengthened the mass democratic movement and extended its sweep. The growth of mass struggles in defence of the immediate interests of the people, the growth of mass organisations and the strengthening of the general democratic movement, have given added strength to the movement for peace. Life itself has shown how the struggles for peace and defence of national freedom, for democratic rights and vital interests of the masses, are inseparably linked and strengthen each other.

Finding that India is not ready to toe their line, the imperialist powers, including Britain, have in recent years done

everything to threaten India with encirclement and blackmail her into submission. The Baghdad Pact, which was organised under the leadership of Britain, creates a serious danger to India's security. The Commonwealth countries—Australia, New Zealand and Britain which are members of the SEATO—encouraged Pakistan's claims on Kashmir at one of the sessions of the SEATO powers. Britain intervenes on behalf of Portugal on the question of Goa and backs Portuguese occupation of Indian territory. Britain and the Commonwealth countries thus work against Indian interests, notwithstanding the Government of India's claims about the benefits of the Commonwealth connection.

The American imperialists follow a still more blatant line of intervention against India and do everything to undermine India's Independence. The U.S.-Pakistan Military Pact is an open attempt to change the balance of arms in this area, set Pakistan against India and create tensions between the two countries. It is an attempt to make Asians fight Asians, and the provocative border incidents of recent days constitute a grave warning to the Indian people that imperialist conspiracies are afoot against the freedom of India.

The formation of the SEATO of which Pakistan is a member, the provocative support to Portugal on the question of Goa and Pakistan on the question of Kashmir, constitute other menacing steps taken by American imperialists against India.

The NATO, the SEATO and other military pacts are designed to create armed camps around India and to put pressure on India to join the war bloc.

The Indian people cannot ignore these grave happenings. The Communist Party of India draws the attention of the entire people to these and calls on them to unite and fight together this growing menace.

The Communist Party of India welcomes the fact that the Government of India has seen this danger and is resisting imperialist pressure and blackmail against India.

The imperialist warmongers are suffering fiasco after fiasco in their game of blackmailing the Asian countries by

their war blocs. The growing strength of the peace camp and solidarity of Asian countries for freedom and against war is inflicting blows on the warmongers. The recent election results in Ceylon and the peace policy of its new Government, the resistance of various West Asian countries to war conspiracies, are significant developments which show that it is possible to defeat the imperialist conspiracies and preserve and strengthen peace and freedom in Asia.

The policy of peace pursued by the Government of India helps the people of the world to avoid the menace of another war and simultaneously curbs the enemies of Indian independence.

The Communist Party of India calls upon the people to exercise vigilance on the question of Kashmir and defeat the imperialist game of embroiling India and Pakistan in conflicts. It is, therefore, urgent that the Kashmir problem be settled peacefully through negotiations and the Communist Party of India considers that both India and Pakistan should settle the issue of Kashmir by taking the present ceasefire line as the basis for demarcation of the boundaries, and should restore the traditional economic and trade relations of Kashmir as part of peaceful relations between India and Pakistan.

Although the present foreign policy of the Government of India conforms to the interests of the entire Indian people (including the national bourgeoisie), important elements, including some in leading positions in the ruling party, are getting apprehensive about the implications of such a policy. While among the mass of Congressmen the progressive orientation of the Government's foreign policy has evoked great response, it is not without significance that some of the top leaders of the Congress seldom speak against the military pacts that menace Indian freedom, against the moves of the aggressive imperialists. Some of them are striving for modification of the policy. These elements are strengthened in their attitude by the refusal of the Congress leadership to join hands with other parties and organisations for a common movement for peace.

This makes it even more imperative that resolute efforts be made for the initiation and building of a united national movement of all forces, parties and organisations, including the Congress, to support and strengthen the peace policy of the Government of India and for the defence of Indian freedom and security.

The situation also enhances the importance of vigilance and of a more active role than before in the building of such a movement, of the working class, peasantry and democratic masses in general and their organisations.

The cause of freedom of Asian unity and peace demands the strengthening of the struggle for break with British Commonwealth and severance of the political and military relations which Commonwealth membership involves. Membership of the Commonwealth headed by Britain, which is one of the chief enemies of world peace and of Asian and African peoples, which is striving to drown in blood the freedom struggle of the people of Cyprus, is inconsistent with India's present role in world politics, with her policy of resistance to war, of building Asian solidarity, of support to nations fighting for freedom. Also Commonwealth membership subjects our foreign policy to British imperialist influence as seen in the continued transit facilities given to Gurkha soldiers to Malaya, as also in the dependence on the imperialists for arms and equipment for our defence forces.

The task of the Communist Party in relation to the struggle for peace and the defence of national freedom, is to unite and mobilise the masses on the broadest possible scale in nation-wide campaigns :

- i) Against the danger of war, for the prohibition of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction and for disarmament.
- ii) Against military pacts, especially the SEATO and the Baghdad Pact.
- iii) For strengthening Asian solidarity and for a pact of collective peace for Asia and the Pacific region.
- iv) For restoring to the People's Republic of China its

legitimate rights in the United Nations; for strengthening the bonds of friendship and co-operation with the USSR and China in all fields—economic and cultural and on international issues on the basis of the Panch Shila.

- v) For full support to the colonial peoples struggles against imperialism.
- vi) For effective measures for the liberation of Goa.
- vii) For improvement of relations with Pakistan, for settlement of outstanding issues through methods of peaceful and friendly negotiations; for a no-war pact; for re-establishing economic relations between India and Pakistan dislocated by partition; for removing all barriers that stand in the way of mutually beneficial relations between our two peoples and for promotion of cultural and other activities which strengthen the bonds of brotherly relations between them.
- viii) For break with British Commonwealth.

II. Results of the Government's Economic and Political Policies

In this world context of the emergence of socialism as a world system, which has broken the monopoly of imperialists in capital goods and technical know-how and is prepared to share its experiences which the under-developed countries and to trade with them on terms of equality and mutual benefit, in the context of the weakening of the camp of imperialism with its colonial system disintegrating, bright possibilities of overcoming economic backwardness as well as the dependence on imperialists and of rapidly advancing along the path of an independent economy ensuring industrialisation of the country and prosperity to the people have opened up before the Indian people. But in order to fully realise these possibilities, it is essential to strengthen and unite the democratic forces inside our country in popular movements and mass struggles against the legacies of the past colonial regime and for correct policies in the interests of the people and the

country. For this it is necessary to understand and analyse the internal policies of the Government and appraise their actual effect on our country and on the life of our people.

The irrigation projects that have been completed in the First Five Year Plan and the Sindri Fertiliser Factory have helped agricultural production. Aided considerably by good monsoons, production of foodgrains and industrial raw materials such as cotton and jute has registered an advance. All these have been substantial gains to the nation. Import of foodgrains, cotton and jute has been considerably brought down, thus saving a substantial amount of our foreign exchange.

Similarly, the development of hydro-electric power has been an important gain. It not only lays a power-base for industrialisation, but also would help the proper utilisation of subsoil water for agricultural production in vast areas where no other irrigational facilities are available.

The Community Projects and National Extension Schemes (NES) by laying village roads, by digging wells and taking up such schemes, have catered to certain elementary needs of the villages which have been long neglected. The distribution of fertiliser loans and other loans for improvement of land in the areas under Community Projects, has however, benefited mainly the richer sections of the peasantry.

The increase in the production of cotton, jute and other industrial raw materials and the building of a number of projects and other constructional activities by the Government, together with the policies pursued by the Government, have also resulted in increase of industrial production, whose index rose to 125.7 in 1955 with 1951 as the base year.

All these gains for the nation, however, have not resulted in an all-round strengthening of the national economy. The standard of life for the vast majority of people continues to be low. All the economic features of a backward country continue.

The First Plan did not result in the building of basic and heavy industries, the basis of the industrialisation of the country.

Secondly, the increase in industrial production has been brought about mainly by increased utilisation of installed capacities and not by any appreciable expansion and development of capacities. Even so, many of the industries continue to work below their installed capacity. Thirdly, the increase has taken place in the big industrial units at the cost of medium and small industrial units which continue to languish. Fourthly, the Plan has not resulted in improving the relative position of industry in our economy.

In the field of land relations, the abolition of statutory landlordism such as the zamindari and jagirdari systems has been carried out in most of the States. Although huge compensation has been paid to the zamindars and large tracts of fertile land have been left in their hands, this measure has no doubt curbed the powers of these statutory landlords and restricted the old time feudal exploitation. The First Plan laid down certain broad lines of agrarian reforms. These included fixity of tenure for the tenants for a period five years and reduction of rents payable by them to the landlords to between 20 and 25 per cent of the gross produce and fixation of a ceiling on landholdings. The measures for the reduction of rents and for conferring rights of tenure are yet to be passed in a number of States. And even where they have been passed, they contain serious loopholes and their implementation has been left to bureaucratic officials, strongly linked with the landlords through innumerable ties, with the result that these measures have not been implemented in vast areas.

The ceilings on landholdings have not been fixed in the majority of the States and even where they have been fixed, the laws have been framed in such a way that very little land has been available for distribution.

But even the talk of these reforms has led to mass eviction of peasants in every State which has been connived at and, at least in some cases, encouraged by the State Governments in which landlord interests predominate.

The irrigation schemes have been accompanied by

prohibitive betterment levies and water taxes. All these, together with the fact that large sums of money have to be spent for converting dry lands into wet lands has led to the sale of lands by the peasants who cannot afford such prohibitive costs.

No steps have been taken to scale down the unconscionable debts of the peasants, which have gone on mounting. Their misery has been further increased by sharp fluctuations of prices of their produce.

Experience has shown that the peasants cannot effectively avail of the laws relating to rent reduction so long as complete security of tenure is not ensured. Experience has also shown that the implementation of the existing agrarian laws depends essentially on the strength of the peasant movement and the unity of the peasantry.

As for the working class, it too fared badly under the Plan. The increase of production of industries has been brought about by intensifying the rate of exploitation of the working class. Through schemes of rationalisation and intensification of labour, productivity increased by 44 per cent. This led to a decline in the number of workers employed in factories, and thousands of workers faced retrenchment and unemployment. Although productivity of the employed workers increased by 44 per cent, their real wages have just touched the pre-war level.

Moreover, in a number of factories, particularly in medium and small-scale industries, wage-cuts have also been resorted to. In the major industries bonus has been cut down. The fall in price of foodgrains was immediately accompanied by a cut in the dearness allowance of workers.

The problem of mass unemployment has become acute all over the country—among workers as well as the middle-class and artisans, in the cities as well as in villages.

While the condition of the masses has thus not registered any appreciable improvement and has actually worsened for vast sections of peasants, agricultural labourers, workers and middle class, monopoly capitalists have reaped rich harvest

out of the implementation of the Plan. The profits of the monopolists—both Indian and British—have gone on increasing. This can be seen in the fact that the profits of our industries increased from Rs. 318 crores in 1950, the pre-Plan year, to Rs. 511 crores in 1954, whereas in the same period the wage bill increased from Rs. 193 to Rs. 207 crores only and the salaries bill from Rs. 39 to Rs. 42 crores only. This meant that the share of the monopolists in the net income from industrial production went up from 57 to 67 per cent, while that of the workers and employees declined from 43 to 33 per cent in the same period.

This process of increasing profit has continued in the year 1955.

The price that the Indian people had to pay for this development has been a heavy one. In addition to the sufferings of the peasantry due to violent fluctuations in price, increased agricultural debts and usurious interests, the increased workload on the workers and attack on their working conditions and increased unemployment, tax burdens on the people have gone on mounting year after year. On the other hand, direct taxes on the monopolists (income and corporation taxes) have declined in absolute terms in this very period when their profits have increased enormously.

These results are not fortuitous. They are the inevitable results of the policies that underlay the First Five-Year Plan. A government of the bourgeoisie and landlords, in which the former is the leading force, sought to develop capitalism in India. But it sought to do so not by such radical agrarian reforms as would substantially reduce the burdens on peasants, thereby ensuring a stable and expanding internal market, but by compromising with feudalism and by protecting landlords. Hence it guaranteed huge compensation to zamindars and allowed them to keep large areas as self-cultivated land. It generally intervened and helped the landlords through its repressive machinery and police to evict the tenants in the name of law and order. Through all these and other measures, like the distribution of chemical manure and irrigation

facilities, is sought to modify feudal relations and develop capitalism in agriculture.

Allocation of capital issue, raw material, transport, import and export licences, etc., was carried out by this government in such a way as to benefit mainly the monopolists.

It sought to develop industries not by attacking the positions of British capital but by placing reliance on the imperialists for the supply of capital goods and technical know-how, and by wooing foreign capital for investment in private industries. For this purpose, it did not shirk from giving concessions to foreign monopolists, not given to any Indian national. It allowed them the right of unrestricted export of profits and repatriation of capital while denying us capital goods and technical know-how. Inevitably, as a result of this policy, it relied on the imperialist market for our export and import trade and refused to change the pattern of our foreign trade, by developing trade with the Soviet Union and the socialist market.

This policy did not produce the expected results. The imperialists did not pour in capital for industrial development nor did they give India the needed capital goods. Not only have these hopes been belied but with the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, Indian capitalists have been facing more and more fierce competition from imperialist quarters both here in India and in the export markets outside. Moreover, the imperialists utilised their hold over India's foreign trade to inflict on her unequal terms of trade, thereby inflicting more misery on the masses. The Government's policies enabled the imperialists to ship more profits out of the sweat and toil of the Indian people.

Being counter to the interests of the masses and of the country, such policies could not be carried out without giving rise to mass opposition—struggles of workers against retrenchment and intensification of workload; struggles of peasants against evictions, new taxes, low prices for their goods; struggles of agricultural workers for living wage, for land; struggles of middle-class employees for human conditions of life; struggles of students against rising educational fees and

for academic rights; struggles of citizens of all classes for civil liberties. These struggles have, in many cases, brought together masses following different parties, helped the growth of common mass organisations, evoked wide popular sympathy and have been supported by solidarity actions. They have heightened the consciousness of the people, ranged them against the attack of vested interests and the anti-people policies of the Government, halted in many places the offensive of monopolists and landlords and won important concessions.

While the Government has taken a hostile attitude towards the struggles of the people, it has lent powerful support to the vested interests. Wherever the masses have fought against worsening conditions of life, the attempt of the Government has been to suppress them with a heavy hand. The policies of the Government have thus meant attack on the standard of life of the people and their democratic rights.

It is evident, therefore, that the gains from the First Five-Year Plan, which sought to develop national economy without wiping out feudalism, without attacking the positions and profits of British capital, by dependence on the imperialists and by reliance on profit motive of monopoly capital, rest on a weak economic and political basis. Conditions have not been created yet for steady and continuous advance, for effective utilisation of the productive forces of our country and its vast manpower, for popular participation in an effective manner in the tasks of national reconstruction. These conditions have yet to be created.

III. Draft Proposals for the Second Five-Year Plan

The basic conflict in Indian society is the conflict between imperialism and feudalism on the one hand and the entire Indian people, including the national bourgeoisie, on the other. The mass opposition to the policies of the Government that grew rapidly in the period after the attainment of independence and expressed itself powerfully in the last General Elections was, to a great extent, a product and reflection of this conflict. For, the Government of India, though desiring

to strengthen national economy and national freedom, pursued policies that were in practice policies of protection of and concession to foreign capital and of alliance with and concession of landlordism, while striving to curb and modify it to some extent. The Government gave free rein to monopoly capital to amass profits at the cost of the working class and the mass of the people. It sought to suppress the democratic movement.

The implementation of the First Five-Year Plan, based on these policies, did not lessen this basic conflict in Indian society. The conflict has further intensified. Moreover, the advance of the ideas of socialism and, in particular, the achievements of the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China are exercising a profound influence on the minds of the masses of our people. They are stirred by the deepest anti-imperialist feelings and are moved by a strong urge for national reconstruction.

As a result of these national and international developments, and on account of the growth of the mass movement for the strengthening of freedom, for radical reforms and for improvement in the conditions of the people, as well as the aspirations of the Indian bourgeoisie to develop India as an independent capitalist country, and also due to the experience of the First-Five Year Plan, conflicts and contradictions have grown between imperialism and feudalism on the one hand and the needs of India's economic development on the other. This is reflected also in the growth of conflicts and contradictions between the Government of India and imperialism.

All these, together with the relative strengthening of the national economy as also the position of the Indian bourgeoisie as a result of the increase in agricultural and industrial production leading to an improvement in India's balance of payments position, have led to important modifications in many of the policies of the Government.

This is seen in a number of measures taken by the Government, such as the conversion of the Imperial Bank of India into the State Bank of India, the Fourth Amendment to

the Constitution, and the nationalisation of Life Insurance. The agreement with the Soviet Union for a steel plant, the Nehru-Bulganin declaration of December, 1955, on economic co-operation, the growing trade relations with the countries of the socialist camp, all these clearly indicate that the Government has abandoned its earlier abject dependence on the British and American imperialists for capital goods and technical know-how and is prepared to take the help of the socialist world for developing our industries.

The experiences of the First Five-Year Plan have not been without their lessons. It has become ever so clear that India cannot overcome her present economic backwardness and dependence, cannot reconstruct her economy without rapid industrialisation, without, in particular, building heavy and machine-building industries, without carrying out radical agrarian reforms in which the distribution of land to the mass of agricultural labourers and poor peasants must occupy a most decisive place. In the period of the First Plan, it has also been once again proved that in order to rebuild India's economy, it is essential to come to grips with the vested interests of British capital and feudalism in our economy and thus fight for the elimination of the legacy of the hated colonial regime. Equally has it been emphasised that the cause of industrialisation of our country and the balanced growth of our economy cannot be advanced by relying on imperialism and the capitalist world market.

Experience has once again proved that a democratic plan must make decisive inroads into the position of British capital in India and also of landlordism. It must weaken the position of monopoly capital in our national economy and political life. It must substantially reduce the burden on the peasant masses. It must raise the standard of life of the people constantly and continuously and create an expanding internal market. It must be based on an equitable system of taxation, raising the necessary resources primarily from those who can bear the burden—the foreign capitalists, the landlords and princes and the big bourgeoisie. It must strive to create a

stable price structure. It must make possible all-round advance in such spheres as health, housing, culture. It must mean the adoption of progressive labour laws, the ensuring of popular co-operation and the unleashing of popular initiative through the extension of democratic rights and civil liberties.

The path of independent capitalist development which the Indian bourgeoisie and the Government have taken is underlined by the fact that "the rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries" has been declared as the "principal objective" of the Second Plan. Although the original proposals in regard to industrialisation, set forth in the Plan-Frame, have been modified in a reactionary direction due to the pressure of big business, a sum of Rs. 691 crores has been allocated for large-scale industries and minerals in the public sector. These include three steel plants with an estimated total production of 2.2 million tons of finished steel. In addition, provision has been made for fertiliser factories, a lignite project, and a heavy electrical plant, which will, however, commence its production at a much later date.

The fulfilment of the targets in the industrial sector would contribute to the reduction of India's dependence on foreign countries in respect of capital goods, particularly for light industries, and strengthen the relative position of industry in our economy.

The proposed higher allocations to protect and encourage village and small-scale industries are also a welcome feature.

The proposals for land reforms such as the enforcement of ceiling throughout the country, restriction of holdings for personal cultivation, as well as on the resumption of holdings for the same purpose, undoubtedly constitute a step in the right direction. Further, the necessity for reduction of rents to a maximum of 20 per cent of the produce has been greatly stressed and this is also a welcome feature.

These proposals, if they are speedily and fully implemented, will lighten to a certain extent the burdens on the peasantry and contribute to the expansion of the internal market.

These proposals, therefore, provide the basis for forging the broadest unity of the peasantry in order to get them implemented.

The Communist Party will seek to mobilise all the democratic and progressive forces in all the parties, including Congress, for the immediate acceptance by the Government of India, and for the rapid implementation by the various State Governments, of the proposals made by the Land Reforms Panel of the Planning Commission. It will strive to forge united peasant movement on the basis of these proposals.

The proposed large investments in and expenditure on irrigation and power, Community Projects, and National Extension Services, and on social services such as health, education and housing are welcome, although they are admittedly still inadequate relatively to the needs.

Despite its emphasis on industries, its bolder physical targets and its other positive features, the Second Plan suffers from a number of serious limitations and weaknesses. The extremely inadequate provisions for heavy machine-building industries which have been made, substantially reducing even the original proposals of the Plan-Frame, will slow down the tempo of development and hamper the realisation of the objective of rapid industrialisation.

Contrary to the proposals of the Plan-Frame, the restriction on the growth of the public sector on the one hand, and the most unduly increased allocations for the large-scale industries in the private sector, would lead to the strengthening of the monopolists and retard planned reconstruction of our economy. The heavy allocation for modernisation of large scale consumer goods industries will aggravate unemployment and seriously endanger small-scale and village industries.

These concessions to the monopolists will lead to frittering away of our resources including foreign exchange and will seriously jeopardise the fulfilment of the targets of the Draft Plan. Moreover, this will, as a whole, even further strengthen the monopoly-dominated private industrial sector instead of the public sector getting the desired ascendancy over the former.

The proposals for the agrarian sector suffer from serious weaknesses. These consist in exemptions of several types of land from the ceiling, thus further reducing the area of land available for distribution, provision for heavy compensation to the landlords (in lieu of the grant of ownership rights to the tenants), payment of a price for the surplus land that is to be distributed to the agricultural workers and poor peasants, absence of a proper provision for the restoration of lands to ejected tenants, and above all, the absence of any measures of implementation of reforms by democratically elected committees of the peasants vested with adequate powers. Thus they do not ensure the distribution of the land to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants on a big scale, without which it is not possible to bring about an upsurge in our agriculture, generate capital formation in the countryside, secure stability in our agricultural production and expansion of internal market.

It is no accident, therefore, that with its concessions to the monopolists, with its restrictions on the public sector, and finally, with its refusal to undertake distribution of land to the land-hungry peasants on a big scale, the Second Plan fails to provide for any improvement in the employment situation. On the contrary, the unemployment situation is liable to be aggravated. It will also be noted that the Plan does not propose practical measures for promoting labour enthusiasm and for ensuring mass participation. The question of guaranteeing living wage finds no place in it.

The attitude of the Plan towards British and other foreign concerns operating in India cannot but cause serious concern. The proposal for nationalisation of British concerns in the branches in which they are powerfully entrenched is not accepted. The Plan does not propose any effective measures against the operations of foreign capital in our country. Beyond what is available through usual taxations, the sky-rocketing profits of the British concerns are not touched, the heavy remittances of funds by them from our country are still not proposed to be checked.

On the contrary, Rs. 100 crores worth of new foreign private investment is provided for the Plan period. Instead of taking over India's foreign trade at least in respect of principal commodities, assurances have been given that the existing volume of trade with Britain and America will continue to be maintained, thus making it possible for the imperialists not only to exploit our resources, but also obstruct planned developments, and the growth of India's trade relations with the USSR and other socialist countries. Similarly, the Plan permits the payment of compensation to the zamindars and refuses even to cancel the Privy Purses to the Princes. Practically no restriction is placed on the profits of the monopolists, and they are allowed to deprive the country of the resources so essential for its reconstruction.

The Second Five-year Plan proposes to raise the resources through foreign assistance, increased taxation, forced savings and heavy deficit financing. While the excessive reliance on foreign assistance makes the Plan precariously dependent on extremely uncertain factors beyond our control, the increased taxation and forced savings spell fresh economic burdens for the masses. The deficit financing on such a big scale as proposed in the Plan (Rs. 1200 crores) without measures to counteract the activities of monopolist-speculators, give rise to the dangers of inflation and of further accumulation of wealth in the hands of the rich. In fact, with the first dose of large deficit financing revealed in the Budget for 1956-57, inflationary trends have started and prices of essential commodities have registered a sharp increase in the last two months. All these endanger the realisation of even the existing targets and make the future of the Plan uncertain.

This method of financing the Plan by throwing its burdens on the common people is bound to evoke their resistance. Hence it is that the Draft does not propose any cut in the police expenditure, which has progressively increased year by year. Hence also no extension of democracy for the people and trade-union rights are proposed. On the other

hand, the Draft proposes the imposition by law of a regimented trade union, which would loyally carry out the policies of the Government in the interest of monopolists.

In Government undertakings and services, Government's rules such as the Government Servants' Conduct Rules, the National Safeguarding and Security Rules, and other measures are used to crush the independent trade-union movement. Many a time workers face victimisation for holding political opinions other than those of the ruling party.

All these create serious dangers for the relatively progressive proposals that have been made in the Draft. Experience has already shown that the landlord interests that are strongly entrenched in most of the State Governments and the bureaucratic officials succeed in substantially sabotaging the implementation of the Land Reforms proposals, unless a strong kisan movement is built for implementation of these proposals.

It would be sheer defeatism, however, to think that the Draft is the final word. It should be recalled that these same reactionary modifications of the original proposals of the Plan-Frame in respect of industries came in for severe criticism by most of the members of the Consultative Committee, including Congressmen, when the January Memorandum of the Planning Commission, otherwise known as the Blue Book, was discussed.

What is essential is to fight for the restoration of the original proposals in the Plan-Frame, fight for their full implementation as also for the implementation of the progressive land reforms proposals in a democratic way, and, finally, to fight for further improvements in the Second Plan with a view to ensuring rapid industrialisation of the country. It is of utmost importance that the reactionary features of the Plan in respect of resources are resolutely combated and overcome. Equally is it necessary to develop the initiative of the masses and carry on sustained struggles for securing maximum benefits to the common people out of the allocations for social services, and for preventing bureaucracy, corruption, nepotism and waste in the execution of social

service schemes. Popular intervention should be organised in a big way on every one of the issues connected with the formulation and implementation of the Plan. In view of the conflicts over policies which have grown and are growing inside the Congress and, above all, in view of the growing strength of the democratic forces inside the country, immense possibilities have opened out for carrying out these tasks.

IV. Policies of the Government and the Communist Party's Attitude Towards Them

The progressive features and possibilities of the Plan as well as its limitations and weaknesses stem from the very character of the Government of India and the aims it pursues. It is a bourgeois-landlord government in which the bourgeoisie is the leading force. Its policies are motivated by the desire to develop India along independent capitalist lines.

With this aim in view, the Government strives to weaken the position of British capital in our economy. It strives to curb feudal forms of exploitation, transforming feudal landlords into capitalist landlords and create a stratum of rich peasantry that can act as the social base of bourgeois rule in the countryside. It strives to extend and develop the State sector, which in the existing situation is essential for the development of capitalism itself. These aims and the measures resulting therefrom inevitably bring the Government into conflict with imperialism, with feudalism and sometimes with the narrow interests of sections of the bourgeoisie, as was seen in the case of the nationalisation of Life Insurance. They also lead to conflict of policies, as seen in the entire controversies over the problems of industrialisation.

These conflicts have a progressive significance in relation to the democratic movement. They increase the possibilities to move the Government, by mass pressure and by strengthening popular unity, in the direction of democratic reforms and against concessions to reactionary forces.

With the increased efforts for industrialisation in the conditions of today when the urge for national reconstruction

among the people as well as the mass movement are both growing, these conflicts cannot but further sharpen making it possible for the democratic movement to secure the adoption of a number of measures that weaken the position of foreign capital in our economy as also that of the position of Indian reactionary forces in our political and economic life.

The Communist Party is vitally interested in such developments and strives to strengthen them, for they help in strengthening the democratic movement and in consolidating and extending the democratic front. Every step that is taken by the Government for strengthening national freedom and national economy, against imperialist, feudal and monopoly interests, will receive our most energetic and unstinted support.

But it would be a profound mistake to consider that the sharpening of the conflict between imperialism and the Government of India, of the conflict between feudalism and the needs of bourgeois development and the attempt of the bourgeoisie to strengthen its position in this conflict, have already led to or can by themselves lead to the internal policies of the Government becoming popular, democratic. The bourgeoisie seeks to strengthen its position not merely in relation to imperialism and feudalism, but also in relation to the popular masses. It seeks to resolve its conflict with imperialism and feudalism at the cost of the people.

Therefore, while opposing imperialism and attempting to weaken its grip over national economy, the bourgeoisie simultaneously maintains its links with British capital and gives facilities for further inflow of foreign capital. While striving to curb and weaken feudalism, it simultaneously maintains its alliance with landlords, against the democratic forces and makes concessions to the landlords. While striving to industrialise the country, it seeks to place the burdens of economic development mainly on the common people. While extending the public sector, it simultaneously pursues policies of support to monopolists in their attacks on the working people and adopts many measures which enrich the monopolists and thus help them to strengthen their position in

important spheres of our life. While calling upon the people to co-operate in the task of national reconstruction, it simultaneously strengthens the bureaucratic apparatus, places main reliance on it, refuses to extend democracy and to adopt measures that would improve the conditions of the people. These are policies that weaken and shackle the very classes that are the most resolute defenders of peace and national freedom—the classes without whose initiative and creative activity the nation cannot be rebuilt.

Due to all this and the divergence between the aims of industrialisation and the methods adopted by the Government to achieve these aims, the process of development of the country acquires a slow and halting character, marked by twists and turns, giving rise to sharp conflicts and profound contradictions. They retard the sweeping away of the obstacles that stand in the way of India's development. They impose colossal burdens on the people, impoverish them, thus preventing stable and continuous expansion of the internal market.

In executing these policies, the Government not only attempts to placate the people by making concessions and granting some relief, but often resorts to repressive measures also. In the day-to-day struggles of the masses as well as the struggles waged by the people on democratic issues, the Congress Government often resorts to wholesale arrests, lathi charges and even terror by shooting. The brutal suppression of the struggles in connection with the SRC Report, the killings of Patna students, the firings on tea-garden workers of Darjeeling, the mass arrests in several places in connection with day-to-day struggles, all these reveal the callous character of the Government in relation to the masses when they dare to resort to action in defence of their rights and interests. The struggle against this suppression, the struggle for protecting and extending the democratic rights, forms an integral part of the struggle for uniting the people.

In these circumstances, the task of building national unity for peace, for defence and strengthening of freedom, for national reconstruction, for defence of the vital interests of the masses

and for extension of democracy is an extremely complex task. It demands support to the Government's stand in relation to the struggle for peace and efforts to strengthen it further. It demands support to all those measures of the Government, which weaken the position of imperialism and feudalism, curb monopoly and strengthen national economy. It demands the bringing of pressure on the Government in order to accelerate the pace of industrialisation and the adoption of measures related to this task. It demands vigorous combating of the policies of compromise with and concessions to foreign capital, landlordism and monopoly interests. It demands determined struggles against the Government for improvement in the condition of the life of the people. It calls for vigorously combating and defeating the repressive measures of the Government and securing the protection and extension of democratic rights. In order that the Communist Party may pursue such a revolutionary and flexible policy and play its rightful role as the builder and spearhead of the democratic movement, it must come forward as an independent national force. It must act as a Party of Opposition in relation to the present Government.

Guided by the interests of the country and the people, the Communist Party will extend whole-hearted support to the Government in its policy of defence of peace and in every measure that the Government takes to reduce the dependence of Indian economy on imperialism. But it will oppose the serious concessions the Government makes to foreign capital and will mobilise the masses with a view to curtailing these concessions.

The Communist Party will support every measure the Government takes against feudal landlords and for the land reform measures it has proposed. It will mobilise the peasantry and our people against their sabotage by landlords' interests in the States' Governments and the bureaucrats linked with them, and for a consistent implementation of these proposals through the democratic co-operation of the peasant masses and their organisations.

The Communist Party will resolutely fight against the Government's policies of support to the monopolists' attack on the working people, which result in fresh burdens on the masses. It will fight its anti-democratic policies that suppress democratic rights and civil liberties, disrupt the trade-union movement and deny trade-union rights. It will organise the mass movement of workers, peasants and other democratic sections with a view to defeat and reverse these policies as well as to secure relief for the people and to improve their conditions.

V. The Basic Objective—People's Democracy

While laying utmost emphasis on the task of building the broadest mass unity for immediate demands and for progressive policies, the Communist Party will also strive to make the masses realise, through their own experience, the necessity of bringing about basic transformations in our economy, in our social and state structure and the necessity of establishing a new government which can carry out these transformations.

In the course of its general propaganda and ideological political activity among the masses, the Party will systematically, concretely and constantly popularise the fundamental slogans of People's Democracy—basic agrarian reforms with distribution of land to the peasants *gratis*, the confiscation of British capital and establishment of a democratic state—and emphasise the necessity of a Government of People's Democracy.

The attainment of political freedom by India and the leading position of the bourgeoisie in the Indian State do not alter the basic objective and basic strategy of the Indian Revolution. It is the establishment of a Government of People's Democracy—which includes all the democratic classes, including the national bourgeoisie, and is led by the working class—that will bring the democratic revolution to completion. The People's Democratic Government will not only complete the tasks of democratic revolution, but also put the country on the

path to socialism—the only correct path, in the present epoch, for the advance of every country. Therefore, while resolutely fighting for every progress that can be made under the present conditions, the Communist Party will carry on mass propaganda in favour of People's Democracy and Socialism.

VI. For Overcoming the Division among the Democratic Masses

The immediate programme which the Communist Party places before the country is a programme whose implementation would lead to the strengthening of national freedom, rebuilding of national economy, improvement in the condition of the people and strengthening of the forces of democracy in our economic, political and social life.

It would consolidate national unity and enable India to play an ever more important role in world affairs. The Communist Party will, therefore, strive to build the broadest united front of all patriotic and democratic forces for the adoption and implementation of this programme and for concrete policies and measures and struggles related to it.

Not merely is such unity an urgent necessity but the political situation in the country is favourable for its realisation.

The emergence of India as a world power and her role in world affairs have strengthened the urge among patriotic forces for bold and far-reaching measures in the internal sphere—measures that would liquidate the legacy of the colonial order and ensure national advance in every sphere. It has become evident to all that the menace to Indian freedom will remain as long as the country's economy remains weak. Developments in the world arena, growing contact with the socialist world, the massive achievements of socialism in the USSR and vivid demonstration of the advance made by China are having a powerful impact on the minds of our people. They are giving an impetus to radical, democratic and socialistic ideas. They are underlining the need for unity of democratic forces, for policies of national advance.

Democratic forces in India stand divided. The most

important division is that between the democratic forces that follow the Congress on the one hand and the masses that follow the democratic opposition parties on the other. Further, the democratic opposition itself is divided—mainly among the masses that follow the Communist Party, Praja Socialist Party and the Socialist Party. Besides, there is a vast mass of unorganised people which is not lined up behind any of the political parties. These divisions manifest themselves in every class in Indian society. But in the recent period, significant advance has been made in the direction of overcoming these divisions. In the campaign against the U.S.-Pak Pact and the aggressive plans of the imperialists, in the mighty welcome accorded to the Soviet leaders, masses of all parties have come together. Among masses of all parties, the desire and urge are growing for unity, for resistance to and struggle against the offensive of the vested interests and the Government, for national reconstruction, for reforms and democracy. United struggles are growing in scope and intensity.

The Congress is trying to consolidate its position by utilising the radical, democratic and anti-imperialist sentiments of the people, as well as their urge for national reconstruction, and also by forging unity with such landlords and other reactionary elements as were opposed to it in the past. It has attained a measure of success in this. The limited gains under the First Five-Year Plan, the easing of the food situation, the proposal for industrialisation under the Second Plan and the talks of socialist pattern of society, have given rise to hopes and illusions. These, together with the prestige that India has acquired as the result of her foreign policy are being utilised by the Congress for its strengthening.

Nevertheless, as events have shown, this consolidation of the Congress is of an extremely uneven and partial character, and rests on unstable foundations. The actual practices of the Government, belying its claims in many spheres, give rise to sharp criticism. The measures of the Government, often running counter to the very sentiments that the Government strives to utilise, its deeds frustrating the very expectations that its

~~promises~~ ~~raise~~, give rise to mass opposition and intensifies ~~the conflict inside the Congress~~—sometimes forcing the Government to retreat from its earlier position.

Among the members and masses of the Congress, sentiments of peace and anti-imperialism, of friendship with the USSR and China, of democracy and socialism, for radical reforms in order to carry out the task of national reconstruction, have made significant headway.

The adoption of socialism as its declared goal by the Congress has to be viewed in this context. On the one hand, it is an attempt by the bourgeoisie to camouflage the real character of its policies, mislead the masses and use their radical sentiments for consolidation of its own class rule. But it is also an indication of the growing power and attraction of the ideas of socialism—a development which the ruling class cannot ignore. Further, it has radical implications. The very declaration of socialism as a goal acts as a radicalising force. It strengthens the Leftward swing among Congressmen, Congress masses and people in general, gives impetus to the demand for democratic reforms. While the mass of Congressmen enthusiastically supports those policies of the Government that help to strengthen national freedom, national economy and benefit the people, it is growing critical of anti-people, undemocratic policies and of the divergence between the declared aim of socialism and the actual practice. Many members of the Congress and the masses following them have not only opposed the anti-democratic measures and policies of the Government in words, but joined hands with parties and masses outside the Congress in common struggles. On the issue of Goa, on the issue of linguistic states and opposition to merger proposals, on the issue of opposition to tax burdens as well as in relation to struggles for civil liberties, the country has seen powerful united campaigns in which members and masses of the Congress have played a significant role. Inside the Parliament and State Legislatures on several issues connected with the task of national reconstruction, many Congressmen today voice the

same sentiments as the parties of the democratic opposition, although party discipline prevents them from exercising their votes in the manner they would desire.

Among parties of the democratic opposition of which the Communist Party, the Praja Socialist Party and the Socialist Party are the most important, consciousness of the necessity of unity has grown and has led to united action on many issues related to the defence of the interests of the people, civil liberties, liberation of Goa, linguistic provinces as well as elections.

The barriers that divided the democratic masses and elements of different parties are slowly being overcome. Contacts have grown between the Communist Party on the one hand and the Praja Socialist Party and the Socialist Party on the other, between the democratic elements inside the Congress on the one hand and the democratic forces outside the Congress on the other.

Struggles of the masses have been growing in all parts of the country and bringing about popular unity on an increasingly broader scale. They are having powerful impact on the consciousness of the people, giving concrete expression to the growing spirit of protest and resistance against reactionary policies and measures, strengthening unity, facilitating radicalisation.

The recent period has witnessed united struggles of the working class on a big scale in many parts of the country, struggles during which workers belonging to different trade unions and vast number of unorganised workers, united in defence of their common interests, heroically fought for their demands against the capitalists and against the repressive measures of the Government. A significant feature of these struggles was the participation of workers following the INTUC as well as several INTUC unions. These struggles evoked general sympathy and support from broad democratic masses. In many cases, important concessions were won demonstrating the power of unity. The struggles of the working class have not been confined to the economic plane alone. In the

campaign for the liberation of Goa, in the fight for Linguistic States, in the struggle for civil liberties, the working class in many centres played a leading role, exercising great influence on all classes and sections and powerfully strengthening the popular movement.

The determined struggles waged by the kisans against evictions, against mounting tax burdens, for land, the struggle of agricultural workers for adequate wages and for land, aided by the growth of radical and democratic sentiments in the country, have not only won many victories but are having an impact inside the Congress itself. This is reflected in the agrarian proposals of the Second Five-Year Plan and in the proposals of the Land Reforms Panel.

All these are developments of immense importance for the democratic movement and open out vast possibilities. They are creating conditions for forging the broadest unity of the Indian people. This unity, in the existing situation, has to be a unity of the democratic and patriotic forces in all parties, of all those who are desirous of progress. It has to be directed towards the strengthening and acceleration of the progressive policies of the Government, while combating the anti-people and undemocratic policies and measures which still predominate in the internal sphere, with a view to modify and reverse them. It has to be unity for the adoption and implementation of measures and policies which are in the interests of our country and our people. It has to be unity for a move to the Left.

For the building of such unity, it is essential to adopt a correct attitude towards the political parties in the country, especially parties which have a considerable mass following.

Although the Congress is the political party of the bourgeoisie which has taken many landlords in its fold, it has among its members a vast number of democratic elements. It has an anti-imperialist and democratic tradition. Recent measures of the Government and its promises have helped the Congress to rehabilitate its position even among some sections that were moving away from it. Simultaneously, there has

been a growth of radical and democratic sentiments inside the Congress and among masses following the Congress.

Our approach towards the Congress and the method of criticism of its political policies have to be such as to take into account all these factors. They have to be such as do not repel honest Congressmen but draw them towards unity. They have to be such as to strengthen the fight for democratic policies inside the Congress itself, strengthen the forces that, however haltingly, are taking a relatively progressive stand.

The Indian National Congress is the ruling party. In the struggle against compromise with imperialist and feudal interests, in the struggle against the powers of the bureaucracy and police and for extension of democracy, it is against the policies of the Government and the Congress that people have to fight. In these circumstances, no question, therefore, arises of a general united front with the Congress.

From this, however, it should not be concluded that the democratic front will be an anti-Congress front. This is so not merely because of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks which we are faced with, but also because of the composition of the Congress.

The composition and character of the Socialist Party and the Praja Socialist Party vary from State to State. Nevertheless, broadly speaking, they can be described as parties of the democratic opposition. The mass support they have secured is mainly on the basis of democratic opposition to the policies of the Government and in the name of socialism. The cadres of these parties are socialist-minded.

Till recently, the dominant leadership of the PSP (which included the Socialist Party also) pursued policies of violent denunciation of the USSR and China, of opposition to the movement for peace, of refusal to build democratic unity in the name of anti-Communism, of attempt to secure agreement with the Congress. The errors of these policies are becoming evident to the members of the PSP and the Socialist Party and has resulted, during the last one year, in the modification of such policies to some extent in several States.

On a number of issues and in several campaigns and struggles, these parties have joined hands with the Communist Party and other democratic forces. Our Party will make every endeavour to consolidate and carry forward this process. The coming together of Left parties helps to unite the advanced sections of the masses and is a factor of great importance for mass struggles as well as electoral contests.

The unity that the Communist Party strives to build is democratic unity. Such being the case, the attitude to be adopted towards communal parties, parties that divide the masses on religious basis must be an attitude of uncompromising opposition to their disruptive communal ideologies and reactionary policies. The Communist Party will have no united front with them in any elections. At the same time, it will strive to draw the masses and individuals following these parties into common struggle and common activity. The Party will at the same time defend and campaign for the legitimate demands of the minority communities.

The Communist Party will initiate a nation-wide campaign for concrete policies and measures which help to strengthen the freedom and independence of India, to rebuild national economy and improve the condition of our people. An essential part of such campaign is the establishment of unity of action of masses in defence of their immediate interests and for the extension of their democratic rights.

The task of organising mass resistance against attacks on the people and for immediate improvement in their living conditions, solidarity actions, struggle for civil liberties and democratic rights are of exceptional significance. By conducting such struggles, we defend the interests of the people, consolidate their organisation and unity and also help the strengthening of those forces in the Congress that desire to develop our economy by attacking the positions of British capital, landlordism and monopoly interests.

It is through these struggles, as well as activity and campaigns for democratic demands that masses of different parties come together, become conscious of the need for unity,

of the power of unity and win concessions. It is through these struggles that their morale is heightened, popular support evoked and the attack of the Government and the vested interests repulsed. It is through these struggles that conditions are created for the building of united organisations which are of vital importance for the consolidation of the democratic forces and for its strengthening.

It is necessary that whenever possible such mass struggles are conducted through broad united committees representing the unity of the fighting masses.

These mass struggles also bring to the forefront the question of governmental policies—agrarian, labour, civil liberties, taxation, etc. They strengthen the movement against reactionary policies and forge mass unity for the adoption and implementation of progressive policies.

Essential though such struggles are for forging ahead of the democratic movement, they by themselves are not enough. They have to be combined with :

- i) Struggle for broadening of the mass movement for peace, for friendship with the USSR, China and other socialist countries, for Asian unity and against military pacts and for strengthening of relations with the socialist world market.
- ii) Sustained and continuous mass campaign for popular policies for national reconstruction.
- iii) Correct united front tactics to overcome the division in the democratic movement and to end division in the working class.
- iv) Sustained mass activity in all spheres, of which participation in and securing of maximum benefits from Government schemes and projects are essential parts.
- v) Vigorous efforts to secure equal rights for women and effective intervention in the realm of culture, health etc.
- vi) Extension and strengthening of the mass organisations.
- vii) Building a mass Communist Party.

Only if all these tasks are carried out simultaneously and

mass struggles waged as an integral part of such activity, will it be possible to extend and strengthen the democratic front continuously, to co-ordinate partial struggles and transform them into a mass political movement—powerful enough to defeat the anti-people policies of the Government and make possible the adoption of progressive policies. Failure to carry out these tasks weakens the immediate struggles themselves, these struggles remaining on a local sectional plane, evoking sympathy and admiration when fought heroically, winning some demands but unable to create a powerful impact on the democratic movement as a whole, unable to strengthen and broaden it.

A serious weakness of the democratic movement is the continuing disunity in the working class, which is split in rival and parallel trade unions with affiliations to different all-India trade union centres. It must be noted that the struggle for trade-union and working-class unity has registered significant progress. The growth of working-class struggles against the offensive of the employers has helped to strengthen working-class unity in action.

The formation of several all-India trade federations, embracing all sections of workers irrespective of their political affiliations, the merger of rival unions in important centres, the formation of joint committees for defending the interests of the workers in several centres, are all concrete manifestations of this growing urge for unity.

The growing friendly relations between our country and China and the Soviet Union, the increasing exchange of trade union delegations between India and the Soviet Union and between India and China, have all helped to combat anti-Communist prejudices. They also help in intensifying the urge for unity. Conditions have matured for taking the struggle for trade-union unity to a new and higher level.

In the face of these developments, the ruling class is making more determined efforts to weaken and wipe out the independent trade-union movement. But today it seeks to camouflage its offensive under the slogan of trade-union unity.

Actually, it seeks to impose by law regimented trade unions on the working class, which would carry out the policies of the ruling class and check the growth of resistance of the workers to the anti-working-class policies of the Government and the offensive of the employers.

However, the recent agreement between the two wings of the Railway Workers' Federation, the emergence of single federation of Post and Telegraph employees, defence workers and employees are all serious blows against this policy.

The unity of the Railwaymen's Federation and other federations has created a favourable situation for carrying the struggle for unity of the existing trade unions in various centres on the basis of the principle of one union for one industry and on the basis of democratic elections of office-bearers and committees of unions and also for the creation of a single all-India trade union centre. The most urgent need of the hour is to carry on a sustained campaign for such unity.

The spread of democratic and progressive ideas in all classes of the people has its repercussions on the working class in a very pronounced manner. The more the working class moves in the democratic movement, the more it allies itself with all progressive and democratic forces in the country.

The struggle for the working class unity cannot be successfully waged without a determined struggle to prevent the imposition of Black Laws on the working class.

The struggle against the offensive of the capitalists and the Government, the fight for better conditions of life, must get intertwined with the general tasks of the democratic movement enumerated before. This not only unifies the working class but also gets broad popular support for its demands and fights which are part and parcel of the struggle of the Indian people for a better livelihood, for democratic liberties, for national reconstruction, etc. The relation between unity, struggle and general democratic movement must be viewed in this light.

In particular, it must constantly be explained how the fulfilment of the demands of the working class is essential

for carrying out the reconstruction of our economy. This becomes all the more urgent today in view of the offensive of the employers and the Government against the working class in the name of national reconstruction through such measures as rationalisation and increased workload.

Thus the attempt of the Government to disrupt and split the working class, to regiment or bluff it in the name of national reconstruction, and to pit the public against the class, will be foiled. This will also enable the class to intervene in and utilise measures and legislation brought forward by the Government.

The working class has in some sectors wrested concessions from the Government and the employers. A unified working class can further wrest important concessions not only for itself but also act as the spearhead of democratic movement more and more in the coming period.

In this situation, the task of forging trade-union unity in the form of creating united central trade-union organisations on the basis of trade-union democracy and industry-wise federations on an all-India basis, and the formation of one union in one industry, becomes more urgent than ever before. The democratic functioning of trade unions at all levels is of utmost importance.

An equally serious weakness, a weakness which keeps the whole democratic movement at a low level, is the inadequate political consciousness even among workers who are under the influence of the Party. This comes in the way of moving them into action on a big scale on such broad democratic issues as peace, civil liberties, support to the demands of the peasants and other classes. The overcoming of this weakness is one of the most important tasks before the Party.

An important factor in the democratic movement is the growing urge amongst middle-class employees to organise themselves into trade unions and to take to new and more militant forms of struggle hitherto confined to the working class. They are faced today with problems similar to those faced by the working class—inadequate wages, retrenchment,

victimisation, growing unemployment and starvation. A further feature to be noted is the growing radicalisation of these sections due to the anti-people, anti-democratic policies of the Government. We have to resolutely defend their interests and help to strengthen their organisations thereby drawing them into the democratic movement in unity with the working class.

Employees (teachers, clerks and others) face many problems similar to the working class—inadequate wages, retrenchment, menace of unemployment and starvation. We have to defend their interest and help to strengthen their organisations.

The development of peasant struggles against evictions, heavy taxes and for adequate prices and agricultural loans as well as struggles of agricultural workers for minimum wage and for land, have made significant headway in the recent period and registered several victories. With growing deterioration in the condition of the mass of the peasantry, these struggles assume great importance throughout the country. Special stress has to be laid on the task of further extending and strengthening of the kisan sabhas and agricultural workers' unions.

A serious weakness still persisting in building of the democratic front is inability to lead solidarity movements in a proper and consistent manner between the working class and the peasantry. Therefore, the Communist Party is to give serious attention to the building of such solidarity movements and unity of the working class and the peasantry, which would be the main basis of the united democratic front.

The Party has to defend resolutely the interests of the oppressed masses—the working class, the agricultural labourers, the poor and middle peasants, the artisans and urban middle classes, who are the worst suffers under Congress rule. It is they who form the majority of our people and, therefore must constitute the firm basis and the main force of the democratic movement at all stages of its development. The Party must simultaneously champion the just demands of the rich peasants and of the small manufacturers and

businessmen. In order to strengthen and advance the struggle of our people to achieve economic independence, the Party will support the national bourgeoisie against foreign competition and in whatever effort it may take to overcome economic dependence.

The Party shall initiate such campaigns and struggles as would unite the people on such issues as opposition to unjust taxation, defence of civil liberties and democratic rights, protection to national industries against foreign competition. The Party shall initiate campaigns on concrete proposals regarding the Plan and targets as well as for the implementation of the Government projects and schemes in a manner most advantageous to the masses.

Women who constitute half of the population of the country and who can be a potential force for the democratic movement and for the fulfilment of the national tasks facing the country, still suffer under heavy social and economic disabilities. The Communist Party must effectively fight against these and for equal rights of women not only through Parliamentary enactments but also through ideological struggle for changing the consciousness of the people. The Party should also strive that women come into an organised women's movement, united on the basis of the tasks that face it.

The Party has to pay serious attention to the problems facing the youth and students. It has to unfold activity on the widest scale, in co-operation with all sections and elements, to fight the menace of flood and famine to combat unemployment and poverty, disease and illiteracy, making use of all measures of the Government and existing laws. It has to constantly strengthen the mass movement for peace and draw into it all patriotic and peace-loving Indians belonging to all parties.

The tendency to keep away from schemes and projects sponsored or run by the Government, though far less than before, still persists in several areas. This must be completely eliminated. We have to participate in them, active by and effectively combat corruption, inefficiency and bureaucratic practices, help to implement and run them in such a way that

maximum benefit is secured for the people. At the same time, we must take initiative in formulating popular schemes and plans. These schemes and projects are also important means to forge unity of all progressive elements, irrespective of the parties to which they belong, for serving the people. This must become an important part of the activity of the Party and of the mass organisations where we work.

The struggle for democratisation of local bodies assumes great importance today. The Government at the Centre and in the States entrusts the administration more and more to officials in preference to the local elected bodies. Even the existing powers of such bodies are being curtailed. The Communist Party will fight against all forms of bureaucratic control and interference in local administration and it shall strive for ensuring such administration democratically through elected popular bodies. Administration through local elected bodies offers great opportunities to attend to the needs of the people and defend their interests.

It is only through such sustained and all-sided activity, combined with ideological-political work, that the mass organisations can be strengthened and the most militant and self-sacrificing elements drawn into the Party, making possible its growth into a mass Party—essential for the development of the democratic front.

Ideological-political work among the broad masses is an essential weapon for the forging of mass unity. Such ideological-political work has assumed great importance today for consolidating the popular forces which are moved by the democratic and socialist sentiments, for combating the intensified propaganda drive by the Government and the Congress, for eliminating the vicious influence of communal reaction. Development of popular cultural activity must play an important role in strengthening ideological-political work.

The Government and the ruling party, the Congress, no longer able to deny the necessity for radical reforms, preach that these reforms can be brought about without mass struggles and the strengthening of the mass movement. They denounce

class struggle as something alien to Indian traditions, while supporting the vested interests in their offensive against the people. They foster belief in changes being brought about from top, through governmental action alone, slowly, with the "consent of all". They denounce all militant action, all popular resistance as anarchy.

The communal reactionaries raise false issues, fan hatred and disrupt the unity of the people.

Patient, sustained ideological work, carried on not merely through the press and platform, but by each Party member, each militant in day-to-day contact with non-Party masses has to be undertaken in all parts of the country and by every Party unit. This task is an integral part of the task of building the democratic front.

The carrying out of all these tasks, the growth of the mass movement and of the consciousness and fighting unity of the masses can help to bring about in States, where the democratic forces are strong, such conditions as make it possible to raise as a practical slogan, the establishment of an alternative government capable of carrying out a minimum programme. Where the democratic movement and Party attain sufficient strength, it will be particularly necessary to bring forward this as the central slogan in the general elections.

Such a government, wherever formed, will defend the interests and rights of the people, carrying out maximum possible reforms under the given conditions, inspire and help to carry forward the democratic movement and strengthen the fight for peace. In States where it is not possible to conduct election battles on the slogan of such a government, the Party will strive for strengthening the democratic opposition inside the Legislatures as an essential task for carrying forward the democratic movement. The strengthening of the democratic opposition inside the Parliament and the State Legislatures requires that our Party secures a strong position as a constituent of the democratic opposition.

The objectives that the Communist Party puts forward and the policies and measures it advocates correspond to the

interest of our country and our people. The Party, therefore, will do its utmost to unite the masses of all political parties and all sections of our people for support to these policies and measures and for the realisation of this objective. The Party is confident that in this truly national task, it will secure the co-operation of all patriotic and revolutionary forces inside the country.

THE IMMEDIATE PROGRAMME

(Appendix to the Political Resolution of the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of India)

The Communist Party places before the people the following immediate programme whose realisation would strengthen our national independence and help all-round development of our national economy:

- i) Against the danger of war, for the prohibition of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction and for disarmament.
- ii) Against military pacts, especially the SEATO and Baghdad Pact.
- iii) For strengthening Asian solidarity and for a pact of collective peace for Asia and the Pacific Region.
- iv) For restoring to the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights in the United Nations; for strengthening the bonds of friendship and co-operation with the USSR and China in all fields—economic and cultural, and international issues on the basis of the Panch Shila.
- v) For full support to the colonial peoples' struggle against imperialism.
- vi) For effective measures for the liberation of Goa.
- vii) For improvement of relations with Pakistan, for settlement of outstanding issues through methods of peaceful and friendly negotiations; for a no-war pact; for re-establishing economic relations between India and Pakistan dislocated by partition; for removing all barriers that stand in the way of mutually beneficial relations between our two peoples and for promotion

of cultural and other activities which strengthen the bonds of brotherly relations between them.

viii) For break with the British Commonwealth.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION AND STRENGTHENING OF OUR INDEPENDENCE

a) Industry

i) Priority to development of heavy and basic industries, which includes iron and steel, machine-making, including fabrication of steel plants, heavy chemicals, oil, coal, minerals and power, which should be in the State sector.

ii) Protection to national industries against foreign competition.

iii) Location of industries should be so arranged that while taking into account natural advantages, balanced development of various regions is provided for. In backward States where private capital cannot be mobilised even for large-scale light industries, these should be undertaken by the State.

iv) Development of armaments, aircraft and shipbuilding industries by the State with a view to strengthen our national independence.

v) Pending the development of heavy and basic industries, increased consumer demands should be met, as far as possible, by maximum utilisation of existing capacities in organised industries and by encouragement of small-scale and village industries.

b) Resources

i) In order to augment the resources for national reconstruction, certain industries and undertakings should be nationalised. To begin with, banking, general insurance, coalmining as a whole, aluminium industry, manganese, copper, iron and gold-mining as well as British controlled jute mills and plantations, should be immediately nationalised.

ii) Impose a ceiling on export of profits and take over profits in excess of the ceiling as compulsory loan.

iii) Impose a ceiling on profits of all big industries and commercial undertakings and take over profits in excess as compulsory loan.

iv) These, together with the reserves of large companies to form a National Development Pool, to be invested in the State and private sectors in accordance with national needs.

v) State monopoly of foreign trade in the principal commodities. This would give the State the profits from such trade. It also enables it to diversify our foreign trade and develop it on the basis of mutual advantage. Further promotion of State trading in the internal market.

vi) Heavier taxation on corporation profits, tax on personal wealth and tax on capital gains. Steeply graded income-tax and fixation of ceilings on personal and family incomes.

vii) Postponement of payment of compensation to big landlords.

viii) Cancellation of Privy Purse to Princes.

ix) Requisition of the hoarded wealth of the Princes as compulsory loans.

x) Reduction of the salaries and allowances of highly-paid officials.

xi) Energetic drive against evasion of income-tax and corporation-tax and full realisation of these.

xii) Drive against wastage in projects and Government undertakings.

c) Peasants

i) Immediate carrying out of urgent agrarian reforms and substantial reduction of the burden of the rents and usurious interests.

ii) Immediate fixation of ceiling on landholdings and distribution, without any payment, of the land in excess to the agricultural labour and peasants.

iii) Setting up agricultural labour and peasant committees to implement land reforms.

iv) Planned free distribution of all Government cultivable waste land to poor peasants and agricultural labourers within

a period of three years and State aid for bringing these under cultivation.

v) Substantial scaling down of debts owed by peasants to landlords and moneylenders by cancellation of unconscionable debts. Arrangements for the liquidation of remaining debts in easy instalments spread over a number of years. Setting up of Debt Conciliation Boards for this purpose.

vi) Wide extension of co-operatives for rural credit, marketing of produce as well as for supply of agricultural machinery and implements, fertilisers, etc. The existing co-operative law to be drastically amended in a democratic direction, by drastically curtailing the powers of the bureaucratic officials of the co-operative department.

vii) Cancellation of debts owed by agricultural labourers to landlords and moneylenders. Fixation of minimum wage for agricultural labour and its enforcement, by encouraging the organisations of agricultural labourers and securing their co-operation.

viii) Guaranteeing of a fair price to the peasants for their produce.

d) Irrigation

In addition to the major projects, numerous minor projects should be undertaken. The outlook that irrigation projects can be undertaken only if it yields a return on investments above the bank rate should be given up. The benefits that they confer on the peasants should be the only criterion.

Where the Government supplies electricity or installs tube-well, the cost of installation should be borne entirely by the Government. Water-rates should be brought down to a level that is within the reach of the peasants.

e) Working Class

i) The present rationalisation drive in the major industries like jute and cotton textiles, in the name of stepping up exports, should be stopped.

ii) The present policy of wage-freeze should be given up.

A national minimum wage should be fixed and workers should be assisted in securing fair wages which should be above the national minimum in the various industries and regions.

iii) Pending such fixation, an immediate increase by 25 per cent to all workers' wages in view of the increased productivity of labour. The dearness allowance should be amalgamated with basic wages.

iv) Social insurance schemes to be rapidly extended to cover all industries and types of benefits and not merely confined to health. The benefit of the present health insurance scheme should be extended to the workers' family members.

v) Provision for unemployment benefits.

vi) Housing problem to be energetically tackled through specialised agencies at all levels in which the workers themselves may play the decisive role.

vii) Right to bonus.

f) Education

i) Free and compulsory elementary education up to the age of 14 years.

ii) Our entire system of education must be reorganised. Since rapid industrialisation of our country is the objective, the pattern of education should conform to this aim. Adequate provision for technical and scientific education on a large scale should be made.

iii) Education at all levels including the University standards should be in the regional language or languages. The study of Hindi should be encouraged as the language of the Union Government and for communication between Government and people of different States. Provision should be made to teach minorities where they are in considerable number in their mother tongue up to the end of secondary stage. Adequate safeguards for Urdu language and script and provision for imparting education in Urdu for Urdu-speaking population.

vi) Ensuring academic and democratic rights for students and teachers.

v) Adequate salaries for all teachers.

g) Health Services

i) Adequate medical service and maternity homes both in the cities and the countryside.

ii) Arrangement for supply of drinking water to all localities.

h) Extension of Democracy

The initiative and creative energies of our people cannot be unleashed on a big scale without taking long strides in extending democracy. Experience has shown that bureaucratic administration of our projects leads to inefficiency, corruption and wastefulness. Entrusting the bureaucrats with land reform and such measures beneficial to the people often leads to their sabotage. The initiative of the masses cannot be unleashed with growing attacks on their civil liberties and democratic rights.

Hence it is necessary to :

i) Democratic the State structure; abolish Upper Houses in the Legislatures; introduce proportional representation in all elections, right of recall, secret ballot even for Panchayat elections; and official at various levels to be under the control of elected local bodies.

Union territories, as long as they continue, must have a democratic set-up and not be administered by Commissioners with nominated Advisory Councils.

ii) Ensure the right to organise, hold meetings and demonstrations and for this purpose repeal all repressive laws and measures, including Preventive Detention Act, ban on meetings, processions and demonstrations.

iii) Drastically revise the Police Code, curtailing the powers of the police to arrest, shoot, lathi-charge and ban meetings and processions.

iv) Repeal the Dramatic Performances Act of 1876, end police censorship of plays, restrictions on renting of halls etc.

v) Prevent imposition of regimented trade unions on the workers. Repeal of legislation which encourages regimentation; active encouragement to trade unions to unite and form

one trade union in each industry or undertaking on the basis of internal trade-union democracy.

vi) Recognise trade unions and the right of collective bargaining through trade unions.

vii) Assure trade union rights to workers. The National Security and Safeguarding Rules under which workers in Government undertakings and departments are arbitrarily and summarily dismissed, must be repealed. Declaration of areas like Chittaranjan and Hirakud as prohibited areas must be rescinded.

viii) Give workers and employees an effective voice in the management and direction of industrial enterprises. Committees of elected representatives of workers and employees should be recognised on an equal footing with the administration and should have positions of authority and responsibility.

ix) Entrust trade unions with the management and administration of Employees' State Insurance and other social amenity schemes.

x) Make substantial financial provisions for the material and cultural uplift of backward elements of our society like Harijans, Scheduled Castes, Adivasis.

xi) Ensure equal rights to women—inheritance including the right to own land, for equal pay for equal work, maternity leave and maternity benefits, creches for children, no discrimination on account of sex or marriage in the matter of employment; and substantial provision in the social welfare schemes of the Government for welfare of children and social, educational, cultural and economic advancement of women.

xii) Provide refugees with gainful employment and rehabilitate them in life.

xiii) Associate, with an effective voice, in rural areas the kisan sabhas and organisations of agricultural labour, in the implementation of agrarian reforms, in the execution of local development schemes.

xiv) Vest the local organs of the people like Village Panchayats, Local Boards and Municipalities with powers to discharge their responsibilities. The power of government

officials should be curtailed so that they function as the servants of the elected representatives of the people in the local boards.

xv) Entrust all local developmental work, such as Community Project Scheme, NES, etc., to the Panchayats and reduce the present high administrative cost.

xvi) Launch an energetic drive against corruption.

xvii) Separate the judiciary from the executive.

Report to the Fourth Party Congress

Placed by the Central Committee of the
C.P.I. for Discussion by the Delegates of the Party
Congress held at Palghat from 19–29 April, 1956

Comrades,

Events and developments of great importance have taken place in our country since the Third Congress of the Party which met at Madurai in December 1953. The task facing us at this Congress is to assess these events and developments, assess our own role in them, assess our achievements and failures. The task is to generalise the rich experience of this period, of the struggles, campaigns and activities conducted by the Party and the democratic forces, draw correct lessons from them and arm the entire Party with these lessons so as to enable it to discharge the tremendous duties and responsibilities that confront it today.

The deliberations of this Congress acquire especial significance in view of the situation prevailing inside the Party. The discussions that have preceded the Congress have brought to the surface the sharp differences that exist inside the Party on vital issues. These differences have to be resolved and the Party unified—not merely on the basis of certain formulations related to the controversies that have arisen, but also, and above all, on the basis of a unified understanding of *the happenings of this period* and their lessons, on the basis of a unified understanding of the *practical tasks* facing the Party in the sphere of mass activity and of Party organisation.

Such are the tasks confronting the Fourth Congress of our Party which is a major event in the life of our country, our class and our people.

But we have to realise at the very outset that the circumstances under which the Congress is meeting made it impossible for us to carry out these tasks satisfactorily. Very few provincial committees reviewed the struggles, campaigns and activities conducted by them during the last two years. And even in cases when they did so, most of the reports have not been received by the Party Centre. Secondly, the Party Congress meets only a few weeks after the Provincial Conferences which makes it impossible for the Central Committee to study and assimilate their reports. These, however, are not the only or even the main reasons. The most important single reason is that the Central Committee itself has not, during the last two years, carried out its tasks in relation to the activities of the Party—review them, draw lessons from them. The reasons are known to all comrades—inner-CC differences which paralysed its work and prevented it from discharging its responsibilities.

The inability of the Party Congress to carry out the tasks which a Party Congress is expected to carry out is thus, above all, a direct result of the situation that prevails in the Central Committee and in the leading units of the Party. It is a product and a reflection of the present inner-Party situation. The Congress has to examine how this situation developed, why it could not be remedied. This is a task of major importance

But the Party Congress cannot *confine* itself to this task alone. It has to review, in a broad and general way, the main developments of this period and our rôle in them.

MAIN FEATURES OF THE PERIOD SINCE THE MADURAI CONGRESS

Advance of the Forces of Peace, Freedom, Democracy and Socialism

Recent years have witnessed a mighty advance of the forces of peace, democracy, freedom and socialism on a world scale.

The emergence of socialism as a world system, its massive achievements, the powerful attraction of the ideas of socialism among the working people and progressive elements in all classes; the bold measures taken by the USSR, People's Republic of China and other socialist countries in furthering the cause of peace; the demonstration of the incontestable superiority of socialism over capitalist system which is in the grip of an ever-deepening crisis; the disintegration of the colonial system, the formation of independent States in vast areas of Asia and Africa and the resolute struggle in defence of freedom and peace waged by India and a number of former colonial countries; the creation of a vast zone of peace embracing the socialist and a large number of non-socialist countries; the growing friendship and closer relation between the socialist world and the liberated peoples of the East; the consolidation and strengthening of Communist Parties which are rallying increasingly larger sections of the people under their banner; the ever-widening sweep of the movement for peace—all these have radically altered the balance of world forces and have created firm foundation for further advance.

The slogans of the democratic camp, the slogans of the organised peace movement—that the Heads of the Great Powers must meet, that the disputes between States must be solved by methods of negotiation, that weapons of mass destruction must be banned, that People's Republic of China must be accorded its rightful place in the United Nations—these have become the slogans of the masses of the people of all countries and all political views. The aggressive imperialist camp headed by the USA faces a situation of growing moral and political isolation, of increasing fiasco of their policies. The lessening of international tension, an objective for which peace-loving humanity strove, an objective which at times seemed to many to be unrealisable, has become a fact, a palpable reality.

The great principle enunciated by Lenin—the principle of peaceful co-existence and of friendship between nations—

has achieved historic victories. The possibility has been created for preservation of peace and prevention of war.

Two years ago, we met at Madurai in the shadow of a grave menace—the menace represented by the Pak-U.S. Pact. It was a threat to peace in Asia. It was a threat to Indian sovereignty and freedom. It showed that the American drive for world domination was directed not merely against the USSR and China but against the freedom of every country. It gave a big blow to the illusion that if India kept out of the cold war and avoided the “taking of sides” her sovereignty would not be threatened. It thus brought out the inseparable relation between peace and national freedom.

In the period that has passed since then, this inseparability has steadily grown not merely in our country but everywhere, especially in all countries of Asia. In every country of Asia where the ruling classes have succumbed to the pressure of the Anglo-American imperialists and joined them in their war drive, the cause of national freedom and democracy has suffered a serious setback. The finalisation of the Pak-U.S. Pact which reduced Pakistan to an American war base was followed by the suppression of democracy in East Pakistan and the imposition of new burdens on the people. On the other hand, every country which has resisted the war drive, every country where the people and the Government have unitedly opposed the attempts of the imperialists to draw them into their war alliances—every such country has not merely defended but simultaneously strengthened its national freedom, built relations of friendship with other Asian countries, with the socialist world and has been able to take certain steps towards the strengthening of its national economy.

The process of the consolidation of the forces of peace, democracy and freedom, has been carried forward to a new stage by the growth of relations of friendship between the three greatest countries of the world—India, China and USSR.

The visit of Chou En-lai to India, the visit of Nehru to China and the USSR, the visit of N.A. Bulganin and N.S. Khrushchov to India—these were no ordinary events. They

struck heavy blows against the lies and slanders by which the imperialists had sought to poison the mind of our people. They showed to India who are her friends and who are her enemies. They symbolised the coming together of more than half of mankind for a common purpose—defence of peace. They proved that differences in political and social systems constitute no barrier to the establishment of fraternal relations between countries. They proclaimed the triumph of the ideas of the historic Five Principles.

The memorable scenes that India witnessed on the occasion of the visit of the Soviet leaders, scenes that are still fresh in the memory of all of us, are a striking demonstration of the gigantic sweep that the movement inspired by these ideas and principles has attained.

The imperialists at first sought to minimise the significance of the visit of the Soviet leaders to India and the tumultuous reception they received from the mass of the people. But their scepticism soon gave way to panic. The facts were too obvious, too glaring. That precisely in the month when the imperialist rulers of Britain, backed by America were forging the Baghdad Pact by which Asian unity was being sought to be disrupted and military threat against Asian people was being mounted—precisely in the same month, the Soviet leaders were reinforcing a different kind of tie with the Asian peoples, the tie of friendship, the tie of economic relations, the tie of peace—this fact was one whose significance no amount of lies could hide. That the Soviet pronouncement about Goa was followed by the arrogant declaration by Dulles which underwrote Portugal's "right" to maintain the colonial fascist regime in Goa—the significance of this was too patent to be blurred by diplomatic sophistry. The contrast between the two worlds stood out sharp and clear.

The joint communique issued by the leaders of Soviet and Indian Governments, the economic agreement signed between the two countries is an event of great importance for the whole world. It is a great victory for the cause of peace.

All these victories have created the conditions for still

greater victories. Vast possibilities have opened out—possibilities of defeating the plans of the warmongers, possibilities of ensuring of national freedom and its defence, possibilities of a life of happiness and prosperity for all peoples through mutual cooperation and friendship.

This does not, of course, mean that these possibilities have already been realised. It does not mean that the imperialists have already been forced to abandon their aggressive aims and designs. On the contrary, in this very period, the attempt to maintain the colonial system, the attempt to draw the Asian countries into war alliances, the attempt to transform them into satellites and war bases—these attempts have also been stepped up. The last two years have witnessed intensification of the war drive especially in Asia. This is seen in the finalisation of the Pak-U.S. Pact in defiance of Asian opinion, in suppression of democracy in East Pakistan and in terrorist methods against patriotic forces in Iran, in the SEATO and the Baghdad Pact.

But this drive encounters increasing resistance. Of great importance for us, in this connection, are the developments in the colonial and semi-colonial world. Not merely because we were, till recently, a part of this world, not merely because developments there have great impact on our own movement but also because the countries and the peoples of this world are playing a role which is of decisive significance for the whole of humanity. Gone are the days when the Asian and African people, constituting over 60 per cent of humanity could be compelled to act as hewers of wood and drawers of water for their colonial masters. Gone are the days also when they could be treated as cannon-fodders. The national liberation movement in Asia and Africa has reached heights never attained before.

In India and throughout Asia, the struggle for peace is getting more and more closely linked with the struggle for the forging of Asian solidarity—a struggle that expresses the hatred of the Asian people against the colonial powers and their urge for defence and strengthening of national freedom.

The movement has drawn hundreds of millions of people in its sweep. It reflects the new spirit in Asia and in the whole colonial world.

What are the specific features of this movement at this stage? What is their significance and their direction? These for us are extremely important questions.

One of the most important of these features is the strengthening and extension of the struggles in the direct colonies, the assumption by these struggles of the character of wars of national liberation—North African colonies of France, Malaya, East Africa and above all, the historic victory at Dien Bien Phu, its world-wide repercussions.

This feature is self-evident. Also its importance in relation to the colonial people, in relation to the position of imperialism.

But this is not the only aspect of the colonial liberation movement at the present stage. There are other aspects too. And these aspects are also of great importance. Inside our Party there has been a strong tendency not to see these other aspects as part of the national liberation movement of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples but to view them in isolation. This has led to mistakes in tactics. These aspects are:

Increasing assertion of national freedom by several countries that in the post-war period won State sovereignty—above all India, Indonesia and Burma—and by several other countries like Afghanistan and Egypt. Their increasingly firm stand not only against the USA but against colonial powers as a whole. Measures taken by some of these countries to strengthen national economy with the help of the Socialist world.

—The coming together of Asian and African countries, the powerful growth of the sentiment of Asian unity, as symbolised at Bandung.

—The establishment of close political, cultural and economic relations of these Asian and African countries (Egypt) with the Socialist world.

—Growing opposition by the people and even sections of the upper classes to the corrupt and oppressive governments

that have sold themselves to the Anglo-American imperialists and placed their resources and manpower at their disposal—the election results in East Pakistan, the popular demonstrations in Jordan.

— The increasing influence of China in Asian and world affairs despite the American refusal to permit her entry in the UNO. Complete fiasco of US attempts to isolate China.

— The growing prestige and role of India as a great world force for peace—its powerful impact on the colonial world as a whole and in the Middle East in particular.

— The growth of the sentiments of neutrality in a number of Asian countries, such as Saudi Arabia, a sentiment which expresses the urge even of ruling elements to demarcate themselves from the war camp.

— The growth of Communist Parties, and of socialist ideas.

Each one of these and all these together are manifestations of the new spirit in Asia and Africa. Each one of these and all of them together are part of the developing movement of the peoples of the colonial world for full freedom, for advance along the path of independence. They are a continuation and a carrying forward of the national liberation struggle of the colonial peoples.

These developments in the former colonial world, in their totality, signify the disintegration and growing collapse of the entire colonial system. This, in its turn, deepens the crisis of world imperialism, narrows further the area of unrestricted imperialist exploitation, sharpens the contradiction between the imperialist States, between various sections of the ruling classes inside each imperialist State, seriously weakens imperialism and gives tremendous impetus to the world peace movement.

India's Great Role in the Battle for Peace and the Growing Sweep of the Struggle for Defence and Strengthening of National Freedom

This period has seen an immense growth of the forces of peace, freedom and democracy in our country. It has seen

increasing assertion of independence by India and the sharpening of the conflict between the entire Indian people, including the Government on the one hand and the imperialist camp on the other. It has seen increasing assertion of freedom by India, increasingly important role played by India in world affairs, a role that has earned India the respect of all peace-loving people. It has seen the establishment of close relations between India, USSR and China. It has seen the liberation of the French pockets on Indian soil and the mighty growth of the movement for the liberation of Goa and other territories dominated by Portuguese imperialists.

In the period before the Madurai Congress also India had taken a number of steps on important international issues that helped the cause of peace. This we noted at Madurai. We welcomed the "growing bond of friendship and of cultural relations between the people of India on the one hand and the USSR and Chinese People's Republic on the other". We declared that "the conclusion of the recent trade agreement between India and USSR on mutually advantageous terms carries forward this process and can also help to reduce India's dependence on imperialist powers".

Not merely has this process been continued and carried forward, but beginning with the Pak-U.S. Pact which directly threatened India's sovereignty and independence, the foreign policy of the Indian Government has steadily undergone a radical change—a change of far-reaching significance. Earlier, despite its demarcation from and opposition to the imperialists on several issues, it was essentially a policy influenced by British imperialism. Today, despite the vacillations and inconsistencies that still persist to some extent, it is essentially an independent policy, a policy of peace. This is an orientation for which the democratic forces and the Communist Party had been consistently fighting and they rejoice in it as a great victory for the people.

This orientation in the foreign policy has important economic significance also.

The imperialists not merely threaten India's independence.

They also strive to keep her backward and dependent. They deny us the capital goods we need for our development, while forcing us to buy at exorbitant prices the goods they want to dispose off. As against this, the Socialist States have established relations of trade on terms that help to strengthen our national economy. The Soviet proposal for erecting a steel plant in India which has been accepted by the India Government, the Soviet offer for the sharing of experience, the economic agreement concluded during the visit of the Soviet leaders to India—such are the practical results of the economic relations with the Socialist world.

Struggle for Peace—an Essential Aspect of the Struggle for Full Freedom

Life has settled, once and for all, the old controversy that has gone on in our Party for a long time, the controversy over the relation between freedom and peace. For that, we must approach the old controversy in a new way.

Peace is indispensable for our country which after centuries of foreign rule has won freedom and is striving to rebuild its economy. Defence of peace is a task as vitally important for our country as for any other.

The basic struggle in our country is the struggle for the completion of our national liberation. This task will be completed with the confiscation of British capital, the liquidation of feudalism and the establishment of a democratic state led by the working class.

But, our national liberation struggle, in the present historic situation, can be confined to the struggle for the confiscation of British capital and abolition of feudalism. That would be a narrow, restricted concept of the national liberation struggle—a concept that takes into no account the vast changes that are taking place in the world arena and in our own country.

The task of defence of national freedom threatened by the aggressive war drive, the struggle against military blocs, is itself a vital constituent of the national-liberation movement.

Further, every measure that strengthens our national freedom is also a national liberation struggle.

Hence it is that the policy of peace is simultaneously an anti-imperialist policy, a national liberationist policy.

A policy of peace is a policy that sharpens the conflict with the whole imperialist camp, and develops national resistance to imperialism. It leads to the building of Asian unity which is a mighty weapon against the whole colonial regime. It creates conditions for close political, economic and cultural relations with USSR, China and the socialist world in general, which strengthens national freedom and national economy, and advances the cause of national culture. It brings on a common platform all patriotic forces, irrespective of Party loyalties, and thus helps to build national unity. It gives big impetus to the democratic movement whose strengthening is essential for the victory of revolution.

Further, the growing prestige of India in the world, heightens the national pride of the people, strengthens the urge for industrialisation and for national advance in all spheres—facilitating the task of bringing to the forefront measures of internal reforms in the realm of economy, culture, education, status of women, etc. The growing relations of friendship with the socialist countries enable our people to know these countries better, to use their experience. They help to defeat the slanderous campaigns conducted by imperialists. They help to combat the poison of anti-Communism by which reactionaries strive to divide the national forces.

The emergence of India as a great world power, the role played by her in defence of peace and her efforts to strengthen her economy have incurred the wrath and hatred of the imperialist powers. They are continuing their efforts to reverse our foreign policy and drag us into military alliances. They aid the Portuguese fascists to continue their colonial rule in Goa, suppress the liberation struggle of the people and develop Goa into an armed base. They threaten our freedom through the SEATO and the Baghdad Pact—creating armed bases on our frontiers. They are utilising the extreme

reactionary elements among the ruling circles of Pakistan to work up tension on our border and involve us in a ruinous arms race that would retard our industrial development. In this situation, the struggle against military blocs, the struggle for friendly relation with Pakistan, the struggle for strengthening our relations of friendship with the socialist and peace-loving states, acquires enormous significance.

The policy of peace is therefore a genuine national policy, a truly patriotic policy, a policy that strengthens national freedom, national unity and national economy.

The masses have played a great role in the battle for peace. The campaign that grew against the Pak-U.S. Pact bringing on a common platform people of all parties including the Congress, the wave of enthusiasm that swept over the country during Chou En-lai's visit, the support to the Five Principles, the indignant protests against the transit of French troops to Vietnam that led to measures by the Government, the opposition to the H. Bomb explosions in the Pacific which inflicted injuries on the Japanese people, the mass mobilisation during the Conference of Asian countries, the vast gatherings that cheered the Soviet leaders wherever they visited—such were some of the most striking manifestations of the growing strength of the mass movement for peace, for Asian unity, for friendship with the Socialist States.

Great have been the victories achieved by the democratic movement in the sphere of foreign policy. Of immense importance has been the radical change in the policy of the Government. But the struggle is not yet over. It continues and will have to be continued with still greater vigour than before, as long as India's present economic and political relationship with the British imperialists, the suppressor of colonial peoples, the partner of America in the aggressive military alliances—NATO, SEATO and Baghdad Pact—remains, as long as reactionary elements remain in leading position in our political and economic life and in the military and administrative set-up.

This of course does not mean that the struggle for peace

can set before itself the task of liquidation of imperialism. But it does mean that the defence of peace is a task that cannot be left in the hands of the Government alone. The mass of the people have to play a still greater role than they have played till now in order to build mass popular unity on the stand already taken by the Government and in order to strengthen the present direction in the Government's foreign policy.

The continued transit of Gurkha troops through the Indian territory in their mission of murder against the freedom fighters in Malaya, the significant silence of the Indian Government over the regime of terror established by the British in many of their colonies, the retreat on the issue of Goa—all these are sharp reminders of the tasks that the people of India have yet to carry out.

In this connection it is necessary to restate the view of our Party on the slogan of direct action by the Government to liberate Goa.

The argument has been advanced by the Indian Government that consistent with its adherence to the Five Principles and its policy of settlement of disputes between two countries, India cannot take direct action for the liberation of Goa. This argument the Communist Party and the democratic movement cannot accept. Goa is an integral part of India occupied by the Portuguese fascists who with the help of American imperialists are building it up as a war base. The liberation of Goa is thus an essential part of the Indian people's struggle for the completion of national freedom, for the defence of national sovereignty, for the furtherance of the cause of peace. Not merely does positive action by the Government for the liberation of Goa and other Portuguese territories on Indian soil not constitute a violation of Five Principles and of the policy of peace, but such action is fully consistent with these principles and with that policy.

Hence it was that the struggle for the liberation of Goa developed into the mightiest campaign that India has witnessed since 1947. It achieved a degree of unity never seen before. It brought together in a common united front

for a common national task and under a common flag members and masses of all political parties and organisations. The death-defying courage of the satyagrahis who, unarmed, marched straight into the very jaws of death, holding aloft the banner of the Indian Republic, whose honour they defended to the last drop of their blood was one of the most heroic episodes in the Indian people's battle for freedom.

It stirred the people to their very depths. It led to demonstrations reminiscent of the great INA and RIN days. It showed the unconquerable spirit of the people of India, their indomitable will to wipe out the last pockets of foreign rule on Indian soil. It revealed that the people while acclaiming and supporting every measure of the Indian Government which strengthens the cause of peace and national freedom would, as part of the very struggle for freedom and peace, oppose with equal vigour every concession to the imperialists, every indication of half-heartedness and vacillation.

Our Party has played a proud and leading role in this battle—a role that is a fitting reply to the enemies and slanderers of the Party, to those who charge us with lack of patriotism.

From the tribune of this Congress, we pay our homage to the martyrs who have laid down their lives in the struggles. We pay our tribute to those who have suffered and sacrificed. We assure the people of Goa and of other Portuguese occupied territories, groaning under the iron heel of fascism and struggling to be free, that their cause is the cause of the entire Indian people who will not rest till their liberation has been achieved.

Our Party will intensify the struggle for the liberation of Goa. It will continue to demand that the Government of India should take all steps, including direct action, to achieve this liberation.

At the same time it is necessary to warn against two tendencies on this issue:

Firstly, the sectarian tendency of not recognising that on this question there is great confusion among our people. Many honest democrats, many partisans of peace consider the Government's position correct. Hence the vital impor-

tance of methods of fraternal persuasion, methods of patient argument and convincing of these elements.

Secondly, the opportunist tendency of not sharply demarcating ourselves from the other parties who, from the common platform, use the issue of Goa to denounce the general foreign policy of the Nehru Government, to ridicule the slogan of co-existence itself.

What are the main slogans of the Party in relation to the struggle for Peace at this stage? They are:

a) Strengthen the bonds of friendship and cooperation with the USSR and China in all fields—economic, cultural and on international issues, on the basis of Panch Shila.

b) Economic and cultural agreements with the countries of People's Democracy of Eastern Europe.

c) Struggle against the Military Pacts such as SEATO, Baghdad Pact, etc.

d) Strengthen Asian solidarity, strive for a Pact of Asian security.

e) Strive to secure India's rightful place in the Security Council as a Great Power.

f) Full diplomatic and moral support to the colonial people's struggle against imperialism.

g) Effective measures for the liberation of Goa.

h) Support to the Government's proposal for a no-war declaration with Pakistan and campaign for Indo-Pak friendship.

In the course of the last two years the struggle for peace has made significant advance. The campaign against the Pak-U.S. Pact brought on a common platform members and masses of all political parties. This was carried forward through several campaigns. The linking of the struggle for peace with the struggle for Asian solidarity has given the peace movement broader sweep than ever before. An increasingly large number of people have been taking part in the movement. Mass organisations have been more active in the struggle than in earlier years.

Firstly, the extent to which sectarianism is eschewed and all classes, parties, groups and individuals are drawn into the

movement by convincing them of the inseparable relation between the struggle for peace and of national security and national advance, by convincing them that the peace movement pursues no narrow aims, is genuinely democratic and affords the fullest scope to all lovers of peace, irrespective of their political views and position in life to make their contribution in the common cause. Eschewing of sectarianism does not mean merely adopting a correct attitude towards leaders and members of political parties and drawing them into the movement. It demands that a serious effort is made to draw in those people in walks of life who are in no political party—artistes, litterateurs, teachers and professors, doctors, lawyers, businessmen and others, through forms of activities which interest them. It also demands that the work is so organised that the participation of non-party people become not formal but real and effective.

Secondly, the extent to which unity is forged on specific slogans, related to the struggle for peace and campaign developed through numerous forms of activity.

Thirdly, the extent to which the working class, peasantry and toiling people are drawn into the movement and in each campaign through the initiative of their own mass organisations and the Communist Party. The toiling masses under the independent leadership of the Party while fully supporting the progressive steps of the Government, while building unity with all, on the basis of the common slogans of the peace movement, have to go further in the direction of a consistent struggle for peace, have to put forward demands and slogans that take the whole movement forward, have to organise such forms of activity as demonstrations and action on occasions like the visit of Dulles. This will have its impact on the organised peace movement also, will help the movement to advance. But this will be achieved only if we ensure that the slogans and demands put forward even from the independent platform of the Party are not too much in advance of the slogans of the organised peace movement, that they follow logically from the previous steps and stages of the movement, that while criticising the

Government, the big advance that the Government has made in the direction of struggle for peace is kept in mind and therefore the criticism takes the form of demand for consistent application of the principles which the Government itself has accepted.

Economic Developments in Recent Years

The most important task facing our country in the realm of internal affairs is the liquidation of our colonial heritage, the strengthening of our national economy, the industrialisation of the country. As long as this task is not carried out, our freedom will not be secure, the threat to freedom will remain and freedom itself will not be complete and real in terms of national economy, in terms of national prosperity and national advance in every sphere.

To what extent has this task been carried out? To what extent we have advanced in this direction?

Features of Economy

As on the issue of peace, on this issue also dogmatic concepts have prevailed in our Party, concepts that have hampered the waging of a concrete struggle for the strengthening of national economy and for the defence of the interest of the masses as part of this very struggle.

The economic situation today, in several important respects, is different from the situation that prevailed when we met at Madurai :

- Substantial increase in agricultural production which, in a country like ours is a factor of major economic and also political importance (monsoons and also governmental measures to some extent). This leads to a temporary expansion of the market, though this gets offset soon by the fall in prices. Abolition of rationing of food and procurement of grains gives relief in towns and villages.

- Acceleration of tempo of the construction and expenditure under the First Five-Year Plan not merely builds certain projects but also helps to expand market.

- Increase in industrial production, greater utilisation of

productive capacity than before and also more production in certain new industries—Sindri, Chittaranjan, etc.

- Reduction of dependence on imperialists in respect of foodgrains and improvement in balance of payments position.

- All these indicate a certain amount of strengthening of national economy, which is a national gain. They indicate that the specific crisis which manifested itself in the immediate post-war years in the form of absolute shortage of goods, rising prices, crisis in the balance of payments position—that specific crisis has been, to a great extent, overcome. Further, in recent periods, certain significant steps have been taken for the building of industries—steel plant agreement with USSR, the economic agreement of December, 1955.

But equally necessary it is to see that the crisis of semi-colonial economy continues. This is due to (i) the position of British capital in our economy, (ii) the persistence of feudal survivals, despite the half-hearted agrarian measures of the Government, (iii) the policy of reliance on profit-motive of monopoly capital for strengthening of economy. This crisis of semi-colonial economy is seen in:

- Stagnant condition of the internal market.
- Slow rate of capital formation despite huge profits.
- Despite greater utilisation than before, inability of industries even now to utilise their full productive capacity.
- Stagnation and decline of small industries on which millions depend for livelihood.
- Inability of government to acquire and spend the expected finances despite heavy taxation.
- Growth of mass unemployment, in urban as well as rural areas.

Increase in food production was followed shortly afterwards by steep fall in prices. Parity index (agricultural prices to manufactured goods) declined in 1954-55 by 20%, a loss of 1000 crores of rupees to the agricultural sector. Burden of taxes and debts mount. Eviction drive continues. All this, together with decline of rural industries, creates serious situation for the peasantry, growth of rural unemployment.

Congress agrarian reforms: Some curbing of landlordism but also compromise with it. Main beneficiaries rich peasants (Reply by Mr. Charan Singh, Revenue Minister, in U.P. Assembly on September 25, 1955: "33% of the cultivated area in State held by Bhumidars. Half of them belong to the old class of zamindars having their own sirs. Others had acquired bhumidhari rights by paying ten times compensation" (*National Herald*, 26/9/1955). Some concessions to other peasants also—occupancy rights to certain categories, lowering of rents in some places, curbing of certain feudal forms of exploitation, especially in backward areas—but the fall in prices, growth of taxes, debts, eviction, etc., in their totality, intensify distress, especially of the poorest strata. At the same time, the concessions given to the rich peasantry, an extremely important section in rural areas, helps Congress to strengthen its base in the countryside.

Increase in production by over 40 per cent but increase in employment only by 6 per cent. Increase in productivity by 38% over 1939 but wages, though they increase through struggles, still far below increase in productivity. (Only 1939 level reached in major industries, in other industries much lower.). Increase in workload. Rationalisation drive. Share of working class in income generated in factories decline.

- Main direction of the economic policies of the Government, development of capitalist economy.

- Actual result hitherto. Some development in certain spheres. British hold on vital sectors of economy continues. Strengthening of the position of monopoly capital in national economy. Their profits higher than ever before. Their share in national income greater after seven years of freedom. Government measures have helped this process.

State of National Economy

- A certain amount of strengthening as compared to earlier years.

- But this rests on insecure foundations.

- Main benefit has gone to upper classes, above all to monopolists.

– As regards key sectors of economy, machine-building, heavy industries, very little advance has been made.

The limited nature of the improvement and the insecurity of its foundation is seen most strikingly in the stagnation of the internal market which has been a marked feature of our economy for several years. It is seen in the actual effects of the measures adopted by the Government to solve this problem, on our economy and on the mass of people.

On October 12, 1953, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, Planning Minister, made the following statement :

“On one hand there was the complain that the country did not produce enough consumption goods. But when they increased production and took credit for it, they were suddenly faced with accumulation of stocks.”

We noted this phenomenon in December, 1953 at Madurai:

“As is admitted by both the Government and the employers, production went on the upgrade and in Textiles and sugar reached the targets of the Five-Year Plan. But the result was not abundance of goods for the consumers but accumulation of stocks of unsold goods.”

The appreciable increase in food production brought about some improvement in the situation. But soon agricultural prices started declining sharply and the old problem came up again. The Progress Report of the Five-Year Plan, issued in September 1954, commented:

“Despite the general rise, production in most industries was still much below capacity, due, in most cases, to lack of demand at current prices in the internal and external market.”

In January, 1955, the Quarterly Bulletin of the *Eastern Economist* in an editorial expressing grave concern over the market situation, wrote :

“There are apprehensions that the saturation point has been reached in regard to production by certain consumers goods industries. For, despite the known need, there is not enough demand to absorb the increased output. It is no longer a question of goods not being there, it is one of lack of purchasing power.”

The remedy suggested was:

“... pump more money into the system or make a bolder bid for deficit financing than has been done so far.”

Same was the advice given by Mr. B.M. Birla in his Presidential address at the annual session of the FICCI held in March, 1955. For a solution of the market problem, he stressed:

“.... It is imperative to speed up the expenditure programme of the government.”

The phenomenon of the stagnation of the market was significant. Also the dates on which the pronouncements were made. Above all, the remedy suggested—not radical agrarian reforms and the scaling down of debts, not increase in wages, not even reduction in prices. But vast amount of deficit-financing and governmental expenditure on its basis. In other words, resort to methods of inflation—indirect methods of taxation on the common people.

The apprehended “setback” did not come. On the contrary the market situation has steadily “improved” during the last few months. How has this been effected? Here is the answer given by the *Quarterly Report* of the Indian Institute of Public Opinion, in August, 1955:

“Few people realise the shot in the arm that has come to the whole economy from the spurt in money supply in the last 12 months. The volume of money supply has risen from Rs. 1,764 crores in August, 1954 to well over 2,000 crores at the present time. . . an all-time record in Indian financial history with the single exception of seven months in 1953-1954.”

The significant phrase “shot in the arm” defines with scientific precision the actual truth behind the present boom. It is a truth that has ominous meaning for the mass of our people as well as for national economy—especially in view of the proposal to resort to deficit financing to the extent of 1,200 crores of rupees in the 2nd Plan.

That already with deficit financing to an extent which the Government considered moderate, the prices have started

advancing—this very fact lays bare the precarious foundation on which our economy rests.

This is being realised even by bourgeois economists.

“The essence of the economic history of 1955”, wrote the *Hindustan Times* in a special article on December, 1955, “is the arrival of reflation”. It asked: “the question is: how thin is the dividing line between reflation and inflation?” It noted that “since early June, 1955”, there has been “a general and continuous advance in the price level” of “primary products and manufacturers as a whole” and commented:

“These measures (the measures under the First Five-Year Plan) have not helped to raise the country to the plane of fully active and self-confident economic life. Hence it is that with the very first impact of deficit-financing, an economy whose unutilised resources are theoretically put forward as so many potential defences against inflation has readily sported signs of a reflation which may easily develop into something much less desirable.”

This contradiction between the theoretical premises of the bourgeois economists and the actual results is nothing new. It has revealed itself again and again.

In essence the economic policies of the Government have been one of striving to strengthen national economy by compromise with and protection of foreign capital, by a limited curbing of and alliance with landlordism and by reliance on the profit motive of capitalists, primarily monopoly capital. Inevitably this has meant throwing of more and more burdens on the people, mounting expenditure on the police in every State and the resort to repression on a massive scale.

But it has not been on occasions of the mass struggle only that the arbitrary powers of the police have been used.

One of the most detestable features of British rule in India was the sweeping powers of the police and the bureaucracy who behaved not as servants but as masters of the people. Even when crimes were committed, people even dared not go to the police because police investigations came to be associated with corruption, arbitrary arrests and even torture.

Freedom, as understood by the people, meant not only freedom from British rule and economic wants, but also freedom from the arbitrary powers of the police.

These hopes remain unfulfilled. Basically relations between the people and the police remain as before. Even Congress M.L.A.s in last year's sessions of the U.P. Assembly complained bitterly about the behaviour of the police.

In the days of the struggle against British, great emphasis was laid on extending the power of popularly elected bodies. Promises were made that under Swaraj, Panchayats and similar bodies would ensure popular participation in Government. In the main little has been done in this direction. All power continues to be exercised by bureaucrats appointed from above. The panchayats in many areas are becoming bodies to impose new taxes on the people.

The reactionary policies of the Government have not been confined to these aspects alone. For long it stubbornly refused to concede the demand for Linguistic States—a demand raised by the Congress itself while it was fighting imperialism. It advanced the spurious argument that the conceding of this demand would mean the disruption of the unity of India. And even when forced to make concessions on this issue, it has not accepted the popular demand in its entirety. (Punjab, Maharashtra).

The Government refused to concede the legitimate demands of the Maharashtrian people for Samyukta Maharashtra including Bombay City. It first sought to create a bi-lingual State where the Maharashtrians and Gujaratis yoked together would be perpetually at loggerheads. The final solution which reduces Bombay to the status of a Centrally-administered area is not only a violation of all democratic principles but also an indication of the strength of Big Business on the Indian State.

What has been the result of all this?

While the situation demanded the forging of the broadest national unity to carry out the national task of overcoming the heritage of the colonial order, the taking of resolute measures for the industrialisation of the country through which alone

Indian freedom could be placed on a firm and secure basis, the ensuring of a steady improvement in the condition of the people—the actual policies of the Government have meant enrichment of the few at the cost of the many, repeated deadlock in production (as in Kanpur), intensification of strife and disunity.

Therefore, it is that the crisis of the semi-colonial economy persists. It manifests itself in various forms—impoverishment of the peasantry and the growing pressure on land, the weak state of industries especially heavy industries, starvation wages for workers, growth of mass unemployment in rural and urban areas, decline of small industries, slow rate of capital formation, stagnation of the market and the inability of industries to utilise even their existing productive capacity, inability of the Government to raise and spend the necessary finances for its plans despite heavy taxation.

It is the semi-colonial features of our economy and the reactionary aspects of the policies of the Government which hamper speedy liquidation of these features, and hamper the strengthening of the forces of democracy—it is these that are still the dominant characteristics of our economic and political life. If we do not see this, if we tend to minimise the significance of this, serious mistakes in tactics will follow.

No reason exists, therefore, for the belief that all-sided improvement has taken place in our economic and political life and conditions have been created for all-round advance. These conditions have yet to be created.

To wage a determined and concrete struggle against these features and their effects on the people, against the policies that result in their continuation, against the basic causes of our poverty and backwardness, the position of British capital in our economy and feudal survivals, and to build the democratic unity of the people and to wage this struggle—these remain the tasks before the democratic movement, tasks enjoined in the historic Programme of the Communist Party of India. Only the triumph of People's Democratic Revolution can complete these tasks.

But the struggle for the carrying out of these very tasks requires a correct appraisal of the significance of the new features that have appeared in the economy and in the policies of the Government. If we fail to do that, we shall fail to build the democratic front, we shall fail to carry out our national-political tasks, we shall fail even to wage a concrete battle against the anti-popular policies of the Government and effectively defend the immediate interests of the masses.

These new features are seen in such measures and proposals of the Government as:

- Nationalisation of the Imperial Bank, though with heavy compensation;
- Fourth Amendment to the Constitution;
- Economic agreement with the USSR;
- Emphasis on heavy industries and on the extension of the public sector in the Second Five-Year Plan.

These features are not accidental. They are a product of the mighty events in the international arena and their impact on our people and on the government. They are a product of the growing radicalisation of our masses and their urge for industrialisation and reforms. They are a product of the growing aspirations of the bourgeoisie to utilise these developments to advance the country on the path of independent capitalist development.

These developments create big new possibilities—for the extension and strengthening of the mass movement.

What are these possibilities and how are they to be realised? What are the slogans and policies through which the democratic front of the Indian people is to be built here and now? What are the tactics to be adopted and what forms of activity are to be organised in order to take the mass movement forward? These are questions which the Party Congress has to consider.

State of the Democratic Movement

These questions cannot be answered on the basis of the formulations in the Party Programme alone. Nor can they be

answered only on the basis of an examination of the features of our national economy—those that are still dominant and those that are growing. While taking these factors in consideration, the specific questions posed above have to be answered primarily on the basis of a correct appraisal of the actual correlation of forces in our country which express itself, above all, in the existing state of the mass movement. We have to assess the impact of the features of our economy and of the concrete measures of the Government in the realm of foreign and internal affairs as well as its ideological-political offensive on the life and the conditions of the masses, on their struggles, on their mood, on their organisations. We have to assess the significance of the new features in relation to our political life. And on the basis of all this, we have to work out a mass line which strengthens the forces of democracy and builds their unity, a line which will take the people in the direction of fulfilment of the tasks set forth in our Programme.

“The slogans of the immediate imminent struggle,” taught Lenin, “cannot simply and directly be deduced from the general slogan of the definite programme. It is necessary to take stock of the concrete historical situation; it is necessary to study the whole development and the whole logical course of the revolution and to derive our tasks not only from the principles of the Programme but from the previous steps and stages of the movement”. (*From the Report delivered by O. Kusinen at the 12th Plenum of the ECCI, Sept. 1932*).

This Leninist method of working out slogans and tactics, it is necessary to remember, was stressed in September, 1932, at a time when world capitalism was in the grip of the most profound economic crisis in its history, when big struggles were bursting out everywhere and when the struggle for power had come on the agenda in a number of countries.

Why is this teaching of Lenin of such decisive importance for every Communist Party in all situations? Because of the decisive importance of the subjective factor in every country and in every situation. The features of economy and their impact on the people are the basis of our activity. The prin-

ciples of the Programme indicate the direction in which these activities have to lead. But what kind of activity will achieve the purpose in a particular situation, what slogans, what forms of action and struggles will rouse, mobilise and unite the masses and take them forward in the direction of the aim of the Programme and through what stages—this is to be determined, above all, through a correct assessment of the state of the movement, state of organisation, state of mood among the masses inside the country, their unity, their preparedness.

Many a time it must be admitted, Comrades, in the course of the history of our Party and especially during the last two years, we have violated this Leninist principle of working out slogans and tactics. Many a time, the tendency has been to shut our eyes to the direction in which events were moving, both in the realm of foreign policy and in the realm of internal affairs. Many a time the immediate slogans of the Party have been derived not from the concrete historical situation, but from a study of the whole movement, not from previous steps and stages of the movement, but directly from the principles of the Programme.

Such methods are always harmful. But they would be especially harmful today in view of the immense complexity of the situation as well as of the great opportunities it creates.

All the more necessary, therefore, it is for us to be guided by this Leninist method for working out concrete tasks.

This demands, above all, examination of the present state of the mass movement. It demands examination of the advance that has already been registered. It demands appraisal of the urges, aspirations and sentiments that have grown in our people and the specific form in which they manifest themselves.

The process of mass radicalisation has continued during the last two years. There has been a powerful growth of the ideas of socialism and democracy. India's great role in world affairs has not only evoked national pride among our peoples but also intensified the urge for resolute measures to ensure national advance. Along with this, has grown the urge for

struggle, for resistance to the anti-popular policies and measures of the Government.

This is reflected in :

1. Considerable growth of the working class movement in all parts of the country, the improvement in organisation, growth of political consciousness in the working class, the establishment of unity of action between workers following different trade unions, solidarity actions and major struggles winning a number of concessions. Strengthening of the position of trade unions and of the Communist Party in many working class areas. Leading role played by the working class in the demonstrations on Goa and in the struggle for Samyukta Maharashtra.

2. Growth of struggles on economic as well as general democratic issues: Teachers' struggle in Calcutta which grew into a united struggle of the people. The countrywide support for the demands of the bank employees, the powerful solidarity campaign in the working class for Kanpur and the general support it won from the democratic public (press, shopkeepers' hartal). The Amritsar strike and the working class—peasant unity in action. Struggle for a democratic set up in Tripura and Manipur. Countrywide campaign on Goa, a number of student struggles that received support from the public, struggle for civil liberties in Bihar after the Patna firing, agricultural workers' strike in T.C. State and the struggles against eviction, increase in water taxes, etc., increased vote for the Party in Andhra, mass collections for the Party in certain Provinces. The struggle for Linguistic States and against merger of Bengal and Bihar.

3. Growth of anti-imperialist and peace sentiment among the people—big campaign against the Pak-U.S. Pact, Asian solidarity sentiment, urge for friendship with China and USSR which found powerful expression during the visit of Chou En-lai and the Soviet leaders and the great ovation that greeted Nehru on his return from the USSR.

4. Weakening of the position of parties of feudal and communal reaction in the greater part of the country.

5. A number of victories and concessions won by the popular forces—SRC proposals and the Congress Working Committee resolution on it, Bank Award, wage increase in several industries, judicial enquiry in Bihar, Bombay, agrarian reforms, etc.

6. Growth of radical and socialist sentiments inside the Congress, growing urge for industrialisation, agrarian reforms, for extension of democracy, for Linguistic States, beginning of conflicts over policies inside the Congress. Influence exerted by China's advance in industrialisation and agrarian reforms over all classes and sections, including the radical intelligentsia. Avadi resolution on socialistic pattern of society which was, on the one hand, a recognition of and concession to the growth of radical sentiments among Congressmen and masses following the Congress; on the other, an attempt to utilise these radical sentiments for strengthening the position of the Congress and confine these sentiments within the constitutional framework.

7. Appearance of new features in the Government's economic policies, pointed out earlier, have to be viewed in this background. To a great extent, it is a product of this background.

What do all these things indicate? How are we to assess them in their totality?

They indicate immense sharpening of the contradiction between the entire Indian people on the one hand and the imperialist-feudal exploiters on the other. They also indicate the sharpening of the specific contradiction between the Indian bourgeoisie and imperialism, a contradiction which is not confined to the realm of foreign affairs but has appeared in the sphere of internal economy too. They indicate growing contradiction between feudal survivals and the needs of bourgeois development. Above all, they indicate that the process of mass radicalisation continues. The forces of democracy have grown stronger and not weakened.

But equally important it is to grasp that the strengthening of forces of democracy in our political life and the growth

of mass radicalisation do not manifest themselves in the same form as before.

In the earlier period of severe food crisis, of acute shortage of the necessities of life, of rapidly rising prices—which hit all classes of people, partial struggles spread spontaneously and won popular support. Today such is not the general phenomenon. Today it becomes necessary to spread the struggles consciously and build popular unity.

Such struggles do not immediately assume the character of a political struggle where the slogan of removal of the Government from power finds general support even from all sections of the participants.

Growth of radicalisation inside the Congress does not lead to breakaway from the Congress as in the years before the general elections and for some time afterwards, but to growth of conflicts over specific measures and policies and the urge that the Government should carry out measures in defence of the interests of the people.

Mass radicalisation does not automatically bring strength to the left parties as in the past.

General denunciation of the Government, general condemnation that the Government is doing nothing and can do nothing, that no improvement is possible without a new Government—such denunciation and condemnation does not evoke the same response as before. At the same time, concrete and constructive criticism is appreciated, revealing the depth of popular discontent and popular urge for reforms, revealing the possibilities of democratic unity for struggles, for correct policies and measures.

It is evident therefore that the consolidation that the Congress has been able to achieve is of an extremely partial and uneven character. It rests on a shaky foundation.

All these factors have to be kept in mind when working out concrete tactics.

In the numerous struggles that have taken place in the country our Party has played an important and leading role. It has been in the forefront in defence of the interests of the

working class, the peasantry, the students and the toiling people in general. It has been in the forefront in the struggle for Linguistic States, putting forward the democratic and just principles whose acceptance by the Government would have prevented the growth of provincial animosities and strengthened the unity of the country. It has headed the struggle for the liberation of the French territories on Indian soil. It has covered itself with glory in the campaign for the liberation of Goa. It has conducted numerous campaigns bringing on a common platform people of all parties, sections and groups. It has advocated the cause of the people from the Legislature and the Parliament and served them through its work in municipalities, district boards and panchayats. Our cadres have displayed staunchness and courage and made sacrifices of which any party could be proud.

Heavy blows have inevitably fallen on us. Against us has been concentrated the main fire of the Government.

Our Party is proud of the part it has played in the struggles of the people. It is proud of its cadres who have stood up to terror. It is proud that it has earned the hatred of the landlords, capitalists and of the Government defending their interests.

Many of the slogans which the Party gave have been proved to be correct and have come to be accepted by the entire democratic movement. All can see today the correctness of the policies which we advocated in the realm of international affairs. All can see that we were right in stressing the need for industrialisation, for radical agrarian reforms, for curbing of monopoly. This is getting reflected even in the policies of the Government—though in a half-hearted and halting way.

This role played by the Party has led to its strengthening in many areas, the growth of its influence—especially in the working class and among the most oppressed sections of the people.

At the same time, we must recognise that the progress registered in every sphere is far less than what it could have been. The struggles, by and large, have remained on a local

and partial plane and have not been co-ordinated and developed into a powerful mass democratic movement. Mass organisations, though stronger than before, have not attained such strength as was both necessary and possible. Above all, the Communist Party on whose strengthening depends the strengthening of the democratic movement has not registered appreciable progress in membership, in ideological level, in the circulation of its newspapers and strengthening of its financial position. The effective strength of the Party still remains confined to certain provinces and among certain classes and sections. Above all, inner-Party differences have accentuated and the inner-Party situation is extremely serious.

It will not be correct for us, comrades, to argue that all this is due only or even mainly, to objective features of the situation. Undoubtedly those features in several respects were different from the past. Undoubtedly they rendered it difficult to rally the people directly under the slogan of removal of the Government from power. Undoubtedly, true it is also that the massive propaganda drive launched by the Government, on the basis of a limited improvement of economy, was far more effective than before, and gave rise to hopes among many sections weakening their resistance.

All this is true. At the same time, it is also true that the policies advocated by the Party have won major victories in this very period. The growth of democratic and radical sentiments among the people has continued. Dissatisfaction with the policies of the Government and desire to change them has not only continued but extended.

The objective situation was not favourable for a bid to replace the Government. But it was extremely favourable for extension and strengthening of the organised democratic movement, of the mass organisations, of the Party. This has not happened.

What is this due to? Above all to the inability of the Central Committee and the Polit Bureau to discharge their duties and responsibilities as the collective leadership of the Party—political and organisational.

The members of the Central Committee and the Polit Bureau, in their capacity as leaders of Provincial Committees, and mass organisations, in their capacity as editors of Party journals, have been extremely active. They have helped to build the mass organisations. They have led the Party groups in the Legislatures and Parliament. But the Central Committee and the Polit Bureau as collective bodies have hardly functioned. They have not carried out the responsibilities laid down in the Organisational Resolution. They have not acted as a national-political leader, evolving slogans and tactics in a fast developing situation, reviewing actual events, giving concrete guidance, helping Party Committees to solve the political and organisational problems confronting them. Instead of acting as such collective bodies, the Central Committee and the Polit Bureau got sharply divided on political issues which virtually paralysed them. They could not resolve these differences.

It is this failure of the Central leadership of the Party that is mainly responsible for the present weakness of the Party and of the mass movement.

This today is self-evident. But such a general assessment is not enough. The solution of the difficulties that have prevented the Party from playing an effective role in a period of historic advance of the forces of Socialism, democracy and peace all over the world, in a period of great possibilities in our own country, demands a resolute struggle against certain deep-rooted understanding, certain wrong approaches to problems, certain methods. Such a task cannot be completed in a day. It requires a prolonged struggle. But a beginning has to be made at this Party Congress itself.

FAILURES AND SHORTCOMINGS OF THE PARTY

Assessment of the Madurai Congress

For doing this, first of all, it is necessary to have a correct assessment of the Madurai Congress.

In several important respects the understanding given at

Madurai was an advance on the understanding that had prevailed earlier.

The Congress warned the people against the menace represented by the Pak-U.S. Pact. It decisively rejected the thesis that American imperialism was not a serious enemy of India's freedom and stated that the struggle for peace was related to the struggle for defence of national freedom. It called upon the Party to strive to build the broadest unity of all forces against the new menace. It noted that the American drive for war was meeting the resistance not merely from the mass of people but even from a number of bourgeois governments. It pointed out that the Indian Government had played a significant role on a number of important issues in the recent period—a role appreciated by peace-loving masses and States. Welcoming the growing bond of friendship and of cultural relations between the people of India on the one hand and the USSR and the Chinese People's Republic on the other, it stressed that the trade agreement between India and the USSR could help to reduce India's dependence on imperialist powers.

The period preceding Madurai had been a period of growing crisis in our economy and of rising wave of mass struggles. These struggles taking place all over the country drew lakhs of people into their orbit and had a powerful political impact. The swinging away of the masses that had been noted in the general elections continued. It was admitted by bourgeois newspapers (*Eastern Economist* editorial of 15th August, 1953) as well as by the utterances of Congress leaders like Mr. S.K. Patil. This process was reflected in a number of elections to the legislatures (bye-election to the Parliament in Calcutta), municipalities, (as in UP) and Panchayats.

Analysing the main features of the struggles that were growing, the Party Congress characterised the period as one of "the maturing of the economic crisis and the initial stages of a political crisis".

While holding forth the establishment of a Government of Democratic Unity as the objective towards which the mass

struggles have to be led, the Congress also pointed out that the immediate task was the strengthening of the mass struggles for the concrete demands of the workers, peasants and other classes, the building up of their organisations and the strengthening of the Party.

The Congress stated :

“The development of the united front and unity through the widening of the mass movement is often hampered because of the abstractness of our agitation, the habit of substituting concrete exposure by general denunciation, the indulgence, quite often, in stereotyped speeches in Assemblies, Parliament and from public platforms, stereotyped writings in our papers, and, above all the failure to distinguish between the platform of the Front and the Party forum. Too often we speak only for those who are already convinced that the present Government is a reactionary Government. Too often we fail to make use of existing legislation—Tenancy Legislation, the Social Security Act, the Payment of Wages Act, etc.—to ameliorate the conditions of the masses and secure concessions for them, forgetting that this legislation has been enacted as the result of mass struggles and is a weapon in the hands of the people. Too often the tendency is to narrate only the hardships that the people are suffering and to ignore the successes that their struggles have won in the mistaken belief that reference to such successes will breed “reformist illusions”, while the reality is that, in order to inculcate confidence in the masses, confidence that unity and struggle can win demands, it is essential that each success won by the people, no matter how small, is widely publicised and made the basis for further advance. There is also the tendency to pay scant attention to such work as adult literacy, cultural and sports activities, co-operatives, medical relief, etc.—work which is absolutely essential, work which can mobilise vast sections and enable the Party and mass organisations to forge close links with the people.

“In areas where famine conditions prevail, not only is it necessary to demand relief from the Government and organise

relief on the basis of unity of democratic organisations, but it is also necessary to mobilise the people for such work as deepening of wells, repair of tanks, etc.

"It is necessary for every Provincial Committee to undertake a critical examination of the plants and projects undertaken by the Government in the Province, make a factual assessment of their effects in consultation with the people directly covered by them and put forward the demand for their correct implementation or amendment or replacement as will help the people and mobilise the masses for their implementation."

(Paras 41 & 42 of the *Political Resolution* adopted at 3rd Congress of the C.P.I. at Madurai)

The Congress stressed the importance of utilising the limited powers of municipalities, district boards and panchayats to give the people amenities of health and hygiene, roads and water supply, elementary education and such other things.

While recognising the importance of agreement between left parties for the unleashing of mass activity and while stressing the need to continue and intensify efforts for such agreements, the Congress also stated:

"United front does not mean merely the united front of the Communist Party and of left parties, but, above all, united front of the masses, including the masses still under the influence of the Congress. Hence the development of the United Front movement demands the drawing into common struggles and common activity of the large mass of Congressmen, Praja Socialists and progressive intellectuals."

On the question of working class unity, the Congress stated:

"The struggle for trade union unity is hampered on our part by the remnants of sectarian understanding. Though trade union unity is accepted in principle, it is looked upon as a temporary tactic and not as a fundamental principle."

The actual manifestations of this deviation were pointed out and the Party called upon to wage a resolute struggle for trade union unity. (Para 45 of the *Political Resolution*).

The Congress laid down the principles which must guide

the Party in the struggle for linguistic States, sharply nailing down bourgeois-nationalist deviations on this issue. (*On the Work of the Third Congress of the C.P.I. p. 17*).

Thus, it can be seen that many of the practical tasks laid down by the Madurai Congress were essentially on correct lines.

At the same time, the basic understanding was sectarian. This must be recognised.

1. The Congress correctly warned against the threat represented by the U.S.-Pak Pact, correctly asked the Party to join in the campaign against this menace. But it failed to work out such practical slogans to meet the threat as Asian unity with Sino-Indian unity as its core, closer relations with the USSR, etc. On the contrary, the Madurai Congress linked the question of struggle against the new threat directly with such basic slogans of the Party as "Quit Commonwealth, Confiscate British capital, abolish landlordism," etc.

2. It noted the measures taken by the Indian Government in defence of peace and rightly criticised their inconsistencies. But it refused to note the direction in which the Government's foreign policy was moving and the possibilities this created in view of the menace of the Pak U.S. Pact and the India Government's opposition to it.

3. It noted the specific features of the economic crisis but assumed that the crisis of the colonial economy and the crisis of the world capitalist economy with which our country was linked were already so deep and had reached such a stage that nothing but carrying out of the fundamental tasks of the Party—confiscation of British capital, abolition of landlordism and the establishment of a democratic State—could mitigate the crisis in any way. It noted the initial stages of the political crisis but did not see that certain improvements in certain aspects of economy were possible which would arrest the growth of the political crisis itself. The entire understanding about crisis—economic as well as political—was an oversimplified and mechanical understanding which took no account of the possibilities of limited improvement, which

underestimated the manoeuvring capacity of the ruling classes, which assumed that the crisis would go on continuously deepening.

4. It grossly underestimated the importance of the subjective factors— (i) weakness of the peasant movement which in our country is a factor of decisive importance; (ii) weak state of unity of the working class; and (iii) the weakness of the Communist Party—when holding out the perspective of the establishment of the Government of Democratic Unity, not merely in States like Andhra and Travancore-Cochin but as a general perspective. The statement that “with the strengthening of the mass movement, with the maturing of the crisis in different ways in different States and different areas, situations will arise when this can be raised as an immediate slogan in State after State”—this was nothing but subjectivism of the grossest type in view of the actual state of the movement.

Moreover, the General Secretary in his speech explaining the resolution virtually equated the Government of Democratic Unity with a People's Democratic Government.

5. Finally and above all the Madurai resolution lacked a national-political approach to the problems facing the country.

Ours was the Communist Party of a semi-colonial country which had freed itself from the direct rule of Britain only a few years ago. Our freedom rested on insecure foundations. It was being menaced by aggressive imperialists. In terms of economic advance, in terms of liquidation of colonial backwardness, in terms of prosperity for the people, real freedom had yet to be won. This was a part of the consciousness of our entire people.

We had to overcome our backwardness and develop India into a strong and powerful country.

In this situation, the Communist Party had to come before the people as the builder of national unity for the defence and strengthening of national freedom, for the rebuilding of national economy. The struggle for the defence of the interests of the workers, peasants and other classes, the struggle

for democratic reforms and civil liberties, the struggle for peace against the war drive of the imperialists and for friendship with the USSR and China—all these struggles had to be waged as integral part of a genuinely national and patriotic policy of consolidation of national freedom, strengthening of national economy, strengthening of democracy, improving the condition of the people in every sphere.

This is how the whole task facing the Party had to be posed and understood. Thus only could the policies of the Government be effectively fought, partial struggles integrated and developed into a mass democratic movement, patriotic masses under Congress influence drawn into the movement of a bigger scale.

Our people had forged a glorious unity in the struggle against British rule. Government policies since 1947 had disrupted that unity, had kept India backward and economically dependent. The Party had to come before the people with alternative policies—industrialisation of the country with special emphasis on heavy industries, raising the resources for that by mainly taxing the rich, establishing economic co-operation with the Socialist world, reduction of the burden on the peasants for expanding the market and for increasing agricultural production living wage and trade union rights for workers for ensuring expansion of production, civil liberties, etc.

It was correct to strive for the formation of alternative governments in the States where it was possible to bring this about, where the masses themselves considered it to be a practical possibility in view of the relationship of forces. But this could not be made a general slogan for the whole country, especially when we ourselves noted that the struggles that were taking place were “mainly on issues affecting the day-to-day life of the people such as taxes, food subsidy, wages, bonus, retrenchment and victimisation, evictions, rent, famine relief, etc., and motivated by concrete demands against the State, landlords and the monopolists” and the subjective factors were too weak in most States. What was needed was

the evolving of national political slogans on all these issues, of linking these slogans with the general national economy and developing a mass campaign on their basis in every part of the country. The perspective of the formation of alternative governments, governments of democratic unity in specific States, itself had to be placed in this context and as a part of this policy.

It is in relation to the immediate tasks of strengthening of national freedom, of heightening of India's world status, of building of national economy and of ensuring a life of prosperity for the masses of the people—it is in relation to this task that the Party had to work out slogans and tactics on every issue in the realm of foreign as well as internal affairs. It is in relation to this task that all problems had to be approached. Thus only the Party could make a decisive bid to win over the majority of the people, broaden popular unity in this very process, progressively national-political force.

Despite its many correct points, the mistakes of the Madurai Resolution lay, therefore, not merely in formulations and assessments. The approach itself was sectarian.

Causes of the Inner-Party Differences and the Responsibility of the Central Committee

From the foregoing it can be seen that the Madurai understanding was, in several vital respects, seriously defective. A number of comrades had not voted for the Resolution. But that did not mean that they had a more correct understanding than others. On the contrary, the understanding on whose basis they considered the Resolution defective was even more wrong than the understanding of the majority of the delegates. In the main, the understanding arrived at Madurai was the common understanding of the entire Party Congress. It would not be correct, however, to argue that because of this, all that happened subsequently was inevitable.

Such an explanation would amount to holding the whole Party Congress and even the entire Party which during the

discussion stage had broadly approved the Draft Resolution, as being responsible for the present state of affairs. The specific responsibility of the Central Committee would get minimised.

Also, such an explanation has dangerous implications. It would mean that if the decisions taken by the present Congress are, in some important respects, defective, then after a shortwhile another Party crisis would be inevitable.

The task of the Central Committee, it is necessary to grasp, is not merely to interpret and apply Party Congress directives but also to understand changes, developments. The formulations made by the Party Congress necessarily carry weight. They should not be lightly treated. But the understanding given at the Party Congress must be enriched, carried forward and also, where defective, corrected. This is one of the most important tasks of the Central Committee and a Central Committee which fails to carry out this task, a Central Committee which dogmatically adheres to formulations which, it is obvious to all, have become outmoded—such a Central Committee fails to discharge its responsibilities towards the Party and the masses.

The Madurai Resolution did not bring out the inseparable relation between the struggles for peace and freedom, did not see the direction in which the Government's foreign policy was moving and the new possibilities that were arising. It made an exaggerated assessment of the situation. It failed to work out immediate slogans of mass mobilisation. It had, as already pointed out, other defects. Above all, the approach was sectarian.

At the same time, the Resolution did stress that the struggle for peace defends national freedom. It did note the steps taken by the Government of India in defence of peace. It did stress the importance of the struggle for immediate demands, of multiple forms of activities in every sphere.

Why could not the defects in the Madurai Resolution be corrected and the strong points elaborated and carried forward? Why could not the Central Committee resolve the

differences that arose inside it and reunify itself? The reasons were complex. But it is essential to focus attention on the main causes. Inability to do that would mean inability to overcome the weaknesses. The task today is not to "bury the past", not to say "we were all wrong and let us now work out a correct line". That would mean refusal to lay bare weaknesses, refusal to correct them. That would not even unify the Party. Divergent assessments of the achievements and mistakes of specific periods which prevail in our Party is one of the most serious obstacles in the way of real Party unification.

It is essential, therefore, to point out the main failures of the Central Committee in the period since the Madurai Congress, failures due to which it could not discharge its tasks and responsibilities.

They were:

First and foremost: Failure to assess shifts and changes in the situation. Dogged refusal on the part of the majority of comrades in the CC even to admit any shift, any change, for a long time and to make any serious effort to understand it.

This was revealed, above all, in not seeing the growing conflict between the Indian Government and the whole imperialist bloc and increasing assertion of independence by India. Also, the impact of the improvement in the food situation and certain aspect of economy in the mood of the people.

Secondly, and closely connected with the above, rigid and mechanical adherence to the formulations in the Party Programme and in the Madurai Resolution—admitting no change unless it fitted in with those formulations.

The crassest example of this was seen in the assessment of India's foreign policy and India's status. Formulations that the foreign policy is a policy of "play" and that it was "essentially British" formulation that India is not free - these formulations for some comrades acquired the sanctity of dogmas which could not be violated in any case. Any departure from these formulations was looked upon as repudiation of Marxism.

Thirdly, inability of the Central Committee to wage a

firm and principled struggle against right and left deviations inside the Party and therefore, inability also to wage ideological struggle among the masses against the powerful ideological offensive of the Government. Attempt to fight right deviation (document of UP comrades) by sinking in the mire of left-sectarianism. Attempt to counter the ideological offensive of the Congress by repetition of the basic slogans of the Party, by general denunciation of the Government on the basis of these slogans, by emphasising only on the inconsistencies in the foreign policy, by stressing that nothing could change as long as the Government was not removed.

No ideological battle can ever be effective if it is not concrete, if it ignores realities, if it denies changes which are evident to the masses. On the other hand, how effective it can be if changes are not merely admitted, but boldly welcomed and the Party's role brought out — this was seen in the reaction to the *Communist Answer to Nehru*.

Fourthly : Failure to study mass movement, review mass struggles and campaigns and draw their lessons. This was done only once—at the April, 1954 CC meeting.

Fifthly: Failure to take firm steps to implement the Organisational Resolution of the Party. The Resolution was adopted in April 1954. It was decided that three days were to be spent by each PC to discuss the Resolution and strengthen its organisation on its basis. But even the PB did not attempt to reorganise its own work on the basis of the principles and directions given in it. The Resolution remained on paper.

It might be argued that these two tasks—the reviewing of the mass movements and the strengthening of Party organisation—could not be undertaken unless the political differences on basic issues were resolved. Such argument is incorrect. It has dangerous implications. These are tasks which must be carried out in all situations. Only a serious attempt to review actual developments can narrow down differences and even gradually correct wrong political understanding. Only adherence to correct organisational methods and practices can prevent political differences from tending to

assume the form of factions inside the Party. Due to the very nature of the period we are passing through, a period of swift and sharp changes, differences inside the Party and inside the Central Committee are bound to arise even in future. If as soon as such differences arise—on tactical or even on basic issues—such tasks as reviewing of struggle and campaigns, such tasks as implementation of organisational responsibilities are to be relegated to the background until and unless the political differences are resolved, then no advance is possible.

The unity of the Communist Party is the most important single factor in the task of building the democratic front. This unity is not something formal, something to be achieved once and for all. It is continuous process. Even if a Party Congress works out a hundred per cent correct tactical line, even if complete unity is achieved on the basis of that line—even then unification of the Party does not become complete. The Party has also to be unified continuously on the basis of unified understanding of current developments, unified understanding of the lessons of struggles, campaigns and activities, movements and their problems. If such unified understanding of current developments is not achieved, then these developments tend to be understood by different comrades in different ways. And even the unity achieved on the tactical line gets disrupted.

Such unification is the task of all Party Committees. But above all the Central Committee which has to give lead on national-political issues. Inability of the Central Committee to understand national-political developments and give correct lead therefore not only weakens the mass movement. It also weakens the unity of the Party.

Such were the main failures of the Central Committee in the political and organisational spheres.

Growth of Controversies in the Central Committee

It should not be thought, however, that no efforts at all were made since the Madurai Congress to improve the function-

ing of the Central Committee and to make corrections in understanding. How these efforts were made, why they did not succeed—these are matters of importance. For this, it is necessary to review, in some detail, the actual developments inside the Central Committee.

We are undertaking this task, comrades, not in order to apportion blames, not in order to hold individual comrades responsible for the present situation inside the Party, but in order to draw the necessary lessons for the future.

Some efforts in the right direction were made in the period between the Madurai Congress and the April, 1954 CC meeting and the April CC meeting itself. During this period, the functioning of the PB registered marked improvement. The PB was able to give concrete guidance in relation to the work of our comrades during the Bengal Teachers' strike and correct the left-sectarian mistakes and in Tripura, guidance which helped the comrades conducting the struggles.

The Bengal Committee, in its review of the struggle, reached the same conclusions as the PB. The CC endorsed the view of the PB in April 1954.

It should be noted that the Bengal Teachers' strike started within 5 weeks after the Madurai Congress. The mistakes of the Congress have been already dealt with as regards assessment of the general political situation and minimisation of the subjective factor. Yet, this did not prevent the PB and the CC or the WBPC from correctly guiding the struggle, correctly nailing down the mistakes. This very fact shows how if serious efforts are made to evaluate each concrete development and struggle, these can help the Party not only to draw correct lessons from the specific struggle but also even gradually correct its mistakes with regard to the situation itself.

This is also seen in the attempt that was made for a correct appreciation of the growing trend in India's foreign policy.

In the period after Madurai the Indian Government came

out more and more sharply against the war-moves of American imperialists. The demand for the withdrawal of U.N. observers from Kashmir was a significant event in this process—an event which a statement of the PB described as a positive step in the direction of frustrating the war-moves of imperialists.

These developments were discussed at the April 1954 meeting of the CC and sectarianism prevailing in the party on the issue of struggle for peace was sought to be combated. The CC when welcoming the recent declarations of the Indian Government did not immediately qualify this by “ifs” and “buts”. It noted the big campaign that had developed in the country against the war-moves of imperialism and simultaneously noted that this campaign had not become as strong as it could be.

“It is obvious”, the CC stated “that actual mobilisation in the struggle for peace is far less than it can and should be.”

What were the reasons for this? The reply given by the CC was:

“An important reason for this, the Central Committee concluded, is the prevalence of sectarian concepts. There is, in our Party, the tendency to think that when the Nehru Government makes a statement or proposal which, in some measure, helps the cause of peace, the Communist Party has merely to express formal support to it and point out its inadequacies.

“Due to this tendency, the task of building mass unity in action on the stand that has already been taken by the Indian Government is considerably neglected—for example, the demand for the withdrawal of the American observers in Kashmir and its proposals on the Hydrogen Bomb.

“In effect, it is a tendency which weakens the struggle for peace, by looking upon declarations of the Government as a substitute for mass mobilisation.

“The Central Committee pointed out that this is a wrong tendency. It stressed that, while fighting resolutely for a consistent policy of peace, while combating the false propaganda about “two power blocs striving to destroy each other”, a

propaganda line often indulged in even by Nehru, the Communist Party has to do something more also.

“It has to lay utmost emphasis on the task of building unity in action on the basis of the declarations already made by the Government itself. In fact, without such mobilisation and unity in action on the basis of the declarations already made, the task of combating the false propaganda of two power blocs and of fighting for a consistent peace policy itself cannot be fulfilled.”

With regard to the internal economic situation the Central Committee voted the “undoubted increase (34 per cent above the 1946 level) in the overall general index of industrial production”, but it failed to note that agricultural production also had increased to a considerable extent and that this was an important economic and political factor in the situation.

Nevertheless, the Central Committee stressed that it is not enough to expose the hollowness of the Government's plans but also “that the Party shows concretely the alternative path by which the country can march to happiness and prosperity”.

The Committee called upon the workers to resist the rationalisation offensive of the monopolists. At the same time, it concretely combated the propaganda by which rationalisation is justified, indicating the real path to industrialisation.

The Central Committee in its April meeting finalised the Resolution on Party Organisation.

It adopted the Agrarian Resolution which resolved many controversies and helped work among the peasants.

It gave concrete proposals with regard to the Reorganisation of States.

Also, the April CC meeting gave immediate organisational slogans:

Enrol into the Party of all those who had been in the category of militants and sympathisers for a year or more, if they had actively participated in mass and other work conducted by the Party and if they fulfil the conditions laid down in the Party Constitution. It directed that concrete steps should be

taken to make all Party members literate and to start night schools for adult literacy in order to raise the cultural level of those among whom the Party had been working. It was pointed out that without raising the general level of culture among Party members, it would be impossible to realise inner-Party democracy and make criticism from below effective.

On the whole this period is marked by distinct improvement in the work of the Party Centre.

Nevertheless, the PB and CC did not get away from sectarian rails. This was seen most clearly in the assessment of the T-C State elections and the decision on united front with the PSP. While correctly criticising the T-C comrades' mistakes, the CC committed serious sectarian deviations.

Basing itself on the betrayal of the dominant leadership of the PSP in relation to the formation of ministry in TC State, it issued general directives in relation to the PSP which were of such a type that united front with The PSP was virtually ruled out.

The line laid down in relation to the PSP was not merely unreal. It was mechanical. It practically said that only if any section of the top leadership of the PSP accepted the position of the Communist Party, United Front with it would be possible. It even banned appeals to PSP ranks to bring pressure on their leaders.

This attitude towards the PSP led to seriously wrong tactics in the Andhra elections.

In relation to the specific issue of the PSP, the April CC decisions were decidedly more sectarian than at Madurai. But in relation to other general issues, it marked a significant advance towards a more correct understanding.

In the subsequent period, the PB tried to evolve a more positive policy—a policy that takes into account the changes and shifts in the situation. As yet, neither the PB nor any of its members had seen that a big change was coming in the situation. Yet there were certain efforts to react to the changes as can be seen from :

1. attitude towards National Plan Loan;

2. discussion on the question of student unity;
3. August 15th Circular;
4. P. Ramamurti's article after Chou En-lai's visit.

Concrete tasks were worked out by our Party members at the AITUC Session at Calcutta and at the 12th Session of the AIKS.

The General Secretary had to leave the country at the end of July 1954 for reasons of health and was away till the last week of November 1954.

The September 1954 meeting of the CC correctly criticised the PB for the method adopted by it on the issue of student unity. The PB's own understanding on the issue of student unity had been arrived at without a concrete assessment of the actual situation and was therefore wrong, especially in relation to organisation. It could also be argued that the PB's directive in relation to the National Plan Loan might create confusion in relation to the Party's attitude towards the actual economic measures of the Government. These certainly were subjects that the CC should have discussed and if there was any defect in the specific directions given, that should have been corrected. But the entire line taken by the September CC in relation to students' circular, the 15th August directive, Ramamurti's article, National Plan Loan, as well as the general political tasks of the Party was a crudely sectarian line. It revealed dogged refusal to see any change in the situation, a tendency to look upon the Madurai Resolution as something sacrosanct. It showed refusal to grasp the world-historic significance of the Cho En-lai-Nehru declaration and its meaning in terms of the movement for Asian solidarity, in terms of the democratic movement inside our own country.

Before the September 1954 meeting of the CC the PB had placed a political—organisational report—noting several changes in the situation including improvement in the food position and trying to work out immediate national-political slogans related to the task of national reconstruction. This had been done in accordance to the decision of the April meeting of the CC itself.

There was a PB report on the organisational position of the Party and work in the Parliament. There was another note on the Trade Union position.

The Central Committee did not even discuss these documents. It was obsessed with fear of reformism. It behaved as though the one immediate task of the Central leadership was fight the menace of reformism. It criticised the "reformist deviations" of the PB as expressed in the writings of PB members and in their directives.

The article written by Com. Ramamurti came in for sharp criticism. In reality, there was nothing wrong with the article or even with the slogan of a "broad national platform for peace and freedom". Such a slogan does not necessarily mean call for a United Front Government. It was wrong, however, to state that the AICC "must take positive steps so that this momentous task is completed". Such a statement leaves the initiative to the AICC. On the other hand, there should have been a call to the AICC to join hand with all in defence of peace and freedom.

This meeting of the Central Committee had before it a document prepared by 10 UP comrades. The basic approach of the document was determined by the dogma that the contradiction between a progressive foreign policy and a reactionary home policy cannot continue for long. Further, the understanding of the document as regards the prevailing international and national situation was incorrect. It exaggerated the magnitude and imminence of the American threat to India, exaggerated the capacity of America to intervene, exaggerated the strength and influence of the American fifth column inside India. It underestimated the strength of the democratic forces and also of the Indian Government and gave a panicky, unreal picture of the whole situation. It depicted as though something like a situation of national emergency had arisen with grave threat from outside and inside. Such an estimation of the situation had grossly reformist implications which was seen in the manner in which the question of a Government was posed.

At the same time, the document of the 10 UP comrades contained many correct slogans for immediate mass mobilisation. The concept about the need for a minimum programme was correct.

The CC, while rejecting the document as reformist, failed to bring out its real reformist content. On the contrary, it criticised the correct points in the document also from sectarian understanding.

The CC, as already noted, sharply criticised the PB. Even this criticism however was not considered enough by certain Provincial Committees who thought that the PB had not been dealt with adequately.

The CC doggedly stuck to the understanding that the economic crisis was deepening and the country was in the initial stages of a political crisis—an understanding which had very little to do with the reality, an understanding for which no justification existed in September, 1954.

This meeting of the CC, the September meeting, put a stop to the whole process of correction of the earlier sectarian understanding. It took the Party backwards. It was a meeting which in a negative sense was of decisive importance. By doggedly refusing to assess the changes that were taking place, by doggedly refusing even to recognise that there were any changes, by obsession with the fear of reformism, this meeting laid the basis for the crisis that later developed in the Party.

It might be argued that the CC was merely carrying out the Madurai Congress directives and that therefore it could not be blamed for the rigid understanding that it showed. Such an explanation totally misses the fact that the Central Committee's task is not merely to adhere to the formulations of the Party Congress, but to make serious effort to understand current developments and on that basis make the changes that are needed in slogans and tactics. It is necessary to remember that the Madurai Congress Resolution did not prevent the April meeting of the CC from correctly and unanimously reacting to the measures taken by Nehru in relation to foreign

affairs. The Central Committee had to evolve a tactical line in a changing situation and for that it has to try to understand the changes themselves. This was completely lacking. Fear gripped the CC—fear of committing reformist mistakes. Some comrades of the Central Committee even went so far as to ascribe the success of the Congress in strengthening its position to reformist mistakes committed by the Party.

From this meeting of the CC, the PB emerged divided, demoralised and panicky about reformism. It drew the conclusion that the key task was to save the Party from the danger of reformism. The article of Com. R.P. Dutt in LPPD coming in this background threw the PB into a state of panic. With total disregard to all principles which should guide the relation between brother parties, it hastily summoned an urgent meeting of the CC, placing before it a resolution rejecting the article. The CC rightly refused to endorse that resolution.

The article by Com. RPD was a general article on the colonial liberation movement, with some reference to India also. It was right for Party members to study the article, to try to understand what it contained, to see whether the formulations of the article helped to understand the situation and our tasks in the situation better. It could certainly be discussed in any Party Committee, including the PB. But there could be no question of any Party Committee, least of all the PB, accepting or rejecting the article, because every Party is guided by its own decisions, the decisions of the Party Congress and of leading Party units. If any Party member thought that the article constituted a correction to our understanding and had prepared a thesis on the Indian situation and on the tasks of the Communist Party of India on the basis of this understanding, if a sufficient number of CC members wanted to discuss such a thesis, then only a special meeting of the CC could have been summoned. A CC meeting also might have been held if a sufficient number of CC members or Provincial Committees had demanded a meeting to alter the line of the Party or alter its assessments of the situation. In this case, however, the PB had called the CC

meeting on its own initiative demanding that the CC should reject the article. Such a procedure was disruptive of fraternal relation between Communist Parties, disruptive of the unity of our own Party.

The CC after refusing to endorse the PB Resolution, adopted the following resolution:

"The discussion by the CC on the article 'New Features in National Liberation Struggle of Colonial and Dependent People' written by Com. R.P. Dutt in the LPPD has revealed differences of an important nature in the CC. The CC is of the opinion that more time and thought are required to resolve the differences and bring clarity on the problems discussed. The CC decides therefore to discuss these problems in the next session of the CC, along with the assessment of the national and international developments which have taken place during the last few months.

"The CC takes its firm stand by the Madurai Resolution and calls upon the Party to carry on the work in accordance with the understanding given therein."

The Resolution was circulated in the entire Party.

This was a most irresponsible and disruptive thing to do. Such a resolution, even if adopted, should have been confined to the CC. To tell the Party members that there are important differences, but not to tell them what those differences are, to assert that despite those differences, the CC as a whole takes a firm stand on the Madurai Resolution on the understanding given therein—all this can only give rise to bewilderment, cause speculations and shatter confidence.

Differences had undoubtedly arisen in the CC. But there are Party methods for dealing with such differences. The CC could have held another meeting or even an Extended Plenum to discuss the points of difference. If it was felt that the differences were of a vital character and there was no firm majority for any point of view in the CC, then an inner-Party discussion could have been organised on the basis of prepared documents clearly stating the issues and the differences. Not one of these methods was adopted.

The PB meeting together with some members of the CC which was held in December, 1954 after the General Secretary's return, recognised the shift in the foreign policy of the Indian Government. Even in this meeting, however, the formulation that the foreign policy strengthened national freedom did not find general acceptance and had to be deleted. This meeting also made an effort to re-evaluate the internal situation, note the new features in the economy and its political impact. Although still inadequate, these were efforts in the right direction and the conclusions reached were broadly correct. Another meeting of the PB held in February together with some CC members made further corrections in understanding. It noted that the Madurai assessment of the situation had become obsolete. The new understanding, if consistently applied and carried forward could have helped to overcome the inner-Party controversies and reunify the Party. But the new understanding was not brought to bear on the tactics to be adopted in the Andhra elections—the most important practical issue before the PB. The Andhra Committee of the Party still adhering to the Madurai assessment of the situation—an assessment which the CC had refused to correct—and on the basis of a subjective assessment of the situation inside Andhra, had already decided to conduct the elections in a manner which was grossly sectarian, which was opposed even to the directives given at the Madurai Congress. The line taken by the CC in criticising the comrades of T-C State had its impact on the election tactics in Andhra. The PB in December 1954, instead of opposing these sectarian tactics, satisfied itself with listening to an oral report made by the PB members from Andhra and endorsed the election tactics.

Despite the acute difference that prevailed in the Party, the Andhra election campaign grew into one of the biggest campaigns conducted by the Party in its entire history. Party units and cadres from all over the country threw themselves wholeheartedly in the campaign, collected cash, sent cadres, held meetings. The campaign showed the devotion of Party

comrades, the love of the masses for the Party, their willingness to sacrifice for it. Inside Andhra, the base that the Party had built among agricultural workers and the poor peasants on the whole stood intact and withstood the most powerful offensive from the Congress which had united most of the landlords in the Province under its banner. The votes secured by us—31% of the total—in face of landlord terror and an unprecedented campaign of slanders and intimidation, was a powerful manifestation of the loyalty of the most exploited classes for the Party.

But it was just this devotion of the Party cadres and the loyalty of the masses that made the mistakes of the Party leadership all the more serious, all the more glaring. These mistakes lay not only in sectarian tactics worked out on the basis of that assessment, not only in failure to recognise the progressive orientation in the Government's foreign policy and the role played by the Party in bringing this about, but also in boastful declarations which were given full publicity in the Central Organ itself and in other Party journals. Inevitably the heavy defeats in terms of seats actually won shook confidence, gave rise to frustrations, dealt a blow to the whole democratic movement. Also it had serious repercussions on friends and sympathisers of the Party and seriously affected its political prestige as well as financial position.

The actual tactics adopted in Andhra elections were, of course, blindly sectarian. But simultaneously, the whole understanding on whose basis these tactics had been worked out deeply reformist. The elections were not taking place in the background of a wave of mass struggles either in the country as a whole or even inside Andhra—struggles which steel the masses, bring about a decisive shift in their position and win them for the Party. Andhra was not in the grip of a political crisis. The main thing that had happened was that when the unpopular ministry was defeated, there were jubilations and big demonstrations in many areas. This was taken to mean support for the slogan of a Government consisting of or at least led by the Communist Party. In reality,

there had been nothing in terms of actual mass struggles in Andhra in the period preceding the elections to warrant the assumption that a big shift had taken place or was taking place among the masses in our favour. Yet, the Party assumed that it could, on the basis of its own strength, inflict an electoral defeat not only the Congress but on the entire coalition that the Congress had forged.

In the period after the Andhra elections, the crisis of the Central Committee deepened. The CC meeting held in March, 1955 to review the Andhra elections, after prolonged discussions, produced a resolution which most Party Committees rightly considered to be unsatisfactory. This was inevitable because inside the CC, there was still no unified understanding of the prevailing situation itself.

Differences intensified inside the PB virtually splitting it. The June meeting of the CC showed that the differences had instead of narrowing down, widened and crystallised.

Several big campaigns were conducted in the subsequent period: the solidarity campaign for Kanpur; the campaign in Goa, the campaign in Bombay and Maharashtra against SRC proposals, the campaign in Bengal against merger.

There was magnificent response by the entire Party cadres to these campaigns showing once again their loyalty to the Party, their devotion to its cause, showing that if the leadership gave a correct lead, the Party can rally the masses and move them into action on a big scale. The sacrifices made by the Party in the struggle for liberation of Goa won it the respect of the entire patriotic camp. It was the first time when on a big national political issue, the Party played such a leading role.

The solidarity campaign for Kanpur strike developed mainly under the initiative of the Party and Party comrades working in trade unions. It was a big event in the history of the working class movement.

But due to the state of the Party, these campaigns could not be effectively utilised to strengthen the Party itself.

The June 1955 Central Committee Resolution did not bring

about any appreciable change in the inner-Party situation and even the document on Communist Party and National Reconstruction did not become the basis for the mass campaign.

The June Resolution had been adopted after prolonged discussion in the Central Committee. By its very nature it was a compromise resolution. Due to differences inside the CC, due to the efforts to accommodate these differences, the Resolution in several respects was defective. Nevertheless, it registered important advance in several matters.

If after its adoption by a majority, after discussion, the whole Central Committee had unitedly carried out the directives given in the Resolution and further modified it in the light of subsequent developments, if a serious attempt had been made by the PB and the CC to concretise the Resolution in terms of tasks of the mass movement, the inner-Party situation could have been improved even at this stage.

But it is precisely this that was not done. Contrary to all practice that prevails in Communist Parties, the CC decided that even its own members were free to express disagreement with the Resolution in lower units of which they were members and write in the Party Forum against the CC line.

The CC further resolved that the June Resolution was not only to be discussed in all Party units and made the basis of immediate work—which was perfectly correct—but also that this very Resolution should be discussed in all Party Conferences.

The discussions that took place in the Party Forum, were of an extremely abstract nature—divorced from life, divorced from problems of the mass movement. They failed to settle issues or even sharply bring out the differences. The very nature of the discussion was such that the mass of Party members could not effectively participate in them.

What all this has led to is evident to everyone. It has given rise to uncertainty in relation to the Party line, it has prevented its concretisation, it has virtually paralysed the Party and intensified differences at all levels.

In all, eight meetings of the Central Committee have been

held since Madurai. Except in the first meeting held in April 1954, the CC meetings have produced practically no results. The CC has functioned not as the leader of the Party but as a debating society where abstract theoretical issues are discussed.

TASKS IN RELATION TO DEMOCRATIC FRONT

Basis for Advance

Due to these failures of the central leadership, due to its inability to resolve the differences, due to its inability even to fight in a correct way to resolve the differences, serious damage has been done to the whole Party and to the democratic movement. Valuable time has been lost. The initiative which we seized with the Party Programme and which we maintained till Madurai has, to some extent, gone away from our hands. But even more serious than these losses has been the effect of this failure on the Party—its unity, the authority of its leading bodies, the confidence of its cadres in these bodies. Hardly had the Party overcome the ravages of the mistakes of the earlier years and started strengthening its organisation when these controversies have given it a new setback.

Comrades, no effort should be made to minimise the seriousness of the damage, to minimise the immensity of the work that lies ahead for repairing this damage.

At the same time, it would be a serious mistake to focus attention only on this. That would lead to endless controversies and mutual recrimination. It would lead to wrong tactics, wrong slogans, wrong practice. It would lead to continuation of the present state of affairs.

We must recognise that despite all that has happened, the actual conditions that prevail today are such that big progress can be made in the immediate future. These conditions relate not only to the advance of the world Communist movement and the historic success achieved by the forces of world Communism, but also to the situation prevailing in our own country.

The emergence of India as a world power and her role in world affairs have strengthened the urge among patriotic forces for bold and far-reaching measures in the internal sphere—measures that would liquidate the heritage of the colonial order and ensure national advance in every sphere. It has become evident to all that the menace to Indian freedom will remain as long as the country's economy remains weak. Developments in the world arena, growing contact with the socialist world, the massive achievements of socialism in the USSR and vivid demonstration of the advance made by China are having powerful impact on the mind of our people. They are giving impetus to radical, democratic and socialist ideas. They are underlining the need for unity of democratic forces, for policies of national advance.

The main division among the democratic forces in India is the division between the democratic masses that follow the Congress on one hand and the masses that follow the democratic opposition parties on the other. This division manifests itself in every class in Indian society. Further, the democratic opposition itself is divided—mainly among the masses of the Socialist, Praja Socialist and Communist Parties. But in recent periods significant advance has been made in the direction of overcoming these divisions. In the campaign against the U.S.-Pak Pact and the aggressive plans of imperialists, in the mighty welcome accorded to the Soviet leaders, masses of all parties came together. Among masses of all parties the desire and urge is growing for unity, for resistance to and struggle against the offensive of vested interests and the Government, for national reconstruction, for reforms and democracy. United struggles are growing in scope and intensity.

The Congress is trying to consolidate its position by utilising the radical, democratic and anti-imperialist sentiments of the people as well as their urge for national reconstruction and also by forging unity with such landlords and other reactionary elements as opposed to it in the past. It has attained a measure of success in this. The limited gains under the First

Five-Year Plan, the easing of the food situation, the proposal for industrialisation under the 2nd Plan, and the talks of socialist pattern of society have given rise to hopes and illusions. These, together with the prestige that India has acquired as the result of her foreign policy, are being utilised by the Congress for its strengthening.

Nevertheless, as events have shown, this consolidation of the Congress is of an extremely uneven and partial character and rests on a shaky foundation. The actual practices of the Government belying its claims in many spheres give rise to sharp criticism. The measures of the Government, often running counter to the very sentiments that the Government strives to utilise, its deeds frustrating the very expectations that its promises raise, give rise to mass opposition and intensifies the conflict inside the Congress—sometimes forcing the Government to retreat from its earlier position.

Among the members and masses of the Congress, sentiments of peace and anti-imperialism, of friendship with the USSR and China, of democracy and socialism, the urge for radical reforms in order to carry out the task of national reconstruction, have made significant headway.

The adoption of socialism as its declared goal by the Congress has to be viewed in this context. On one hand, it is an attempt by the bourgeoisie to camouflage the real character of its policies, mislead the masses and use their radical sentiments for consolidation of its own class rule. But it is also an indication of the growing power and attraction of the ideas of socialism—a development which the ruling class cannot ignore. Further, it has radical implications. The very declaration of socialism as goal acts as a radicalising force. It strengthens the leftward swing among Congressmen, Congress masses and people in general, gives impetus to the demand for the reforms and for measures that bring out the disparity in incomes and help the people. While the mass of Congressmen enthusiastically support those policies of the Government that help to strengthen national freedom, national economy and benefit the people, they are growing critical of anti-people,

undemocratic policies and of the divergence between the declared aim of socialism and the actual practice. Many of the members of the Congress and the masses following them have not only opposed the anti-democratic measures and policies of the Government in words, but joined hand with parties and masses outside the Congress in common struggles. On the issue of Goa, on the issue of Linguistic States and opposition to merger proposals, on the issue of opposition to tax burdens as well as in relation to struggles for civil liberties, the country has seen powerful united campaigns in which members and masses of the Congress have played a significant role. Inside the Parliament on several issues connected with the task of national reconstruction, many Congressmen today voice the same sentiment as the parties of the democratic opposition although Party discipline prevents them from exercising their votes in the manner they would desire.

Among parties of the democratic opposition of which the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the Praja Socialist Party are the most important, consciousness of the necessity of unity has grown and has led to united action on many issues related to the defence of the interests of the people, civil liberties, liberation of Goa, Linguistic Provinces as well as to electoral agreements.

The former rigid barriers that divided the democratic masses and elements of different parties are slowly but steadily crumbling. Contacts have grown between the Communist Party on one hand and the Socialist Party and the Praja Socialist Party on the other, between the democratic elements inside the Congress on one hand and the democratic forces outside the Congress on the other.

Struggles of the masses have been growing in all parts of the country and are building popular unity in action on an increasingly broader scale. They are having powerful impact on the consciousness of the people, giving concrete expression to the growing spirit of protest and resistance against reactionary policies and measures, strengthening unity, facilitating radicalisation.

Recent periods have witnessed united struggles of the working class on a bigger scale than ever before in many parts of the country, struggles during which workers belonging to different trade unions and a vast number of unorganised workers, united in defence of their common interests, heroically fought for their demands against the capitalists and the repressive measures of the Government. A significant feature of these struggles was the participation of the workers following the INTUC and several INTUC unions. These struggles evoked sympathy and support from broad democratic masses. In many cases, important concessions were won, demonstrating the power of unity. The struggles of the working class have not been confined to the economic plane alone. In the campaign for the liberation of Goa, in the fight for Linguistic States, in the struggle for civil liberties, the working class in many centres played a leading role, exercising great influence on all classes and sections and powerfully strengthening the popular movement.

The determined struggles waged by the Kisans against evictions, against mounting tax burdens, for waste lands, the struggles of agricultural workers for adequate wages, aided by the growth of radical and democratic sentiments in the country, have not only won many victories but are having impact inside the Congress itself. This is reflected in the agrarian proposals of the Second Five-Year Plan and in the proposals of the Land Reform Panel.

United struggles as already stressed, are not confined to economic issues only. They have been steadily growing on broad political issues also.

All these are developments of immense importance for the democratic movement and open out vast possibilities. They are creating conditions for forging the broadest unity of the Indian people. This unity, in existing situation has to be a unity of the democratic and patriotic forces in all parties of all sections and elements. It has to be directed towards the strengthening and acceleration of the progressive aspects of the Government's policies and combating of the anti-people

and undemocratic aspects which still predominate in the internal sphere, with a view to modify and reverse them. It has to be unity for the adoption and implementation of measures and policies which are in the interest of our country and our people. It has to be unity for a move to the left.

Our Party, despite its weakness in many spheres, is in a position to play an important role in the forging of such unity.

We must remember that big successes have been won for the policies advocated by the Party—the orientation in the foreign policy of the Government, emphasis on industrialisation, recognition of the importance of agrarian reforms, Linguistic States, etc.

We must remember that our Party, by its determined defence of the interest of the people, by its bold championship of their cause, inside and outside the legislatures, by its role in such struggles as the liberation of the French-held territories and Goa, Linguistic States, has come before the people as the spearhead of the democratic opposition to the Government.

We must remember that our position in the working class, the peasantry and among the toiling masses has grown stronger in most areas—a factor of decisive importance for the building of democratic unity.

We must remember that our cadres, our most precious assets, are by far the best that any Party in our country possesses. Their loyalty to the Party, their devotion to the cause, are as great as ever.

Both objective and subjective factors are favourable for rapid advance.

NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE AND THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT

In the task of building the Democratic Front a correct attitude towards the bourgeoisie is a factor of great importance.

The bourgeoisie has its conflicts with imperialism and these conflicts are growing. The bourgeoisie is the leading force in our State. Above all, the bourgeoisie wields tremendous influence among the people—among all classes, including the working class and peasantry.

Correct tactics in relation to the bourgeoisie are, therefore, essential not only for strengthening the struggle for full freedom and national reconstruction but also for uniting the working class and the peasantry and for defending their cause.

In the period when Britain ruled India, the common aim of the nation was the overthrow of British rule. This was the basis of national unity which included the national bourgeoisie also. The concrete tactics of building such unity demanded support to each action by the bourgeoisie, *no matter how limited*, which roused the masses against imperialism, which moved them into action against imperialism. But we had vital differences also with the bourgeoisie. These differences were related to the *reformist forms of struggle* of the bourgeoisie. They were related to the policy of *compromise* with imperialism. They were related to the issue of struggle for democracy and for *vital interests of the masses*.

The bourgeoisie preached that the struggle for freedom must be confined to the sphere of satyagraha. It preached that the policy of compromise was enjoined by the special traditions of India. It preached that the struggle for democratic agrarian reforms, for a living wage, was not an essential part of the struggle for national freedom but that on the contrary it weakened the national struggle and disrupted national unity. It preached that all these would be effected *after* freedom had been won. In other words, it equated *national unity* with *class-collaboration*.

Hence the task of building the democratic front against imperialism demanded a policy of simultaneous unity with the struggle against the bourgeoisie. Unity for the aim of national freedom and for all measures that help it. Struggle against policies and methods that weakened the national movement, restricted its scope, reduced its striking power, struggle for correct policies and methods for national independence. *Both unity and struggle were parts of the national policy of advancing the cause of national freedom*. The Communist Party carried out these tasks to a considerable extent. Hence its present position in the country. But it could

not carry it out *consistently* and to an adequate extent. Hence it did not become the leader of the nation.

These tasks have to be continued in a *new way* in the present situation.

Today the aim of industrialisation, of defence of peace, of defence and strengthening of freedom is the common task before the entire people. These are national tasks which constitute the basis of unity with the bourgeoisie. At the same time, vital differences exist between the bourgeoisie on the one hand and the democratic masses and the Communist Party on the other, on several issues connected with the above tasks themselves. They are, in the main—(1) Methods of finance with which is related the question of *attitude towards British capital, landlordism and monopoly interests*; (2) defence and extension of democracy and democratic reforms—*above all*, agrarian reforms with which is related the question of the internal market; (3) Defence of the immediate interests of the masses—living wage, employment, etc.; (4) Relation with the imperialist world market and the Socialist world market. In the main, the bourgeoisie still relies on the imperialist world market.

Further, just as the bourgeoisie in the past preached that the struggle of the masses in the defence and for furtherance of their immediate interests disrupts national unity, today they preach that such struggles disrupt national economy, prevents national advance. Just as in the past they preached that *first* we must all unite to attain freedom and *then* improvement in the condition of the people will follow, today they preach that *first* we must all unite to rebuild economy and establish a Socialistic pattern of society and *then* improvement in the condition of the people will follow.

As in the past, therefore, the struggle to build the democratic front involves a policy of simultaneous unity with the struggle against the bourgeoisie. Unity for the aim of defence and strengthening of national freedom and for support to all measures that achieve this, even to a partial extent. Struggle against policies and methods that hamper these tasks and prevent rapid national advance.

These common features of our tasks in the past and in the present are not accidental. They arise from the fact that the democratic revolution has yet to be completed. They arise from the fact that our tasks, at the present stage, are national tasks.

But, for a concrete working out of tactics of the Democratic Front, it is not enough to see the *similarities* of the task in the past and in the present. We have also to grasp the *difference*. Otherwise, reformist tactics will follow.

Unity with the bourgeoisie in these days assumed the form of a *common national organisation*—the Congress—which we strove to extend and strengthen, whose candidates in elections were, in the main, opposed by feudal reactionaries allied to imperialism and whom we supported except in constituencies which we ourselves contested.

Such is not the situation today.

Unlike in the past, State power is wielded today by the Indian exploiting classes at whose head stands the bourgeoisie. It is this very State Power, guided by the Congress leadership that protects British capital and compromises with it, that defends landlordism, that imposes burdens on the people and uses police force against them.

Unlike in the past, the landlords today are allied with the bourgeoisie. Many of them are in important positions in the State Governments and in the military, administrative and diplomatic apparatus. A vast number of them are inside the Congress.

Unlike in the past, a large number of democrats are today outside the Congress and have taken a position of political opposition to it.

Another factor of great importance has to be kept in mind.

While democratic urges and sentiments have grown among the people, the position of *monopoly capital* in our economy has also grown stronger. The measures of the Government have helped the process. Monopoly capital has succeeded in altering the proposals of the Plan-Frame in its own favour. The grip of monopoly capital is strengthening not merely on

our economy but in other spheres as well. This is most strikingly seen in monopoly control over the *press*. A handful of them control the biggest newspapers in the country. A growing number of leaders of the Congress are getting linked with monopoly concerns in various ways—directorship, high salaried positions for their sons and relatives, etc.

The dominant position of monopolists in our economy and its influence in the State (which is seen not only in the economic policies of the Government but also in such decisions as denial of the demand for Samyukta Maharashtra with Bombay) in the press and in other spheres not merely means economic burdens on the people, not merely does it prevent reduction of prices and rise in wages, but it constitutes a grave menace to *democracy*. And this menace will grow in the period that is ahead—with the very growth of the democratic movement.

It would be an over-simplification to argue that because the monopoly bourgeoisie is also a part of the national bourgeoisie and because contradictions between the national bourgeoisie and imperialism have grown, *therefore*, strengthening of monopoly capital in our political and economic life is *also* a factor that strengthens national freedom. Such arguments will lead to incorrect tactics.

Monopoly capital in India is closely related with British capital. It is strengthening its relations with American capital also. It strives to resolve its conflicts with British capital *at the cost* of the people which does not strengthen but prevents the strengthening of national economy. It opposes the extension of the public sector in important spheres of economy. It evades income-tax in various ways and cheats the State. It does not favour radical measures against the landlords. It links itself with reactionary politicians, buys over many of them, buys over newspapers and uses them for spreading lies about the USSR and the Socialist world. A number of monopoly capitalists also finance and support parties of communal reaction whose strength, though weaker than in the past, is by no means negligible.

The democratic movement has, *above all*, to be directed against British capital and landlordism and against policies of compromise with them. But it cannot *confine* itself to these tasks alone. The mass movement must, therefore, strive to weaken the position of monopoly capital in our economic, political and social life, curb its power in all spheres. This is an essential and vital part of the national liberation struggle itself.

Hence also the struggle of the working class for living wage and trade union rights, the struggles of the peasants for fair prices of which they are deprived by the operations of grain monopolists, the struggles of the small industrialists for their demands, the struggles conducted by proprietors of newspapers to maintain their independence against monopoly encroachment, the struggles inside the Congress for the extension of the public sector—all these struggles are of great importance not only from the economic but also from the *general democratic point of view*. All these struggles help to weaken the position of reaction and strengthen democracy.

If these factors are not kept in mind, the tactic of unity with and struggle against the bourgeoisie cannot be carried out in the new situation. The tactic has to be one which not only weakens the position of British capital and landlordism but also weakens the position of monopoly capital in every sphere of life and strengthens the democratic forces in every sphere fighting against it. A correct attitude towards the demands of the small industrialists is, therefore, of great importance.

Unless we grasp the significance of these differences between the situation in the past and now we shall make serious reformist mistakes.

Such reformist mistakes can also result from a rigid, doctrinaire understanding of the Party Programme itself.

The Party Programme declares that our revolution at this stage is directed against imperialism and feudalism. From this perfectly correct formulation, some comrades draw the conclusion that any demand for the nationalisation of indus-

tries which are not British-owned is a violation of the Party Programme. Such conclusion is incorrect. In practice, it results in lagging behind events.

The demand for the nationalisation of the *coal industry*, the demand for nationalisation of *insurance*—these demands have been voiced by many bourgeois liberals. They are becoming part of the democratic movement itself. The Party must welcome this development and lend its support to such demands. While not rushing ahead of the consciousness of the people, we must not at the same time lag behind and justify this on the plea that it does not exactly square with our previous understanding. That would mean failure to seize the initiative and lining up behind the big bourgeoisie in the name of adherence to the Party Programme.

The growth of the democratic movement, the growth of radical urges among the people have become inevitable, because of the present world situation, also given rise to sentiments of social justice, sentiments against monopoly capital, sentiments of vaguely socialistic type among large masses of people. Hence the growing demand for extension of the State sector, for reducing disparities of income, for curtailing the power of big capitalists. While constantly explaining to the people what Socialism really implies, the Party cannot, at the same time, treat these sentiments and urges contemptuously.

Anti-monopoly sentiment must not be dismissed as merely an indication of petty-bourgeois radicalism or countered with the formulation that our main struggle today is against imperialism and feudalism. In various form anti-monopoly sentiment is becoming a part of the democratic consciousness which must be welcomed and strengthened while combating such expressions as weaken the unity of the democratic movement. It must be used in such a way as strengthens national freedom, national economy and weaken the forces of reaction.

If a determined and all-sided struggle against monopoly is not waged, in the mistaken notion that this will weaken

national unity, if the position of monopoly is not assailed and its supporters in political life isolated, then even the mere extension of the State sector will achieve very little. On the contrary, the State sector itself will become another instrument in the hand of monopoly for greater exploitation of the masses.

Equally important is the struggle against the increasing bureaucratisation that is evident today—the growing tendency on the part of the Government to confer more and more powers on officials appointed from above in panchayats, in development schemes and community projects, etc., the tendency to reduce the rights of elected bodies to one of “consultation” and of imposition of tax burdens.

This growth of bureaucratisation, together with the relation that the bureaucrats establish with Congress leaders have led to the growth of corruption on a vast scale in every sphere—the squandering of public funds, the utilisation of these funds to ensure cushy jobs for friends and relatives and also for strengthening the political base of the Congress Party. Claiming to be the sole representative of the people, the Congress refused all offer of co-operation from other parties even when such calamities as flood and famine take place. On these issues, as well as on issues like construction of projects, other organisations are often ignored and popular cooperation is sought to be enlisted only through such bodies as the Bharat Sevak Samaj.

We are certainly not opposed to participation in these activities by the Bharat Sevak Samaj and the Congress Committees. On the contrary, we want their participation. But we demand the right of participation by other organisations also—such as the Communist Party, Kisan Sabhas, in order that the people as a whole can be drawn into activities related to the task of national reconstruction.

Every honest citizen regrets the growth of corruption. But he does not see that corruption cannot be combated only by setting up an anti-corruption department. Corruption can be combated only by real democratisation by ensuring popular

participation, through their organisations, in all spheres of activity. The struggle for such participation is an essential part of the struggle for building the democratic front.

Our tasks today, as in the past, are national-political tasks. But these tasks cannot be carried out in the same way as before, nor with the same slogans. Attempt to do that would mean surrender before the bourgeoisie in the name of national unity.

Unity in Action

The broad general tasks which the democratic movement faces are:

1. Defence of peace,
2. Defence and strengthening of national freedom,
3. National Reconstruction,
4. Defence of the vital interests of the people,
5. Defence and extension of democracy.

All these tasks are closely inter-related. It is by carrying out of all these tasks in an integrated manner, it is by forging the broadest unity for concrete policies and measures related to each of them, that the democratic front will be built.

How is this to be done in the present situation?

– By establishing unity of action of classes, parties and elements in defence of their immediate interests of masses and in furtherance of their immediate demands in every sphere, in defence of civil liberties.

– By building united mass organisations of workers and peasants as also of students, youths and women.

– By unity of action between all progressive forces inside the Assemblies, municipalities, panchayats, for agrarian reforms, for defence of national industries, for bettering the conditions of the people, for measures of economic reconstruction, health, education, amenities of life.

– By determined struggle against corruption, bureaucratism, and for extension of democratic rights of local elected organs of the people.

– By developing struggles inside all parties—Congress, PSP, S.P.—for progressive policies and in favour of unity.

– By building unity against communal obscurantist, reactionary ideas and institutions—caste, untouchability, oppression of women.

– By determined effort to strengthen the position of the Communist Party and the democratic opposition inside and outside the Legislature.

The unity built on each issue helps to advance the struggle not only on that issue but on all other issues. It strengthens the democratic movement as a whole.

The united action of the working class in defence of its rights and demands evokes the sympathy of democratic masses, rouses their democratic consciousness and sense of social justice, and also encourages them to fight for their own demands. At the same time, this very support from the democratic masses also strengthens the unity of the working class itself, strengthens its morale, increases pressure on the vested interests and helps the working class to win its demands. The same is true about united action of the peasantry and of every class and section.

Further, the unity built in the course of such activities and struggles as for Linguistic States, defence of national industries against foreign competition, Asian solidarity and closer relation with Socialist States, cultural advance as well as constructive work in the sphere of health, education, nation building activities and the participation of the workers and peasants in all these also furthers not merely these specific struggles and activities but strengthens the democratic front. It wins the working class and peasantry allies in other classes—thus helping the consolidation of working class unity, peasant unity and strengthening the struggles for their immediate demands also.

What has got to be seen, therefore, is the galvanising effect of unity on the movement as a whole and on each front. The building of the democratic front demands a correct attitude towards the Second Five-Year Plan.

Our attitude towards the 2nd Five-year Plan is a positive attitude. In important respects in relation to industries the Plan has been considerably modified in a reactionary direction as compared to the proposals of the Plan-Frame. The Party will combat this modification and demand that the Plan-Frame proposals about industries should be given effect to.

Nevertheless, even as they stand the targets of the 2nd Plan are an advance as compared to the 1st Plan—an advance towards the development of industries. The danger exists of still further reactionary modification, a danger which has to be guarded against while fighting for modification on a progressive direction.

The Party must launch a campaign for immediate implementation of the proposals in relation to land reform made in the Draft Plan and by the Land Reform Panel.

At the same time, the Party has to combat the proposals of the Draft in respect of resources and taxation, in respect of wages and trade union rights, in respect of extension of democracy. These proposals are not only unjust and undemocratic. They will also intensify distress, prevent steady and continuous expansion of the internal market on a stable basis, prevent effective mobilisation of national resources, hamper mass participation in the work of national reconstruction. In the interest of national economy and national advance, in the interest of the declared objective of speedy industrialisation it is necessary that these proposals are modified. The campaign for this, as well as the campaign for suitable plans in each province, must become a vital part of the political activity of the entire Party.

Struggle of the people in defence of their demands and for extension of democracy is an essential part of this campaign.

Innumerable struggles have taken place and are taking place in all parts of the country. In these struggles are getting drawn masses following all parties. More such struggles will break out in future.

The task of organising mass resistance against the attacks on the people and for immediate improvement in their

condition of life, solidarity actions, struggle for civil liberties and democratic rights acquire exceptional significance. By conducting such struggles, we defend the interest of the people, consolidate their organisation and unity and also help the strengthening of those forces in the Congress that desire to develop our economy by attacking the position of British capital, landlordism and monopoly interests.

It is through these struggles as well as struggles and campaigns for democratic demands that masses of different parties come together, become conscious of the need for unity, of the power of unity and win concessions. It is through these struggles that their morale is heightened, popular support evoked and the attack of the Government and vested interests repulsed. It is through these struggles that conditions are created for the building of united organisations which are of vital importance for the consolidation of the democratic movement and its strengthening.

It is necessary that whenever possible such mass struggles are conducted through broad united committees representing the unity of the fighting masses.

These mass struggles also bring to the forefront the question of governmental policies—agrarian, labour, civil liberties, taxation, etc. They strengthen the movement against reactionary policies and forge mass unity for the adoption and implementation of progressive policies.

Nothing would be more harmful than the tendency to belittle the significance of these struggles. Such a tendency undoubtedly exists in our Party—the tendency which minimises the significance of these struggles, the tendency which considers that emphasis on such struggles is an expression of "economism". The tendency is especially strong in many of the new areas where the Party has extended its work in recent years, where the working class movement is weak and where the tradition of doggedly-fought battles in defence of the interest of the masses has yet to be created. But it is growing in certain old bases of the Party also and reveals itself in insufficient attention paid by the Party units to trade

union and kisan sabha work in pre-occupation only with political agitation. In essence, it is a tendency which ignores the fact that the strength of the democratic movement depends to a great extent on the strength of the Party's base among the toiling masses, its ability to unite them for their immediate demands and move them into action for the realisation of the demands.

The mass organisations in general and mass organisations of workers and peasants in particular are not only the most important weapons for conducting the economic struggles of the people, struggles whose importance will grow in the coming period but they are also the organisational form of the fighting unity of the working people. Their broadening and strengthening alone enables the waging of these struggles which will be a major factor to rouse the democratic sentiment of all popular forces, defeat the attempt of the bourgeoisie to solve its conflicts with imperialism and feudalism at the cost of the people, and force changes in its policies. The strengthening of the mass organisations is, therefore, not merely one of the tasks in this period. It is a task on whose fulfilment will depend to a great extent, the measures of success of every other task.

But this very building of the mass organisations demands that the activity of the toiling masses is not restricted to the sphere of economic struggles. Into all other activities related to the task of building the democratic front—defence of peace and freedom, national reconstruction, defence and extension of democracy, rights of women, advance of culture—into all these activities, the toiling masses have to be drawn as active participants. As long as this is not done with sufficient vigour and determination, as long as the working class and peasantry are not roused to look upon all these activities as their own activities, the work in every sphere will remain weak; the democratic movement as a whole will remain weak; and this weakness of the democratic movement will prevent the adequate strengthening of the struggles and organisations of the working class and the peasantry themselves.

It is primarily on the basis of the activity of its own class, the working class, and its immediate allies—the peasantry, the students, the working intelligentsia and the city poor—it is primarily on the basis of the activity of these classes that the Communist Party can become the leader, unifier and driving force of every movement. It is on the basis of such activity that every movement can be strengthened and extended. Unless the working class comes out as the most consistent champion and fighter for every measure related to the tasks of freedom, peace and democracy, the democratic front will not get built. It will not acquire the required sweep, depth and militancy.

The problem of the democratic front is, therefore, not merely the problem of ourselves, the Party members, evolving correct tactics, acquiring a national-political approach and formulating our tasks. It is a problem of instilling this approach among the toiling masses and above all in the working class and of drawing them into practical activity and political action for carrying out of these tasks, of heightening their political sense and making them conscious of their historic mission and their key role.

OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE GOVERNMENT AND TOWARDS OTHER PARTIES

It is in relation to the general tasks facing the democratic movement at this stage and on the basis of a concrete assessment of the policies and measures of the Government as they affect our freedom, our economy and the life of our people that we have to determine our attitude towards the present Government.

The Government of India is a bourgeois-landlord Government in which the bourgeoisie is the leading force. Its policies are motivated by the desire to develop India along independent capitalist lines. The Government today defends the freedom against imperialist pressure, opposes the drive towards war and builds friendly relation with the Socialist ~~It~~ strives to weaken the position of

British capital in our economy. It strives to curb and gradually eliminate feudal forms of exploitation, transforming feudal landlords into capitalist landlords and create a stratum of rich peasantry that can act as the social base of bourgeois rule in the countryside. It strives to extend and develop the State sector which in the existing situation is essential for the development of capitalism itself. These aims and the measures resulting therefrom inevitably bring the Government into conflict with imperialism, with feudalism and sometimes with the narrow interests of sections of the bourgeoisie, as was seen in the nationalisation of life insurance. They also lead to conflict of policies, as seen in the entire controversies over the problems of industrialisation.

These conflicts have progressive significance in relation to the democratic movement. They strengthen the freedom of India and helps the cause of peace. They increase the possibilities to move the Government by mass pressure and by strengthening popular unity in the direction of democratic reforms and against concessions to reactionary forces.

With the intensification of the attempt at industrialisation and in the context of the growing mass movement, these conflicts will sharpen and can lead to the adoption of several measures that weaken the position of foreign capital in our economy and the position of Indian reactionary forces in our political and economic life.

The Communist Party is vitally interested in such developments and strives to strengthen them, for they help in strengthening the democratic movement and in strengthening and extending the democratic front. Every step that is taken by the Government for strengthening national freedom and national economy, against imperialists, feudal and monopoly interests, will receive our most energetic and unstinted support.

But it would be a profound mistake to consider that the sharpening of the conflict between imperialism and the Indian Government, of the conflict between feudalism and the needs of bourgeois development and the attempt of the

bourgeoisie to strengthen its position in this conflict, have already led to or can automatically lead to the internal policies of the Government becoming popular, democratic and wholly progressive. The bourgeoisie seeks to strengthen its position not merely in relation to imperialism and feudalism, but also in relation to the popular masses. It seeks to resolve its conflict with imperialism and feudalism at the cost of the people.

Therefore, while opposing imperialism and attempting to weaken its grip over national economy, the bourgeoisie simultaneously maintains its links with British and other foreign capital and gives facilities for more influx of foreign capital. While striving to curb and weaken feudalism, it simultaneously maintains its alliance with landlords and makes concessions to them whose practical result is that the vast majority of peasants secure little benefit from the curbing. While striving to industrialise the country, it seeks to place the burdens of economic development mainly on the people. While extending the public sector, it simultaneously pursues policies of support to monopolists in their attack on the working people and adopts many measures which enrich the monopolists and thus help them to strengthen their position in important spheres of our economic life. While calling upon workers to increase production, it simultaneously refuses to increase their wages and denies elementary trade union rights. While calling upon the people to co-operate in task of national reconstruction, it simultaneously strengthens the bureaucratic apparatus, places main reliance on it, refuses to extend democracy and to adopt measures that would improve the conditions of the people. These are policies that weaken and shackle the very classes that are the most resolute defenders of peace and national freedom.

Due to all this, due to the divergence between the aims of industrialisation and the methods adopted by the Government to achieve these aims, the process of development of the country acquires a slow and halting character, marked by twists and turns, giving rise to sharp conflicts and profound

contradictions. They retard the sweeping away of the obstacles that stand in the way of India's development. They impose colossal burdens on the people, thus preventing stable and continuous expansion of the internal market. They lead to increasing bureaucratisation of the State machinery and suppression of the struggles of the people.

The significance of these anti-popular aspects of the Government's policies must not be minimised. In the sphere of internal policies it is these aspects that still predominate. But it is not enough to see this.

We have to grasp that a crisis of policy is inherent in the contradiction between the aim of the bourgeoisie (which is also a national urge) for industrialisation on the one hand and the dominant bourgeois method of realising this aim by conciliation of and compromise with imperialism, alliance with landlordism, main reliance on profit motive of monopoly capital and attack on the masses on the other.

If the democratic movement supports the aims of industrialisation as well as all progressive measures of the Government while resisting and opposing the undemocratic methods, if the struggle for improvement in the condition of masses and for progressive policies gathers strength, then the contradiction between the aim of industrialisation and the Government's methods of realising it can grow and lead to a situation which confronts the Government with sharp alternatives.

As such a situation grows, contradictions can sharpen in the Congress and inside the Government. The conflict over policies which is evident even today, though in a rudimentary form, can develop into real differentiation and even a political and governmental crisis. How such a crisis, if it comes, will develop, how it will be solved, will depend on the rapidity with which the correlation of forces are changed in favour of the forces of democracy in our country. The bringing about of such a change is an urgent necessity. Despite the advance registered by the democratic forces, there is no basis for complacency with regard to the present situation.

Forces of reaction are still very powerful. Their strength should not be minimised.

The setbacks they have suffered have not made the imperialists abandon their plans in relation to India. They are intensifying pressure through the SEATO and the Bagdad Pact and by working up tension on our border through the reactionary elements in ruling circles of Pakistan.

In the administrative, diplomatic, police and military apparatus, feudal and other reactionary elements hold many of the key positions.

Parties of communal reaction, though weaker than before, are still strong in many areas. A large number of their leaders and members are now inside the Congress itself. Attempt is being made to draw in others also.

Although radical sentiments have grown inside the Congress, inside the Congress hierarchy in most States, it is right-wing leaders who are dominant. They and their monopolist friends, while not averse to utilise the contradiction between the Socialist and the capitalist worlds, in order to drive a hard bargain with both and while therefore supporting the main line of the present foreign policy (which conform to the interest of the entire people, including the bourgeoisie) are simultaneously getting apprehensive about the implications of close relationship with the Socialist world, about the "dangerous" possibilities of such relation of the mood of the masses. Some of them think Nehru is going "too far". Many of them would like the opposition to America and the criticism of its policies to be toned down.

The close links of monopoly capital with British capital are well known. Links are being forged with American capital as well. Monopoly capital opposes even half-hearted and inadequate measures which have some progressive content. It fears the growth of democracy.

With the development of the conflicts inherent in the situation, reactionary aspects of monopoly capital will more and more come in the open. It will intensify its pressure on the Government.

No ground exists therefore for the facile assumption that the period ahead is a period of relative stability, a period during which the democratic movement will be able to "gradually" bond the Government to its will, "gradually" weaken its links with British capital till they got broken, "gradually" move it in the direction of more and more determined measures against monopoly, "gradually" complete the tasks of agrarian reforms—in brief, "gradually" modify its policies in an increasingly progressive manner—without sharp changes, without mass upheavals, without crisis. On the contrary, advance will have to be made against stiff resistance, through the overcoming of big obstacles, through the maturing of contradictions, through intense conflicts between the imperialist interests and the entire Indian nation; between the Government and the masses; between various sections and elements inside the ruling classes, inside the Government and inside the Congress; conflicts which, if resolved in favour of the people, create vast possibilities for broadening and strengthening the democratic front.

The coming period will confront the Party with rapid changes, with sharp twists and turns. Rigid concepts with regard to the line of development, giving rise to rigid tactics and slogans, will do irreparable damage. At the same time, certain important aspects of the present situation have to be kept in mind.

We must not forget that, despite the sharpening of the conflict between imperialist interests and the Government, between remnants of feudalism and needs of bourgeois development, which create big possibilities, the actual method by which the Government tries to solve these conflicts hamper rapid liquidation of the colonial heritage, impose burdens on the people, prevents strengthening of democracy.

We must not forget the partial, limited and unstable nature of the consolidation achieved by the Government. While the Government strives to utilise the democratic, radical and socialistic urges of the people for its consolidation, its actual policies very often come into conflict with these very urges.

While certain measures of the Government give some concessions to sections of the people, other measures hit the mass of the people and create conditions for rousing them against these measures.

We must not forget that the fact that today mass radicalisation expresses itself not in the old but in a new way — this does not mean that this phenomenon must continue indefinitely. It is a rapidly changing situation. Tactics and slogans of the Party have to be such as do not tie us down to rigid course of action. Mechanical concept of the growth of upsurge has seriously damaged the Party in the past. The law of irregularity, as repeatedly pointed out by leaders of the world Communist movement, applies to the growth of mass upsurge—unevenness, different manifestations in different periods, new forms, etc.

We must not forget that it is working class-peasant unity which is the core of the democratic front, that in all phases of the movement the Party has to resolutely defend the interest of the working masses, that actual measures of the Government have to be judged, above all, by how they effect the life of the vast majority of our people—the workers, the peasants, the toiling intelligentsia—and not by mere declarations.

We must not forget that advance has to be made on the basis of strengthening and consolidation of the gains we have already made—the prestige of the Party as a party of revolutionary struggle and its position among the toiling people. We must forge new links—especially with the Congress and its committees and its masses. But we must simultaneously strengthen the old links—especially with forces outside the Congress. Our slogans and tactics have to be such as achieve both purposes and progressively dislodge the bourgeoisie from its dominant position in the national movement.

In such a situation, it is essential that the Communist Party, while fully supporting all the progressive policies and measures of the Government, while co-operating with the Government in all spheres where such co-operation can be of benefit to the people, retains its absolute independence as

well as its character as a Party of democratic opposition in relation to the Government.

But the Party, at the same time, has to play this role in such a way, that it also acts as the party which builds the broadest popular unity. There is no contradiction between these two tasks. They arise from the very nature of the situation.

This demands not only a positive attitude towards the measures of the Government, but also correct attitude towards the political parties in the country, especially parties with mass following.

The National Congress is the ruling party. Its policies have already been described. In the struggle against compromise with imperialist and feudal interests, in the struggle in defence of the vital interests of the people, in the struggle against the powers of the bureaucracy and the police and for extension of democracy, it is against the policies of the Government and the Congress Party, that the people have to fight. No question arises therefore for general united front with the Congress at this stage.

From this however it should not be concluded that the democratic front will be an anti-Congress front. This is so not merely because of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks which we are faced with, but also because of the composition of the Congress.

Although the political party of the bourgeoisie which has taken many landlords in its folds, the Congress has, among its members, a vast number of democratic elements. It has an anti-imperialist and democratic tradition. Among millions it evokes deep sentiments connected with many of the heroic episodes of our national liberation movement, episodes that are still fresh in public memory. Recent measures of the Government and its promises have helped the Congress to rehabilitate its position even among some sections that were moving away from it. Simultaneously there has been a growth of radical and democratic sentiments inside the Congress and among masses following the Congress.

Our approach towards the Congress and the methods of

criticism of its policies have to be such as take into account all these factors. They have to be such as do not repel the honest Congressmen but draws them towards unity. They have to be such as strengthens the fight for democratic policies inside the Congress itself, strengthens the forces that, however haltingly, are taking a relatively more progressive stand. In the name of the very traditions of our national movement we have to call upon them to fight the monopolists and landlords who are strengthening their grip over the Congress—elements many of whom opposed the national liberation movement, elements who are anti-national, anti-democratic. On such issues as implementation of the proposals for agrarian reforms, implementation of laws and declarations that benefit the people, we must strive to forge united front with Congress Committees as well, appealing to the Congress and its masses to join hands with us.

The composition and character of the Socialist Party and the Praja Socialist Party varies from State to State. Nevertheless, broadly speaking, they can be described as parties of the democratic opposition. The mass support they have secured is mainly on the basis of democratic opposition to the policies of the Government and in the name of socialism. The cadres of these parties are socialist-minded.

Till recently the dominant leadership of the PSP (which included the S.P. also) pursued policies of violent denunciation of USSR and China, opposition to the movement for peace, of refusal to build democratic unity in the name of anti-Communism, of attempt to secure agreement with the Congress. The errors of those policies are becoming evident to the members of the PSP & SP and has led, during the last one year, to their modification to a considerable extent in several States. On a number of issues and in several campaigns and struggles, these parties have joined hand with the Communist Party and, or, democratic forces. Our Party will make every endeavour to consolidate and carry forward this process.

The unity that the Communist Party strives to build is democratic unity. Such being the case, the attitude to be adopted

towards communal parties, parties that divide the masses on religious basis and thus disrupt their unity, must be an attitude of uncompromising opposition. The Jan Sangh, Hindu Maha Sabha, Ram Rajya Parishad, Muslim League and Akali Party belong to this category. The Communist Party will have no united front with them in any elections in any form whatsoever. At the same time, it will strive to draw the masses and elements following these parties into common activity.

IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE—A WEAPON TO BUILD THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT

In the task of building the democratic front, ideological struggle is a factor of decisive importance. It is not as though "while" building the democratic front we must "also" wage ideological struggle. On the contrary, ideological-political struggle on the basis of a patriotic approach is an essential weapon for the building of the democratic front. The importance of ideological struggle has increased immensely because of the growth of democratic and socialist sentiments amongst the masses and the attempt of the Government to utilise these very sentiments for its own consolidation.

The Government and the ruling party, no longer able to deny the need for radical reforms in our economy and social structure, preach that these reforms can be brought about without mass struggles against the vested interests. They denounce class struggle as something alien to Indian traditions, while themselves supporting the vested interests in their offensive against the people. They foster belief in changes being brought about from top, through governmental action alone, slowly, with the "consent of all" aided by such campaigns as Bhoodan. They condemn all militant action, all popular resistance as anti-national, as disruption of national economy. They propagate about "two power blocs". While admitting the gigantic advance made by the Soviet and Chinese peoples in every sphere, they declare that all this was achieved through the "sacrifice of democracy".

They do not even want an independent peace movement

to develop, because they fear that such a movement, rousing the mass of people to activity in defence of peace, may create an "embarrassing" situation for the Government on several issues.

How devastating in effect the ideological offensive of the Congress can be seen in the Andhra elections. But it is not merely during elections that such offensive has to be met. Every struggle today has to meet not merely repression but also a powerful ideological offensive seeking to disrupt the unity of the participants in the struggle, seeking to isolate them from the general public. There can be no doubt that this will grow in volume and intensity as the economic plans of the Government progress. Without combating this offensive we shall not be able to unite the masses and build their movement.

This is being realised by comrades everywhere. But it is not yet sufficiently realised that our ideological struggle, in order to be effective, has to be not of a sporadic character, undertaken only during struggles and elections, carried on only through the press and platform, but by each Party member, each militant in day-to-day contact with non-Party masses. Secondly, the ideological struggle, in order to be effective has to be based on a national political approach, the approach of a patriotic party to the issues of national reconstruction and national advance in every sphere. Thirdly, the actual tactics in conducting struggles, in advancing concrete slogans, as well as day-to-day activity in the sphere of constructive work, have to be such that they convince the people, especially the non-party democrats that the national-political approach is not just a "cover" but is seriously meant.

Without all this, the ideological struggle cannot be concrete. It cannot be effective. It cannot be a weapon to build unity.

Self-satisfied sectarianism which takes no account of the national pride of the Indian people in India's world status, which belittles India's role in the world arena, which ignores the urge of the people of national reconstruction and adopts,

at best a lukewarm attitude towards measures that can strengthen national freedom and national economy, which pays no attention towards development and problems in the realm of education, culture and science—with such an outlook and such an approach, no ideological struggle worth the name can be conducted. Sectarianism is therefore not merely an obstacle in the path of building unity. It is equally an obstacle in the path of waging an effective ideological battle.

The main plank of the Government in the sphere of ideological propaganda is the rebuilding of national economy and national progress in the realm of education, health, etc. It comes before the people as the champion of these tasks. It justifies even such measures, as concessions to monopoly, concessions to landlordism on the ground of increase in national wealth—more goods, more foodgrains, more rapid development. It tries to make out that its critics are merely interested in equitable distribution and not in increase of production. It thus seeks to isolate the struggles of the people in defence of their rights and demands.

Ideological struggle does not mean merely struggle against the ideology preached by the Congress Government. It also means ideological struggle against bourgeois nationalism, which is manifesting itself with particular sharpness and in an increasingly disruptive form on the issue of Linguistic States—in the tendencies to whip up provincial animosities, to focus attention on “disputed areas”, to divert the whole movement into chauvinistic channels—tendencies which threaten the unity of the democratic movement and help vested interests to strengthen their influence on the toiling masses. In conformity with the anti-feudal tasks of the Party, it is equally incumbent on us to wage a determined struggle against the feudal, communal and obscurantist ideas propagated by extreme reactionaries on such issues as cow-slaughter, marriage laws, rights of women, caste discrimination, untouchability, etc. On such issues there is common ground between the Communist Party and all democrats, including progressive-minded Congressmen. Nevertheless, hitherto in many areas,

the prevailing attitude has been one of utter indifference towards such issues. Partly this attitude is the result of narrow, restricted concept of the anti-feudal tasks. But there is also the mistaken belief that since our economic and political struggles bring us into conflict with the present Government, therefore the ideological struggle too can be restricted to issues where we are in conflict with the Government. This utterly opportunist and anti-Marxist understanding sometimes results, in practice, to a conciliatory attitude towards communal reaction, as was seen in the stand taken by some of our comrades on the issue of ban on cow-slaughter, to unprincipled "understanding" with parties of communal reaction during elections in the name of tactics. Whatever the immediate "benefit" from such "tactic" may be in particular areas they discredit the Party all over the country, repel honest elements and render the task of the building unity more difficult. They cannot be justified on the plea that the "Congress also" does the same, nor on the opportunist plea that we are "utilising the difference" among enemies.

Further, ideological struggle also has to combat the wrong slogans propagated by left parties, slogans which belittle the significance of the battle for peace, slogans which minimise the importance of a serious effort to win over Congressmen. Some of the left parties ridicule the principle of co-existence, some of them indulge in anti-social and disruptive activities in the course of mass struggles, glorifying these in the name of revolution.

Vitally important though all the above aspects of ideological struggle are, the ideological struggle of the Communist Party cannot be restricted to the above aspects alone. Together with these, there is another aspect—the mass popularisation of the ideas of socialism.

There prevails the erroneous idea in our Party that since socialism is not the immediate task therefore popularisation of socialism also can be postponed till the present stage of our revolution has been completed. Nothing could be farther from the truth. No concept would be more dangerous.

An essential condition for the growth and strengthening of the democratic movement is the growth of the Communist Party into a mass Party. Without this, the movement itself will suffer in tempo, will not grow beyond a limited stage. And it is only on the basis of the growth of the ideas of socialism among the toiling masses, above all, among the working class, poor peasants, agricultural workers and also radical intelligentsia, that the Party can grow into a mass Party.

It is essential to popularise the great role that the USSR is playing in defence of peace. It is essential to bring before our people the great advance registered by China. These are tasks related to the task of building friendly relation with these countries—part of the general task of building the democratic front. But the Communist Party cannot content itself with that alone. It has to show also that the consistent championship of the cause of peace by USSR, its massive achievements in every sphere, its utilisation of the atomic energy for peaceful purposes, the gigantic advance made by China in every sphere—all these are not accidental. They have resulted from the fact that those countries overthrew bourgeois-landlord rule and took to the path of socialism. The Party has to explain the mechanism of the real democracy that prevails in these countries, the way it operates, the way it enables the people to rule themselves. Failure to do this in a sustained way and on a mass scale means disarming the people in face of the propaganda about democracy versus dictatorship.

Ideological struggle, therefore, in the present situation has to be related to the following tasks:

- Building of mass unity in action in defence of their demands and for the policies and measures advocated by the Party, combating the ideology propagated by the bourgeoisie.
- Combating the ideas and propaganda of feudal and communal reaction.
- Combating the ideas of bourgeois nationalism.

- Combating of the sectarian tactics of left parties.
- Mass popularisation of the socialism and building of a mass Communist Party.

All these aspects of ideological struggle are equally important.

UNIFICATION OF THE PARTY AND ITS DEVELOPMENT INTO A MASS FORCE

Of all factors that will determine the course of events in the coming period, the most decisive factor will be the strength of the Communist Party itself—its unity, its political maturity, its organisational consolidation at all levels, its base in the working class, peasantry and radical intelligentsia. The grave situation that prevails in the Party today is the single biggest factor holding back the advance of the mass movement and the strengthening of the democratic front.

This problem however cannot be discussed in this Report. That task has to be undertaken separately.

Report on Organisational Methods & Practices of Party Centre that have Intensified the Inner-Party Crisis*

1. The most important organisational task entrusted to the Central Committee at Madurai was the task of building of a "Strong Party Centre". It was evident at Madurai that the absence of such a Centre had severely hampered the growth of the Party and had prevented it from discharging its tasks effectively at all levels. Broad lines on which this should be done had been laid down in the Draft Organisational Resolution which, though not finalised at the Congress, had been generally accepted in the course of the pre-Congress discussion. A PB was formed consisting of nine members of whom seven were to be available for work at the Centre.

2. These organisational decisions of the Congress, together with the general atmosphere generated at the Congress by the adoption of the Political Resolution, created a situation favourable for a great improvement in the organisational position of the Party as a whole. Yet, in a few months time, the inner-Party situation started rapidly deteriorating. And by March, 1955, the Party was faced with a serious crisis.

3. This crisis has reached such a state that there is no Party Centre worth the name today. The Central Party organs (weekly and monthly), the publication and sale of pamphlets and other literature, the activities of the comrades working in the all-India mass organisations and even the organisation of the work of the comrades working in the

*Submitted by the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India for discussion by the delegates to the Fourth Party Congress held at Palghat

Centre—all this remains unattended. This is breeding a sense of frustration and cynicism.

Nor is it much better in the provinces where too collective leadership is not developing. Sense of frustration and inactivity is growing. Sense of discipline is loosening, decisions of Party Committees remaining unimplemented. Irresponsible talk is going on a big scale and prestige of the Party is going down.

4. What is this due to? The political reasons for this have been narrated in the Political Report. Events developed rapidly after Madurai. These events and the changes in the situation had to be concretely analysed, unified understanding about their significance had to be reached, and slogans and tactics had to be evolved which would take the whole movement forward.

This the Central leadership could not do. Dogmatic concepts based on rigid adherence to the formulations of the Party Programme and of the Madurai Resolution prevented the CC from assessing the shifts and changes in the situation. Inevitably differences grew in the Central Committee. But the solution of these differences and the reunification of the Central Committee itself could be achieved only if the PB functioned properly, made objective study of the situation, tried to act as a team. Not merely did this not happen but with the growth of political differences the PB itself got split. This, together with the growing non-functioning of the PB, led to CC meetings being called without preparations, which meetings more and more assumed the character of debates over abstract issues. All this, in turn, intensified the political differences, intensified the inner-Party crisis.

5. Political issues on which the differences arose are to be resolved on the basis of the Political Resolution before the Congress. But that by itself would neither fully solve the inner-Party crisis nor create guarantee against such crisis in future. It is equally essential to correct the organisational practices and methods that have been resorted to. For that, it is necessary to focus attention on certain developments.

There was real improvement in the position and work of the Party Centre immediately after the Madurai Congress. January-April 1954 was a period in which there was a definite improvement in the *organisational* field in the sense that—

i) There were regular meetings of the PB which all the members attended;

ii) Seven PBMs were available for the work of the Centre;

iii) The first efforts were made to properly organise the internal working of the PB by setting up TU, Kisan, Agit-Prop and Organisation Sub-Committees of the PB;

iv) PB went to the CC with a united voice and with well-prepared documents on the basis of which the April meeting was conducted, thus enabling the CC to come to agreed conclusions on such important questions as Party organisation, work among the peasantry and States reorganisation (on each of which resolutions were adopted at the April meeting of the CC) over and above a general assessment of the international and national developments between January and April;

v) The first step in the direction of organising Party education was taken in the form of organising a Central Party School;

vi) The first step was also taken towards organising proper and living relations between the Centre and the Provinces through the issuing of circulars and questionnaires enabling the Centre to study the concrete situation in the Provinces; these were responded to by the PCs in the sense that the Centre received more regular reports and letters from the Provinces than before;

vii) First step was also taken towards implementing the directive of the Organisational Resolution that the PB must place before every CC meeting. The PB placed such a report before the September meeting of the CC. In the organisational part of the report, an attempt was made (a) to pose certain organisational problems, which as per the information at the disposal of the PB, had appeared in certain provinces, (b) to give a brief summary of the way in which PB

had functioned between the April and September meetings of the CC including the manner in which individual PB members were functioning or failing to function, (c) to make suggestions as to how to overcome these difficulties, and (d) to make proposals with regard to better organisations and Party at all levels. The Political part of the report, too, sought to pose certain problems arising out of important developments in the field of India's foreign policy, results of the First Five-Year Plan, developments in the field of internal politics, etc.

6. Improvement was also registered in the quality of the *political* work of the Centre. Signs were visible that the PB and CC were taking a relatively flexible and sober attitude towards current developments. Take, for example, the PB statement of February, 1954, hailing Nehru's speech in the Parliament; this was the first statement in which certain declarations of the Government on foreign policy were supported by the Party without 'ifs' and 'buts'. This was further carried forward in the April meeting of the CC which came to the conclusion that it was necessary to build a movement on the basis of points of agreement between the Communist Party and the Government on questions of foreign policy. Subsequent articles in the Central Party press on current international developments—such as on the Colombo and Geneva (Indo-China) Conferences, Chou-Nehru declaration, etc. showed that the central leadership was groping towards an approach to questions of foreign policy which not only carries forward but modifies wherever necessary the conclusions of the Madurai Congress. Nor were these gropings confined to certain policy statements and articles in the press. They reflected themselves in the practical leadership which the PB gave to the organisation of the Delhi Conference against the U.S.-Pak Pact—the first conference which brought together a significant section of Congress leaders on the same platform with other activists of the peace movement on an issue of importance for world peace, as well as for the defence of India's own national independence. These gropings

towards a realistic approach to current developments could be seen in the April-CC conclusions on changes in the economic situation in the country (where, for the first time, it was noted that industrial as well as agricultural production is increasing), as well as in the subsequent efforts of the PB to work out more realistic policies on questions of national reconstruction, in the Party's work among the students etc. This was also done in the Draft Report presented (but not discussed) at the September CC meeting.

7. These improvements in the organisational and political work of the PB were, however, only partial. In order to systematise and improve work, the PB members had divided themselves into a number of sub-committees—TU, Kisan, Agit-Prop, Organisational. Except the TU Sub-Committee, the other committees did not function. No effort was made to critically examine the reason for this and to find out where the cause of the failure lay. Above all, an attitude of liberalism prevailed in relation to each member of the PB and his work. There was no check up by the PB of the work done by its sub-committees or its members. At no time did the PB criticise any of its members for his failures and mistakes.

Secondly, while the April CC meeting called upon every PC to discuss the Organisational Resolution in relation to its own work, with a view to reviewing it and rectifying mistakes in its functioning, no such thing was done by the PB in relation to its own work (this, despite the fact that it had been found already in April that the original decision to form sub-committees had not worked and despite the fact that there were several problems connected with the organisation of the P.H.Q.)

Thirdly, the Central leadership failed to discharge its responsibility of studying the reports and letters coming from PCs and DCs and giving them help and advice on the problems posed by them, thus creating confidence in them that the slogan of a strong centre is being implemented.

Above all, absence of collective functioning manifested

itself in the fact that decisions on such an important question as the issuing of the circular on "Work Among the Students" was hastily done without full discussions at a full meeting of the PB. The lectures delivered at the Central Party School also were not the result of any collective discussions in the PB or even among those PBMs who were delivering the lectures in the school; each lecturer made his own notes and delivered his lectures as he thought fit. Com. Ramamurty's article of July 18 was also written not on the basis of any collective discussion.

8. The improvement in the political work of the Centre too was restricted by the strongly sectarian understanding which the PB and as a whole had at the time. This was clearly visible in the PB and CC approach to the result of the elections in T-C State and the electoral tactics adopted by the State Committee in relation to them. What the PB and CC did in March and April, 1954 was just to give an expression to the spontaneous resentment against the betrayal of the PSP—a sentiment that was prevalent throughout Party ranks—on the basis of which to arrive at sectarian conclusions with regard to united front with the PSP.

While this sectarian assessment of the T-C State elections was shared by the entire PB and CC (barring the two CCMs from T-C State), the large majority of CCMs and few PBMs took a sectarian stand with regard to even those questions on which the PB as a whole was groping towards a more realistic policy—attitude to National Plan Loans, work among students, August 15th, etc. It was this that led to the furore that was raised on Com. Ramamurty's article in 'New Age' of July 18 and on the August 15 circular. Together with several PCs, the majority of CCMs and a section of the PB too came to the conclusion that the PB was showing a "grossly reformist" tendency which should be fought and defeated if the Party is to be saved.

The entire PB and CC reacted in a wrong way to the document of certain UP comrades. Even when the PB and CC came to the conclusion that the document was a

reformist one, it was incumbent on them to find out what was correct in it. This they did not do.

9. It was under these circumstances that the September 1954 meeting of the CC made a sharp and on the whole wrong criticism of the PB—a criticism which the PB ultimately accepted. That criticism was circulated in the entire Party. Such a thing is done only in cases of very grave mistakes.

10. Panicked by this criticism and worried by the danger of reformism the PB called the November meeting of the CC in order to express its opinion against the article written by Com. RPD in *Lasting Peace*. This was a totally unjustifiable and disruptive step. For:—

Firstly, the decision to call the meeting was taken at a time when not a single PC had demanded of the PB a discussion on the article; the PB would have been justified in calling a meeting if the publication of the article had led to serious discussions inside the Party and the emergence of differences on the issues posed in the article; a meeting to discuss this new *situation within the party* would have been justified.

Secondly, the meeting was called to “reject” the article—that too with the prior decision of the PB to “reject” it.

Thirdly, and above all, the decision of the PB ‘rejecting’ it and the fact that the CC meeting was being called to endorse this was publicised throughout the country through openly-dispatched telegrams.

These steps taken by the PB added to the difficult situation which arose at the September meeting and after; the prestige and authority of the PB, which had already sunk very low at the September CC meeting, sank still further. This was further carried forward at the November meeting of the CC which, while rightly refusing to endorse the decision of the PB to reject the article, adopted the unheard of procedure of circulating in the entire Party a resolution stating that there were “serious differences” inside the CC without stating what those differences were.

11. In its November, 1954 meeting, the CC recognised

the fact that the differences that had arisen could be resolved only by reassessing the situation that had developed since Madurai. A machinery was set up to make this reassessment—a commission of the CC. The meeting of the PB that took place in December, 1954 and January 1955 together with some members of the Commission took important steps towards this reassessment—the shift in the foreign policy of the Government and increasing assertion of freedom; improvement in certain aspects of the economic situation and a relative strengthening of the position of the Congress; direction of the Government's economic policies; the leading position of the big bourgeoisie in the Indian State.

12. The reassessment was still of an extremely general and partial character. It had to be concretised, elaborated and properly worked out. This the PB thought should be done after the Andhra elections.

13. The results of the Andhra elections came as a rude shock to the entire Party. Despite the inner-Party situation that prevailed on the eve of the elections, the entire Party in Andhra as well as in other States, had gone into the election campaign with intense enthusiasm and with complete unity. Inevitably, therefore, the disappointment was great. But it was precisely in such a situation that the PB and the CC had to act with the utmost cool-headedness and responsibility. The PB, immediately after the election results were known, hastily summoned a meeting of the Central Committee. What should have been done was to convene a full meeting of the PB, together with, if necessary, some members of the Andhra Secretariat, and call the CC meeting only after this meeting and on the basis of a prepared draft resolution. In the absence of such preparation and with the prevalent mood, the discussions in the CC on the Andhra elections assumed the character of an acrimonious debate—some CCMs criticising the Andhra comrades in extremely sharp way while the latter not fully recognising the incorrectness of their assessment of the political situation inside Andhra, which had formed

the basis of their election tactics. The resolution that was ultimately adopted failed to satisfy anyone and was criticised by many Party units.

14. With this meeting of the CC ended whatever there was of the PB and its functioning. The differences that had appeared in the September and November meetings of the CC took clearer and sharper forms. What is worse, these differences made those who held particular views look upon those who differed from them as people who should be "fought" and "defeated". This had the disastrous consequence of the PB and CC Commission not only failing to discharge their task of reassessing the situation, but virtually dividing itself into two groups; after two or three formal meetings of the Commission, the entire Commission was virtually split up into two Drafting Commissions each of which presented their documents to the June meeting of the CC.

15. The June, 1955, meeting of the CC, after prolonged discussions for full one month, adopted by majority a Political Resolution which sought to resolve the differences that had arisen and give the tactical orientation to the new situation. Despite its limitations and shortcomings the resolution was a big step in the right direction. It could have become the starting point for the resolving of the inner-Party crisis. But, it did not. On the other hand, the very Resolution, and the discussion on it, led to the formation of three more or less well-defined groups within the Party. An intense political struggle between the supporters of the Resolution and its opponents (the latter themselves divided into two categories—those from the 'left' and from the 'right') became the main feature of inner-Party life from top to bottom. Even the current activity of the Party came to a standstill in most of the provinces. This was so serious that, even though there was no difference inside the CC on the document which it had adopted in June on the Second Five-Year Plan, the positive proposals made in that document did not become the starting point of a big mass political campaign. Naturally, therefore, the June decision that the CC Resolution is a document which is to be

immediately implemented though simultaneously open for discussion, was not acted upon in its true spirit.

16. What is this due to? Is it due merely to the fact that there exist serious differences inside the Party? In other words, is it natural and inevitable that the political differences that arose in the middle of 1954 should have led to such developments as did actually occur in our Party in recent months? Or was there any method of preventing these disastrous consequences which followed the emergence of political differences within the Party?

17. These are questions which have been raised and answered before in our Party. The 1954 Organisational Resolution, for example, stated that the appearance of differences and their resolution through inner-Party struggle are nothing unnatural for the Party. It said that "such differences will arise in future because of the complexity of the problems and the rapidly developing situation which will pose new problems. They will have to be resolved—not by glossing over the differences (as was done often before the 3rd Party Congress) but by sharply formulating them and by means of principled inner-Party struggle." "But" it went on, "*as our own history teaches principled inner-Party struggle, inner-Party struggle that strengthens the Party, can take place only on the basis of observance of Party forms, proper Party behaviour and a correct comradely attitude towards those from whom one differs.*" (Emphasis added.) In other words, the appearance of inner-Party differences and the necessity for resolving these differences enhance, rather than reducing, the importance of the strict observance of correct organisational methods. Yet, it was this basic truth that was missed by the Party leadership the moment differences started appearing.

18. It was in the September meeting of the CC that differences manifested themselves for the first time inside the PB and CC. It was in that meeting that PB members expressed their mutual differences in the CC meeting—two drafts on August 15th coming before the CC, each of them signed by 3 PBMs while two others did not subscribe to either. On

certain other issues too, some PBMs joined the rest of the CC in criticising the other PBMs. This was certainly a very serious situation. From this situation was drawn the conclusion that, now that serious differences on political issues have arisen inside the PB, it is the job of PBMs to take these differences into the CC and to fight them out there. The result was that even the little improvement that had been registered in the functioning of the PB began to disappear.

19. It is significant in this connection that the organisational report presented by the PB before the September meeting of the CC had pointed out the defects in the then functioning of the PB in the following terms:

“(a) In spite of the decisions taken at the Party Congress with regard to the “strong centre”, all the PBMs are even now not available for work at the Centre. Com. Ahmad has still to devote a great part of his time for work in UP. So has Com. Rajeswara Rao in Hyderabad. Com. Rajeswara Rao failed even to attend three consecutive meetings of the PB—those held in the last week of April, in the middle of May and in June. Furthermore, he has requested to be relieved of his membership of the PB, which is not only opposed to it, but wants him to work at the Centre

“(b) Even among those PBMs who are available for work at the Centre very few are in a position to pay attention to the political-organisational problems of Provinces. Com. Dange is busy with the affairs of the AITUC office, or touring some provinces in connection with the AITUC work (and to a certain extent in connection with Party organisational work as well); he has very little time to study provincial reports and help the PB in tackling these problems. So is Com. Sundarayya busy with the work of the Parliamentary Office. Com. Ranen Sen also is not paying attention to the problems of Party organisation; he attends to the work of the AITUC office and undertakes some tours.

The result is that, apart from Com. Ajoy, there are only 3 PBMs who can be said to be in a position to pay their attention to the political-organisational problems of

Provinces; even among those, Com. Ramamurti has to devote a major part of his time to the "New Age" and some time for the AITUC as well.

"(c) Even if more PBMs are made available for work in connection with the study of political organisational problems of Provinces, they will not be able to make their contributions to this task of the PB unless a method is established with which every problem posed from the Provinces is studied collectively by the PB. The present position is that most of the PBMs do not read the reports which come from the Provinces. Hence, while each PBM may be familiar with the problems of one or two Provinces, the PB as a whole has no grip over the situation in any Province. As a matter of fact, the only occasion on which the PB as a whole sits is for 2 or 3 days in a month on which some urgent political problems are discussed and decided upon and some specific organisational problems are disposed of. Such meetings do not help the process of the PB educating itself collectively on the problems of the Provinces."

Yet, the very PB which made this assessment of the inner-PB situation, failed after the September CC meeting to take adequate steps to overcome these defects and put PB functioning on proper rails.

20. It has been mentioned earlier that, even in the pre-September days when there was some improvement in the functioning of the PB, there were such vital defects in functioning as an attitude of liberalism in relation to each PB member and his work, absence of check up on work done by members or sub-committees, failure to give the collective decision of the PB on important issues of policy, etc. All these defects in functioning persisted in the post-September days. Furthermore, another defect was added to them at and after the September meeting of the CC; instead of the PB coming to the CC as a team with well-considered reports and prepared documents, PB members individually came before the CC airing their personal views and thus giving a divided lead to the CC. While this was evident already in September

and November 1954, it assumed very serious forms in March and June, 1955. No serious efforts were made by the PB as a whole to unify itself and then, on the basis of such a unification in the PB, to unify the CC, and if such efforts at unification leaves some issues unresolved, then to have those points of differences clinched by the CC. On the other hand, the tendency was to treat whatever differences arose as the basis of struggle between different trends; what is worse, difference when it manifested itself was gradually extended to other issues and made the subject of controversy in the entire Party.

21. While differences were thus being dealt with, the actual day-to-day functioning of the PB virtually came to a stop. PB meetings were of course held between November, 1954 and March 1955. These were meetings at which serious discussions took place on important problems: it was, for example, at the December meetings that important conclusions were arrived at on certain aspects of the Party's policy. It should, however, be remembered that, even in this period, no attention was paid by the PB to the running of the Party organs, the organisation of agit-prop, etc. Furthermore, even such meetings of the PB ceased to take place after March, 1955.

22 While it is true that the PB as a whole and each individual member is responsible for this state of affairs, it is necessary to point out that each individual member has his personal responsibility in a specific way (apart from his share of the general responsibility). It is, therefore, necessary to state how each member functioned as PB member during this whole period.

Com. Ahmad: Functioned as Secretary of the UP Committee and was therefore not available for work at the Party Centre except for attending PB meetings. He attended all meetings except four. He did not function as a member of the Kisan Sub-Committee.

Com. Ranen Sen: Did help in the functioning of the TU Sub-Committee. But did not pay attention to any other

aspect of the work of the Party Centre. Attended all the PB meetings except four.

Com. Dange: Was busy with the work of the AITUC. Did not take much interest in the work of the Centre.

Com. P. S.: Functioned as leader of Parliamentary group and other jobs of the Centre. Relieved of Parliamentary work in September 1954 and other jobs after the Andhra elections. Did not attend three PB Meetings.

Com. Rajeswara Rao: Did not function in the Centre. Absented himself at PB meetings. Did not function in the Kisan Sub-Committee.

Com. P. R.: Devoted greater attention to Party organ till September, 1954. Later due to preoccupation with the AITUC and other central work and also due to work in Madras Assembly, gave little time to the Party Organ.

Com. Surjit: Helped in the work of the Centre particularly the work of the Kisan Sub-Committee. Was sent to some places on behalf of the PB.

Com. E. M. S.: Remained at the centre most of the time. Was burdened with many jobs.

Com. Ajoy: Was abroad for five months in 1954 and two months in 1955. Paid no attention to specific issues and details of organisation even while at the Centre.

23. It should be mentioned, in this connection, that there were occasions when, for several days together, there was no PB member at all at the Centre. Furthermore, even when more PBMs were there, they did not function as a collective team, but individually doing whatever they think is their job and responsibility. It has not been the practice of the PB at its meetings to assign specific jobs for each PBM and then to check up the extent to which those jobs have been done by the PBMs concerned. The result of this mode of "functioning" is that, while each PBM is supposed to be acting "on behalf of" the PB, while his instructions and directives are supposed to be the directives and instructions of the PB as a whole, those directives and instructions are really his own; very often, it so happens that the other PBMs do

not know what has been done by the PBM concerned and they, therefore, give views and suggestions contrary to what has been given by him. This naturally leads to loss of confidence in the PB as a whole.

24. Those defects in the functioning of the PB have bad effects on the various aspects of work at the Party Centre.

a) *Party Organs, Weekly and Monthly*: They are supposed to explain the policy of the Party, pool the experiences of the Party and play the role of organiser and leader. They, therefore, should be run under the collective leadership of the PB as a whole insofar as they deal with important questions of policy; such policy pronouncements as the Editorial, Notes and important policy articles should be the collective responsibility at least of those PBMs who are available at the Centre at the time when they are written. Yet, they are invariably written on the basis of discussions among the comrades who are running those organs, or at best on the basis of discussions between them and one individual member of the PB. It is, therefore, not surprising that articles giving expressions to contradictory viewpoints sometimes appear in the paper resulting in confusion.

b) *Publication and Sale of Literature*: We are now going through a period in which vast opportunities have appeared for the mass production and sale of Marxist and progressive literature in all the Indian languages. Not only has the PB even once seriously discussed this problem, not only has it made any effort to discuss it with the responsible comrades of various PCs in order to evolve correct policies in connection with this aspect of Party; it has even failed to tackle the problem arising out of the production and sale of literature in English and Hindi. Very important problems of policy have been raised by the comrades doing this work, but the PB has failed to deal with them.

c) *Trade Unions*: Problems of TUs have been dealt with by the TU Sub-Committee. But the discussions in the TU Sub-Committees, or at the meetings of the TU activists, did not become the common property of the whole PB.

d) *Kisan Sub-Committee*: Though it was formed in February 1954, it never functioned. It is true that one or two meetings were held after the April, 1954 meeting, but after that neither Com. Ahmad nor Com. Rajeswara Rao took any interest in its work. It was only Com. Surjit and Com. Prasad Rao in consultation with Com. E. M. S. (who was not a member of the Sub-Committee) who did some work in connection with this field of activity. It is necessary to note in this connection that this was the period in which very important problems were posed before the Party connected with the Kisan movement; these were placed before the PB by Com. Prasad Rao, but the PB could not pay any attention to them.

e) *Peace, Women and Students* were left to individual comrades. Their problems were seldom discussed in the PB. There was no check up on their work.

f) *Finance*: Not only did the PB fail to study the financial position of Provincial Committees and to evolve slogans of putting the entire Party on a stable financial basis, its management of central finances itself was unplanned and chaotic. It was left to one or two individual members of the PB, both to raise donations and loans, as well as to sanction expenses. There being no planning and check up by the PB, avoidable and extravagant expenditure has very often been incurred. The result is that, once during the last two years (immediately after the Andhra elections), the financial position of the Centre became serious; It was only then that the PB discussed the problem collectively and came to certain decisions. However, even after the PB took these decisions no practice was evolved of regular planning and check up of the finances of the Party Centre by the PB.

25. This does not, of course, mean that there are no positive aspects to the work of the PB. On the other hand, as has been mentioned earlier, the PB did try to bring about a shift in the policy of the Party in the period between the Madurai Congress and the September meeting of the CC. Despite the fact that this process was arrested a little at the September

meeting of the CC., PB nevertheless made its contributions to (a) bringing about a more positive approach to the Nehru Government's foreign policy which resulted in the successful holding of the Asian Conference, (b) the evolution of a positive approach to the Plan-Frame, (c) organisation of a mass campaign on such issues as the Andhra elections, Goa struggle and the SRC Report. No little contribution was made to the solution of concrete problems affecting the TU and Kisan movements (proposals for the Labour and Land Reforms Panels of the Planning Commission, help to the Kanpur, Amritsar and other strikes, greater help and guidance on questions of the peasant movement, etc.). Guidance was also given on some important issues facing the comrades working in Parliament. These positive achievements are undoubtedly there, but not only are they inadequate to meet the requirements of the situation, they are not results of the collective wisdom of the entire PB; on most of these questions the guidance that was given was the guidance of one or more individual member of the PB.

26. What is this due to? It is due not only to the fact that political differences arose in the leadership of the Party during this period. For, as has been mentioned earlier, many of these defects were present even at the time when there were no political difference inside the PB, between the Madurai Congress and the September CC meeting. Nor can this state of affairs be explained by the specific personal failings and limitations of the individual members of the PB alone. For, despite the innumerable failings and limitations which each of them has, they do not explain the common failing of the entire PB. This common failing is the failure of the individual PB members to subordinate their individual activity to the need of the common activity of the unit as a whole. This common weakness may be called individualism, a trait that is characteristic of the petty-bourgeoisie.

It is this that has led to the evolution of a particular pattern of inner-PB functioning, a pattern according to which (a) each PBM "bothers" himself about that branch of PB's

work (either this or that "front" or this or that Province) with which he is "especially connected" and is sunk in that job; (b) each PBM adopts an attitude of "non-interference" in the "other's jobs"; (c) both of the above attitudes together result in the PB as a whole not "bothering itself" with the main job of collective leadership—constant and timely examination of current developments with a view to working out mass lines to be followed by the Party; studying the developments in, and rendering timely advice and instructions to the Provincial Organisations of the Party; studying such problems of Party building as education, recruitment, finance, Party press, etc. both at the Central and at the lower levels with a view to evolving correct Party policies in relation to each of them; etc. etc. These important jobs of leadership are left either to the General Secretary alone, or at best to him and one or two additional members of the PB. These jobs, therefore, become their "sphere of activity" in which the other PBMs do not "interfere".

27. It was, however, not only the functioning of the PB that was affected by individualism. The manner in which difference were sought to be resolved was also affected by it. For, once differences started manifesting themselves, the tendency was for some PB members to express "their" personal point of view at the CC meeting, rather than for the whole PB to try to hammer out the common point of view of the PB as the leading team of the CC. This tendency made its appearance first in the September meeting and continued in subsequent meetings. By the March and June meetings of the CC, the PB ceased to go to the CC as a unit, each PBM going as the "spokesman" of a particular "trend". This naturally had disastrous consequences insofar as differences in CC meetings themselves were concerned.

28. If this was the situation in the PB, all the more so was it in the CC and, after the June meeting of the CC, in the Party as a whole.

This approach taken by the members of the PB and CC to the whole question of inner-Party struggle led to June

decision permitting PB and CC members to express their differences on the CC Resolution, in the lower units of which they were members, in the conferences of their Provinces and in the CC Forum. What was thus sought to be done in the name of "Inner-Party Democracy" was to deny the basic principle that inner-Party discussions should be conducted under "the firm leadership of the Central Committee" and that the minority within the CC should submit to the majority. To this permission given to PB and CC members to openly express their disagreements with the CC Resolution was added the wrong manner in which inner-Party discussion was conducted through the Forum: instead of clearly stating the issues on which differences have arisen and the different points of view on each of those issues of controversy; instead of asking Party units to express themselves on those points of controversy, so that the CC or the Party Congress may come to decisions in consonance with the prevalent views of the Party as a whole on points of controversy the whole range of Party policy on all aspects of its activity (even many of those on which there are no differences at all) was thrown open for discussion. Furthermore, the points of controversy, and even points of agreement, were couched in such terms that the majority of Party members (particularly working class and peasant comrades) could not participate in those discussions, not because those comrades are "intellectually ill-equipped" to do so, but because discussions did not centre around vital problems of the mass movement but around certain abstract generalisations.

29. The net result of all these procedures is that the entire Party is divided from top to bottom around the main trends which expressed themselves at the level of the top leadership of the Party. This division of the entire Party, created on the basis of such wrong methods of inner-Party discussion, poses before the Party the danger of the formation of groups inside the Party. They lead to a hardening, instead of narrowing down, of differences; to an obstinate sticking to the positions, rather than to preparedness to change one's

position in the light of exchange of views; to crystallisation of groups instead of unification of the Party.

This obviously is a very serious situation. It, however, can be dealt with provided the main defect that is now visible in the function of the Party Centre is rapidly overcome. It will, therefore, be the urgent task of the new Central Committee to draw the necessary conclusion from the developments of the last two years and the state of affairs that is today obtaining in the Party.

(26 April. '56)

Report of the Central Control Commission of the C. P. I. for the Period 1954–1956

Placed before the Fourth Party Congress held at Pölghat

I

1. The C.P.I. elected Control Commission in the Second Party Congress, but owing to the peculiar circumstances in which the Party was placed during the period immediately following the 2nd Party Congress, it did not function.

2. At the All-India Conference held in Calcutta in October, 1951, another Control Commission was elected with 5 members. It functioned till the 3rd Party Congress which elected the present CCC.

3. Having no previous experience or specific direction from the Party, the CCC had to function under a great handicap inasmuch as in several matters relating to the actions and behaviour of Party comrades no standards of norms of behaviour were laid down by the CC.

4. The Commission, therefore, thinks that it will be useful to note its experience for the future functioning of the Commission.

II

5. The CCC found that in several cases, the lower committees failed to quickly dispose of the appeals that came before them. This has often resulted, among other things, in factionalism and disruptive tendencies developing in the Party.

6. In this connection, the CCC wishes to draw the attention of the comrades to the statutory provision in the Constitution that an appeal before the CCC should be disposed of within 3 months.

7. It must be noted here that certain Provincial Committees have not cared to do anything in regard to cases referred back to them and it would look as if the Party members' rights are not cared for by these Committees as in the case of U.P.

8. We consider that it is the right of every Party member to have charges given to him and also an opportunity to defend himself. Even where a decision by the lower unit may seem to be justified, this opportunity to know the charges and to refute them must be given to every Party member. This should be followed by all the Committees in all cases of appeal.

9. With regard to the procedure adopted in investigation and disposal of cases, the lower committees do not generally adhere to the provisions in the Constitution such as framing the charge-sheet, giving an opportunity to the comrade accused of charges to explain his position, etc. This has very often resulted in the CCC having to go into the cases afresh. Even in such cases also, the CCC was compelled either to refer back the case or conduct fresh investigation resulting in unnecessary waste of time, energy and money. It is also noted that even in cases which have been charge-sheeted, proper investigation and necessary records of the same were absent.

10. If the lower committees had adhered to correct procedure in investigation, the CCC could have in many instances disposed of cases on the basis of the documents supplied.

11. We would like to point out here that wrong procedures were adopted in certain cases of trial as for instance, the one adopted in the case of Com. Raghavan in Malabar. In this case, the trial was conducted in a general body meeting. Comrades were given an opportunity to cross-examine Raghavan in the open meeting and vice versa. With regard to this procedure, CCC received complaints that certain comrades were handicapped on account of this procedure inasmuch as they were not free to say all that they wanted

to say in such a public enquiry. This kind of trial should not be encouraged since it does not help in arriving at a correct decision. The proper procedure is to individually call witnesses before the inquiry body and take their evidence, examination being done by the committee itself.

12. In the appeal of Chadayamuri, we had nothing before us excepting a resolution of the PC concerned, which necessitated a reinvestigation of the case.

13. In the case of Chunilal and Dr. Dhar, no proper inquiry was held and in the latter case no charge-sheet was given, nor was he given an opportunity to state his case.

14. There has also been an instance of mass pressure being brought on the PC in order to prevent it or influence its decision by a member facing disciplinary action. In the case of Amulya Mazumdar on whose behalf certain Party members and sympathisers wrote a petition to the PC defending Mazumdar. Party members cannot be a party to a petition against a unit along with non-Party members. This practice has to be abandoned.

15. The other point that we want to mention is the inordinate delay made in answering letters by the PCs when inquiries and papers are demanded from them. The value of the appeal is lost and in a number of case papers and material have also been lost.

16. Not replying to enquiries by the CCC was particularly noticed in the UP appeals. For months on end, there would be no reply at all. The result is that the Party Constitution which lays down the time limit for the disposal of the appeal cannot be complied with. There will be some more delay for endorsement of the decisions by the CC. The CC should see to it that decisions are endorsed in time.

17. Only two things can quicken the pace of the CCC enquiry. That means that the unit that takes action makes a proper enquiry, keeps the necessary records to be placed before the CCC immediately when they are called for in case an appeal is preferred. This means that the PCs also should move fast.

18. As a general rule, records are not kept when enquiries are made by the units. It is necessary to insist on this factor; without this it is difficult to arrive at a correct decision.

19. We have also seen that in most cases when enquiries were conducted, they were oral and formal and no proper investigations were made into complaints of the Party member against whom disciplinary measure was taken.

20. We should like to emphasise here that a full enquiry should be held and the guilt of the person concerned fully proved. Unless it is a charge of spying where summary trial may be justified, it is always necessary to see that every Party member is given the satisfaction, as far as possible, that his case has been fully gone into before he is being condemned. The present methods of enquiries by the lower units are very unsatisfactory.

21. The CCC was also handicapped for lack of knowledge of organisational position of every Provincial unit and because of this a certain difficulty arose in tackling cases and in coming to proper decisions. Even when decisions have been correct, there have been organisational problems which handicapped the carrying out of such decisions.

22. There is the case of Manzar Rizvi who was at one time a candidate member of the Central Committee. It is admitted that he was a good worker but he himself defied Party discipline. The Provincial unit was and is willing to help him, but he will have none of it from a lower unit, while he goes on attacking the Party leadership. Such problems become difficult for tackling. This has to be tackled by the CC.

23. There was another question which came up for discussion in the CCC. This was the question of a Party member in a mass organisation. How a disciplinary measure such as expulsion from the Party should or would affect his leadership in a mass organisation? How far is the Party justified in interfering with his position in the mass organisation? How could this problem be tackled? Is the Party justified in asking him to remove himself or resign his office from the mass

organisation? Opinion was divided and a majority of the members were of the opinion that the Party cannot interfere in such cases in the mass organisation, as it would affect the whole organisation. Where the mass organisations are not entirely under our leadership, this problem becomes more complex. One member held that the Party had a right to interfere in these cases and ask the member concerned to resign from a mass organisation if it was considered necessary.

24. Another question which has to be tackled by the Party as a whole is the question of examining witnesses in the cases under investigation. Can non-Party men be examined in a case? Majority opinion in the CCC is in favour of examining even non-Party men. But this is for decision by the Party.

25. The Party must also lay down norms of behaviour for all Party members regarding money and other matters. There seems to be no line on these questions.

III

26. The CCC during these two years held, in all, seven meetings. They considered, in all, 26 appeals, 9 of them from Bengal, 7 from Bihar, 4 from UP and one each from Malabar, T-C, Punjab, Manipur, and two from Bombay.

27. Out of these seven meetings held, they were attended by 4 members. There was only one meeting which could not be held for want of quorum, the meeting in June 1954.

28. Out of the 9 Bengal cases, the case of Nanda Dulal Sinha was not gone into as it referred to the case of punishment before the 2nd Party Congress. In the case of Chiranjani Biswas, no decision was given as he wanted to be a sympathiser, if not a member of the Party and he was asked to contact the West Bengal PC. The appeals of Indu Ganguly, Chunilal Chatterjee and Dr. Amulya Mazumdar, Dilip Mitra and Gobinda Dutta were rejected and their expulsion was confirmed. After the decision had been given, Indu Ganguly wrote to us that he was withdrawing his appeal. The CCC refused to interfere with the action taken by the PC in the case of Pulin Sen.

29. From the six appeals from Bihar, one was referred back to the Provincial Committee. In the appeal of Rizvi, the CCC decided that he should be readmitted provided he expressed regret for the papers that he sent for publication in the outside press regarding inner-Party matters. The other four appeals were rejected. One of the appeals was preferred after the period of suspension was over. In the other three cases, their expulsion was confirmed. In the case of Mathur, he was asked to apply to the Bengal PC, which was authorised to deal with his admission as if it was a new case of admission, and the Bihar PC was asked to send their objections to the Bengal PC direct.

30. There were four appeals from UP. The case of Com. Kazmi was passed on to us by the former Commission. In this case, the Commission upheld the suspension but reduced the period of suspension. The other three cases were referred back to the UP PC. We do not know what has happened in these cases since the PC has not replied to any of our letters in this regard.

31. The appeal of Chadayamuri against his suspension by the TC Committee was rejected and his suspension of two years was confirmed.

32. The appeal of M. B. Chandran against the decision of the Malabar DC in the case of P. K. Raghavan in which the decision of the DC was confirmed. In this case, one of the CCC members wrote a separate note, while the conclusion was unanimous.

33. The Punjab PC withheld permission to Shakuntala to secure a legal divorce. Shakuntala appealed against this decision, and the CCC allowed her appeal by a majority. One of the members in a separate note held that this was not a case of appeal and that the CCC cannot come to a right decision without understanding the social set up of the Province, and the political and organisational position of the Party.

34. In the appeal of Nripen Singh, the CCC by a majority decision set aside the suspension but did not give any orders on his reinstatement in the Provincial Committee. The CCC

held that the grounds of suspension could not be proved. There was a dissenting note which stated that a decision should not be given in this case, before coming to a decision, but that the whole organisational setup and circumstances of the suspension should be discussed with the CC. Later, the Manipur State Committee wrote to us that his suspension was set aside by them, even before they received the CCC decision.

April 24, 1956.

Sd/ S. V. Ghate
K. C. George
Kolla Venkayya
Karyanand Sharma
Abdul Halim

**Cases that came before the CCC
after the Madurai Congress**

BENGAL

1. Indu Ganguly
2. Chunilal Chatterjee
3. Amulya Mazumdar
4. Nanda Dulal Sinha
5. Chiranjani Biswas
6. Dr. Dhar
7. Gobinda S. Dutta
8. Dilip Mitra
9. Pulin Sen

BIHAR

10. Ayodhya Prasad
11. Manzar Rizvi
12. Nazru
13. J. P. Shramik
14. Ramachandra Master
15. Bimal Prasad Gupta
16. Biswanath Mathur

BOMBAY

17. Ajodhya Prasad
18. Date

UTTAR PRADESH

19. Kazmi
20. Bageswarnath Pande
21. Pratap Singh
22. Sajjan Singh

TRAVANCORE-COCHIN

23. Chadayamuri

PUNJAB

24. Shakuntala

MALABAR

25. M. B. Chandran

MANIPUR

26. Nripen Singh.

Report of the Credential Committee Placed before the Fourth Party Congress of the C.P.I. held at Palghat

There are 407 comrades present of whom 395 are delegates with vote. This figure includes Central Committee and Central Control Commission members who are ex-officio delegates. In all 427 delegates were elected in the various provincial and other conferences. That is 92.5% of the delegates elected are present. There are about 75,000 full-fledged party members and about 30,000 candidate members in the party today. The calculation of party membership is based on C. C. office estimate. Only 403 out of 407 returned the forms. So our analysis is based upon the 403 forms received by us.

AGE GROUP

<i>Below 25</i>	<i>Between 25 & 35</i>	<i>35 & 45</i>	<i>45 & 55</i>	<i>Above 55</i>
2	136	191	60	13

The youngest delegate present is a student from Bihar Kamendra Narain Das, age 21. The oldest present is Baba Gurmukh Singh, age 70.

PERIOD OF JOINING THE PARTY

<i>Before 1930</i>	<i>1930-1939</i>	<i>1939-43</i>	<i>1943-48</i>	<i>1948-51</i>	<i>1951-53</i>	<i>After '53</i>
9	119	153	82	21	17	2

ANALYSIS BY FRONTS

<i>Party</i>	<i>TU</i>	<i>Kisan</i>	<i>Agr. Culture</i>	<i>Peace</i>	<i>Student</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Journalists</i>	
			<i>Labour</i>					
139	101	96	10	4	4	2	6	27

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS					
Non-Matric		Matric		Graduates	
86		168		149	
CLASS					
Working Class	Middle Class	Peasant	Agr Worker	Landlord	Small Trader
26	250	95	3	26	2
POSITION IN THE PARTY					
CCCM	CCM	PCM	DCM	LCM	Unit Member
5	31	201	120	17	29
MPs, MLAs					
M P	M L A	Municipal Corporators		Local or District Board Members	
18	34	16		14	

YEARS SPENT IN JAIL

The total number of years spent by all the delegates here comes up to 1344 years and 2½ months. The average spent in jail by each delegate works out to 3 years and 4 months. The largest period spent in jail among the delegates is 24 years by Com. Ganesh Ghosh from West Bengal.

YEARS SPENT UNDERGROUND

The total number of years spent underground by the delegates comes up to 1021. This means an average of little more than 2½ years for every delegate. The longest period spent underground is 19 years by Baba Gurmukh Singh from Punjab.

Dated Palghat this 28th day of April, 1956.

K.T.K. Tangamani,
Jolly M. Kaul,
Des Raj Chadha

Resolution and Report on the 20th Party Congress of CPSU

Resolution adopted in the Fourth Party Congress of the C.P.I. held at Palghat on 19-29 April, 1956. Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of C.P.I. who attended the 20th Party Congress of CPSU, also placed a report in the Fourth Party Congress of C.P.I. on the role of J. V. Stalin as discussed in the 20th Congress of CPSU.

Resolution

The Party Congress, having heard the report of the general secretary, resolves that in view of the fact that the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was an event of the greatest importance and took decisions which every Communist Party in the world needs to study seriously, calls upon all party committees and members to study the documents and organise discussions with the help of the general secretary's report.

The Central Committee will make available the recent article in the *People's Daily* on the subject to help the discussions. The Central Committee will review such discussions and endeavour to enrich our understanding in the light of these documents and discussions.

Report by Ajoy Ghosh

The 20th Congress of the CPSU met in the background of very big successes and on the basis of these successes, the Congress showed the path of further advance. The fifth five-

year plan had been completed much ahead of schedule and the bold targets of the sixth five-year plan are there before us. The perspective is that not in the distant but in the near future the Soviet Union will catch up with and outstrip the most advanced capitalist countries. On the basis of these achievements, now the decision has been taken to reduce the working-day, to raise wages, to raise the standard of life of the people. Secondly, very big successes were secured in the struggle for peace. At no time since the end of war was the international situation so free from tension as now. Both in the realm of internal and international affairs, the Congress was meeting in the background of mighty victories and, on the basis of those victories, working out a path for still greater victories. The discussions and decisions of the Congress have to be understood in this background.

The first big factor to which the Congress draws our attention is the emergence of socialism as a world system. The significance of this development is becoming more and more clear as days pass. The socialist world has not merely come into existence. It exerts ever more powerful influence on the whole course of history. It has got massive achievements in every sphere and these achievements prove the incontestable superiority of socialism over capitalism.

It was precisely the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe that suffered the most serious damage during the war. The bourgeoisie had thought that as a result of these damages, these countries would not be able to recoup for a very long period. Yet actually what has happened is that the pre-war level of production has been left far behind. And the very rapidity of this recovery, the rapidity of the advance after the serious damage caused by war, shows the contrast between the two systems. This incontestable superiority of the socialist system is having a very powerful impact on the minds of men. As was said at the Congress, in the minds of men socialism is already stronger than capitalism.

All of you comrades know that section in the *Communist Manifesto* where it is stated that of all classes that stand face

to face with the bourgeoisie, the proletariat alone is revolutionary, while the other classes are conservative and even reactionary. The *Manifesto* states that these other classes become revolutionary to the extent that they adopt the standpoint of the proletariat. This in those days was not a common phenomenon. Big changes have taken place since then.

Formerly also many other people talked of socialism. Non-Communists talked of socialism in the past as they do at present. But in those days, the talk of socialism by social-democrats, by bourgeois intellectuals, served only one purpose and that was to hold the masses away from the real socialist movement, hold them back from the task of real socialist transformation. Today also to some extent it serves that purpose. But today such declarations act in a different way. Social-democracy has proved its bankruptcy. It has not been able to solve any problem while Marxism has achieved mighty victories. Therefore the ideas of socialism today flow more and more into the channels of Marxism-Leninism.

Another thing is that hundreds of honest elements are coming to accept socialism, though they dislike certain aspects like civil war, violence, etc. But they are not at all opportunists or enemies of socialism. Many of these elements are moved by genuine socialist ideals.

In a world situation, when capitalism was the only system, when the superiority of socialism was not definitely proved, it was easy to utilise the slogan of socialism for anti-socialist purposes. But in a world situation when socialism has proved its superiority, when capitalism is in a state of crisis, in such a world the ideas of socialism can be most easily directed to Marxism-Leninism than at any time before.

Secondly, the growing strength of socialism helps the disintegration of the colonial system which in the past was the main reserve force of world imperialism. This disintegration of the colonial system is a very big factor in world politics. Marxism-Leninism had predicted the inevitable collapse of the colonial system. But the collapse is not proceeding

everywhere in the same way as was predicted. This has got to be clearly seen. We thought that it would proceed in only one way, namely, the conquest of power by the masses led by the working class, the revolutionary overthrow of imperialist rule, and the establishment of a democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry. This has happened in a number of countries—China, Vietnam, etc.—though there also have been modifications in the state forms. Nevertheless the struggle in these countries has proceeded in a particular way, a revolutionary overthrow of imperialism by an alliance led by the working class. It is possible that it will happen in the same way in some other countries also. But this is not all. When we speak of the disintegration of the colonial system, we include in this process the events that have developed in countries like India, Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon—the attainment of freedom by them. What is happening today in the Middle East? It is not merely the working class, the peasantry and the national bourgeoisie but even some elements from amongst the feudal classes are found taking a stand against the imperialists. This is an entirely new phenomenon. For example, there is the dismissal of Glubb by the king of Jordan.

The struggle for defence of peace and against military blocs that is developing in the countries of the east is an essential and vital part of these freedom struggles itself. By the waging of this struggle, these countries strengthen their national freedom.

All this is possible today because of the emergence of socialism as a world force and the growth of the anti-imperialist movement in the countries of the east. It enables these countries to wage a far more determined and firm struggle against the drive of the imperialists towards a world war than at any time before. It strengthens their independence. The former colonial countries asserting freedom find powerful support in the USSR and China.

They have established diplomatic relations and economic relations with the socialist world because it is a factor which strengthens their own freedom. It makes them less dependent

on the imperialists and leads to the deepening of the crisis of the imperialist system itself.

But we should not think that it is only the socialist world that is helping the colonial world to win its freedom. This disintegration of the colonial world is itself a factor which benefits the socialist movement and socialist world. We are helping the socialist world by what we are doing. We are playing a great and increasingly more important role in humanity's march towards socialism.

Firstly, this disintegration of the colonial system weakens imperialism and thus weakens its capacity to undertake military adventures against the socialist world; it denies its manpower and resources with which it could undertake such adventures.

Secondly, it is not merely that we gain from the economic relations with the socialist world because it helps us to rebuild our economy on the basis of development of heavy industries, but such economic relations help to strengthen their economy also.

Thirdly, and above all, the fact that a vast number of countries which were formerly a part of the imperialist world are today defending their freedom and taking a stand in opposition to the imperialists—is a factor which directly helps the consolidation of the socialist world.

What the socialist world needs, above all, is peace. But for the second world war, the economy of the Soviet Union would have been far more advanced than today. And the fact that countries like India, Burma, Egypt and even Saudi Arabia are taking a stand against war and the preservation of peace is a factor of strength to the socialist world.

What is the effect of the disintegration of the colonial system on imperialism? That also has got to be seen. The urge for national reconstruction that has grown in these countries and which results in their establishing relations of friendship with the USSR further narrows down the area of unrestricted exploitation of the imperialists. It makes it difficult for them to solve the crisis of market at the cost of the

colonial countries as they used to do in the past. Inevitably this deepens their crisis.

Secondly, this narrowing down of the area of exploitation sharpens the conflict between the imperialist powers themselves.

Thirdly, it helps the working class in the imperialist countries to expose and isolate the worst reactionaries from among them. For example, the defeat suffered by the French imperialists in Vietnam resulted in the sweeping decline of the prestige of their political leadership and it helped the working class to isolate the worst reactionaries in France.

Fourthly, it helps the moral isolation of the imperialists. In Britain, they point out: "India which was a colony takes today an independent stand on every issue, while Britain allows the US imperialists to establish bases on its own soil".

And *finally*, it underlines the whole basis of social-democracy and reformism in the imperialist countries. It was superprofits from the colonial countries that formed the foundation of the growth of reformism in many of the advanced imperialist countries. Sections of the working class were bought over by them. Today it is becoming more and more difficult to do that and thereby the economic basis of reformism is getting more and more weak. It results in the sharpening of the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the working class in the capitalist world.

What we have to see is that the breakup of colonialism and winning of freedom by colonial countries is of tremendous importance which strengthens the socialist world, weakens imperialism, intensifies conflict between imperialist powers, intensifies political and moral isolation of imperialists and their agents, undermines the basis of reformism.

The emergence of socialism as a world system and the disintegration of colonial system—both proceeded side by side and each process strengthened the other. Both, in their totality, delivered heavy blows against the system of exploitation built up by imperialists.

New prospects in the struggle for peace have developed.

The desire for peace has given rise to a vast movement embracing hundreds of millions of people. A vast zone of peace has come into existence—the zone comprising socialist as well as non-socialist countries.

In this connection it is necessary to reassess a phenomenon of the post-war years and that is the growth of the sentiment of neutrality. The sentiment of neutrality is a sentiment which opposes alignment with all military alliances. A doctrinaire and dogmatic concept would be like this : Between forces of war and peace there can be no neutrality and so any country which takes a neutral stand objectively helps warmongers. Many leaders of the Communist movement suffered from this concept in the past. But, in reality, what does that sentiment of neutrality express? It is a sentiment for peace, which wants to keep out of the imperialist drive for war. It may be that leaders who express these sentiments look upon both as power blocs. It may be that subjectively the desire of some of them is to condemn the Soviet Union. But which is the country today that wants to establish war bases and is going ahead towards war? It is not the Soviet Union; it is the UK and the USA. Neutrality expresses the sentiment of the masses for maintenance of their national freedom.

Today a vast zone of peace has come into existence comprising of the socialist world as well as a number of countries which declare non-participation in military blocs as the basis of their foreign policy. India, Burma, some Arab countries and even some European countries are more and more taking to this path.

A decisive factor in the battle for peace is the growing military strength of the Soviet Union. Not merely the mass of people but powerful states headed by the USSR and China stand for peace and actively fight for peace. Their strength grows every day, making resort to war an extremely dangerous adventure for the imperialists.

All these factors, together with the growth of Communist and working class parties, the strength of the movement for peace, brought about a situation which made the CPSU con-

sider it necessary to modify the Marxist formulations with regard to the inevitability of war.

It was said at the same time that the economic causes of war remain, and as such the possibility of world war also remains. With the colonies going out of imperialist orbit, with the area of exploitation getting shrunk, the desire of imperialists to launch a war against the socialist world certainly does not decrease, but increases. The law of uneven development of the capitalist system gives rise to rivalries. So both the causes of world war and inter-imperialist war operate.

At the same time, as has been pointed out, while the danger of war remains—it remains so long as these conditions remain—the counteracting forces are very strong and are continuously growing. In this situation it is possible to prevent war.

“Today there are mighty social and political forces possessing formidable means to prevent the imperialists from unleashing war, and if they actually try to start it, to give a smashing rebuff to the aggressors and frustrate their adventurist plans” (*Report of the 20th Congress*).

After pointing out the problem of markets, the report says, “all this means, the struggle for market is becoming sharp in the imperialist camp”. Therefore the conflicts inside the imperialist camp continue to sharpen. But that does not mean that war between them is an immediate possibility. A situation may arise in future when such a danger grows real and imminent. But by the time such a danger arises it is quite likely that those forces which are operating against war will become so strong that even if they are not able to bring about an end of the capitalist system, would be powerful enough to prevent a war from breaking out.

It must be understood that this thesis about war not being inevitable is not just an abstract formulation based on a mathematical study of factors for and against. The thesis is borne out of practical experience in the struggle against war.

As you know, after the end of the war, within a year or

two once again the international situation deteriorated and tension was created. The practical steps taken by the Soviet Union, together with other factors, have brought about a radical change in the situation despite all the attempts of the imperialists to aggravate international tension. The Geneva conference, if you look at it from the point of view of 'practical' results, may not appear to have many achievements, but it succeeded in creating a certain atmosphere and reducing international tension. A new spirit was born out of this conference on the basis of which further successes could be achieved. This itself was a big practical achievement. The forces working for peace today could confidently say that war is not inevitable though the danger always remains, and this thesis has a tremendous practical importance. It arms the forces of peace with confidence in victory. It helps to broaden the sweep of the peace movement.

Then the 20th Congress also made a concrete analysis of the capitalist system. That analysis is there. I do not think that it is necessary to elaborate that. But one thing that is very pointedly brought out at the 20th Congress is the contradictory processes that are at work. This had become necessary because of the oversimplified understanding of the economic crisis of the capitalist system that had grown in the past in many Communist parties throughout the world. This had two evil effects.

In the Soviet Union many technicians and economists arguing on the basis that capitalism has declined, came to the wrong conclusion that no technological advance was possible in capitalist countries. But even in this period technological advance was being registered in some capitalist countries in certain spheres. The capitalists, faced with a shrinking market, were trying to meet the new situation by improving the technique of production. This was not seen by many and they did not study sufficiently the advance of technology that was being made in America. This to some extent harmed the progress of Soviet industry. Also, in capitalist countries predictions were made about the time and nature of the im-

pending crisis which proved incorrect. Our understanding at Madurai was also based on this absolute decline of capitalist production and an oversimplified estimation of the economic crisis. In the 20th Congress it was necessary to reexamine this understanding. It is not only necessary for the Communist Party to study crisis in general, but also a particular crisis in concrete in each country and not to minimise the contradictory processes.

At the same time, while keeping all this in mind, the Communists must also see the general direction in which capitalist economy is moving—the direction of new social and economic upheavals. Either an oversimplified understanding of the crisis or belief in capitalist prosperity is wrong. We have to study the day-to-day developments that are taking place without at the same time losing sight of the direction in which the capitalist economy is moving—new upheavals. Only then will we be not taken by surprise.

The CPSU Congress also proclaimed the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism. It held that because of the new international situation when the balance has shifted in favour of the forces of socialism, because of the massive achievements of socialism in the USSR and other countries in every sphere which are having a powerful influence on the masses of the people, because of the growth of the ideas of socialism all over the world and because strong Communist parties have come into existence in many countries—such a peaceful transition is a possibility in several countries.

The concrete examples that were given at the Congress in which peaceful transition has taken place were the East European countries and China. It was stated that in these countries, the transition to socialism was effected in a peaceful way. We all know what happened in the East European countries. The old state apparatus broke down during the second world war itself under the blows of the Red Army as well as of the patriotic forces. And after the defeat of Hitler, new coalition governments came into power. They were in the nature of people's democratic governments of the first stage

which carried out the bourgeois-democratic tasks and which included the bourgeoisie also. In the second stage, the transition to people's democracy of the second stage took place and it is now in essence the dictatorship of the proletariat effected without violence and bloodshed. Same things are happening in China also — prolonged civil war in the first stage, peaceful transition to socialism in the second stage.

These were the only examples before us. The question that would naturally be asked is : Is this all that is meant by what the Congress stated? If so, what is new in this?

If you take Khrushchov's report this is what he states :

"The winning of a stable parliamentary majority backed by a mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat and of all the working people could create for the working class of a number of capitalist and former colonial countries the conditions needed to secure fundamental social changes.

"In the countries where capitalism is still strong and has a huge military and police apparatus at its disposal, the reactionary forces will of course inevitably offer serious resistance. There the transition to socialism will be attended by a sharp class, revolutionary struggle.

"Whatever the form of transition to socialism, the decisive and indispensable factor is the political leadership of the working class headed by its vanguard. Without this there can be no transition to socialism."

The question may be raised : In which countries is peaceful transition possible? In countries where capitalism is still strong and has huge military and police apparatus at its disposal, the reactionary forces will, of course, offer serious resistance. Which are these capitalist countries? Countries like France, England, Italy—in all these countries capitalism is still strong and has got a military force far more powerful than what existed before the last war. England has the biggest standing army in the world compared to the size of its population.

Here capitalism is strong and a powerful military apparatus is at its disposal. Same in France and Italy. Is it that these countries are excluded from this category? If so, which

capitalist countries are meant? If you try to understand this thing literally, then the discussion that will start will be of an abstract nature. What has got to be seen is the significance of this proposition. For that I would like to take you back a little.

You remember the proposition made by Engels in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, where he refers to universal suffrage and says that "universal suffrage is the gauge of the maturity of the working class ... on the day the thermometer of universal suffrage registers boiling point among the workers, both they and the capitalists will know what to do". That is, if a stage comes when this universal suffrage threatens the capitalist order itself, then capitalists and the working class will know what to do. Then prolonged struggle for power begins which inevitably takes the form of civil war or violence.

Why was this issue posed in this way? Because it was realised that the ruling classes, with the state apparatus, military and police at their disposal, are not going to depart from the scene merely because they have not the backing of the majority of the people. On the contrary, they are going to use this force against majority of the people who have declared themselves against the ruling class. That is why universal suffrage could not enable the working class to bring about fundamental transformations.

As you know while being in complete agreement with this proposition, Marx visualised the possibility of peaceful transformation to socialism in *some* countries, for example, in a country like Britain. Lenin pointed out that this was possible in those days because in Britain there did not exist a huge military and bureaucratic apparatus. So, when we talked of impossibility of socialism being achieved except by violence means, we did not mean thereby that it is theoretically impossible for the party of the working class to get the support of the majority of the working people. What we stressed was that even if it happens that despite the existence of bourgeoisie, bourgeois control over press, etc. working

class and its party manages to get a majority of the people on its side, then the ruling classes will force civil war on the people. Stalin reemphasised this thesis. At the same time he stated that if in the remote future it so happens that capitalist encirclement is replaced by socialist encirclement, then it is possible that in some countries transformation will take place in a peaceful way. This is how Marxists looked at the matter.

Now the question is being posed anew. Here, on the question whether peaceful transformation to socialism is possible or not, there are two distinct questions involved.

The first question is : Is it possible for the working class and its party to secure a stable parliamentary majority? To this question the 20th party Congress replies in the affirmative. It says it is possible, for the factors already pointed out, i.e. the growth of ideas of socialism, disintegration of colonial system, the political and moral bankruptcy of the capitalist class, the deepening crisis of capitalism and the strength of the Communist parties. It is possible through a mass revolutionary movement to achieve parliamentary majority backed by a broad movement, to bring about such a situation when working class and its allies can come to government. Will this alone make peaceful transformation possible? If capitalism is still strong—not merely economically, but politically and morally also, if capitalist system has got the support of big sections of people, if it retains such control over the state apparatus as to be able to use it against the parliament, then violent revolution is inevitable.

We all know what happened in Spain. A democratic government came to power through elections but the reactionary classes not only remained powerful but also retained effective control over the armed forces. And when the government tried to introduce certain reforms they used the armed forces against it. A bloody civil war followed which ultimately led to a fascist dictatorship.

Must such civil wars necessarily take place today? No. If the working class heading the people is able to develop a powerful mass movement and secures a parliamentary

majority, if the position of the reactionaries in the state apparatus is weakened through a series of measures and through extension of democratic rights for the people, if reaction is unable to secure a sufficiently broad mass base for its counter-revolutionary activity—if all this happens which is quite a possibility in the new situation—then it is quite possible that fundamental changes will be effected in a more or less peaceful way.

And this is a possibility not merely for France and England but which is there even in a country like India or Indonesia. In these countries, in certain circumstances, the transition to the first stage of people's democracy may also be effected in a peaceful way—without civil war. Obviously, as has been pointed out here, "Whatever the form of transition to socialism, the decisive and indispensable factor is the political leadership of the working class headed by its vanguard. Without this there can be no transition to socialism".

In a country like Indonesia, for example, where there is a powerful Communist Party which has won nearly one-fourth of the electorate, allied with progressive elements, it is possible for them to create conditions for going forward still further. There will be a series of mass struggles which will lead to a series of crises, but these crises need not burst out in a civil war.

One may say that this is a theoretical possibility. But where is the necessity of stating this? It is necessary because from this certain practical tasks follow. If such transition is a possibility, then the Communist Party in every country strives to turn this into a reality. Today when the mass of people desire socialist transformation but do not desire civil war, this is an imperative duty of the Communist Party.

But from this certain tasks follow. And one of the most *important of these tasks is the struggle for the strengthening of democracy in every sphere*. We have to fight against the arbitrary powers which the police and bureaucracy enjoy and strive to curb them. We have to fight for the democratisation of the state apparatus and the removal from it of the most

reactionary elements. We have to fight for the extension of the rights and powers of the people's elected organs—panchayats, district boards, etc.

Here you will see how the French Communist Party in its resolution has posed the problem. It has stated that "the transition to socialism by the parliamentary path cannot, on the other hand, be envisaged except through immediate and constant struggle for the defence and enlargement of democratic liberties".

Fight for the extension of democracy, the fight for the curbing of the power of the police and bureaucracy and to increase the power and rights of the elected organs is essential for the peaceful transition to socialism. The greater the democratisation, the greater the possibility. This is a major practical task which follows from this.

The question therefore is not: *Which countries* can have socialism peacefully? The question is: *What conditions* must be created in order to effect such a transition? The former question would lead to endless discussions of an academic nature—discussion about the difference between one country and another. The latter question would lead to practical activity which can create the necessary conditions.

How is this different from reformism? It is different from reformism in various ways. I will tell you three main things. One is: it has been stated that a parliamentary majority *backed by mass revolutionary movement led by the working class*—without this, it is not possible. *Secondly*, the leadership of the working class is essential. *Thirdly*, the reformists state that formal democracy—existence of the parliamentary system, universal suffrage, by which people can choose their representatives once in a few years—is alone enough to enable us to go over to socialism. Marxism states that this formal democracy is not enough. Unless there is real existence of democracy, that is, if the police and bureaucracy retain their arbitrary power, if the armed forces are not democratised, if the local elected organs have no power, then with all this, universal suffrage does not enable you to go forward to socialism.

Reformists in the capitalist countries say that merely by the parliamentary method we shall change over to socialism.

Marxists, on the contrary, even today say that formal democracy is not enough and that real democracy is needed. A sustained struggle for extension of democracy will have to be carried on. On our success in this struggle will depend the possibility of peaceful transition.

This thesis of peaceful transition to socialism is a big weapon in our hands. It enables us to heal the split in the socialist movement. It enables us to forge links with socialists who sincerely desire socialism but abhor civil war. It enables us to fight the propaganda of the bourgeoisie. It enables us to bring to the forefront the enormous significance of the struggle for democracy.

The 20th Congress has stated that in peaceful coexistence, socialism will win. We are confident because socialism is superior. The statement that war is not fatalistically inevitable, that peaceful transition to socialism is possible—what does all this indicate? It shows that world socialism had advanced to a new stage. It is born out of the tremendous confidence in the victories that we have already won. The future belongs to us.

When the 20th Congress met, the world movement for peace, for national freedom and democracy, and for socialism had advanced to a new stage. Here certain old concepts were acting as obstacles in the path of further development of the movement. The 20th Congress replaces these old concepts by new concepts that correspond to the new historic situation and enable the movement to acquire greater speed than ever before.

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Now I will take up the next question—the most difficult question—the question of Stalin and the cult of the individual. This phrase, ‘cult of the individual’, what does it exactly mean? Let us take that first.

For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy! of 30 March gave the definition of the cult of the individual as

“inordinately exalting individual persons, investing them with supernatural traits and qualities, imputing all but miraculous powers to them and kowtowing to them”. It is an incorrect conception, alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. The mistake lies not in recognising the talents of a leader but in ascribing to him supernatural powers and infallibility.

After the 20th Congress a number of questions have come to the mind of every one of you. What about the contribution of Stalin to the development of Marxism-Leninism? What about his role in building socialism and fighting against Right and Left deviations? Why is it that there was no reference to it in the 20th congress? These questions came to my mind also.

Secondly, what were the other leaders doing all these days? What role did they play in fostering or combating the cult of the individual?

Thirdly, what made it possible for such things to continue for such a long time?

I cannot answer all these questions. There can be no dispute about the tremendous positive role of Stalin in enriching Marxism, in building socialism in the USSR, in fighting against Right and Left deviations, in guiding the international Communist movement. I think that if the 20th Congress report itself had made a statement about the positive achievements of Stalin, then much of the confusion that has arisen would have been avoided. This was subsequently done in the *Pravda* editorial.

But as regards the second and third question, I have no satisfactory replies to give. What replies have been given have not satisfied me.

Instead of debating these issues, let us see the whole thing dispassionately.

Did the cult of personality develop in the USSR or not? I have no doubt it did develop. We also know that it was primarily in relation to Stalin.

Did Stalin himself play a role in the development of this? About this a number of instances have been given, e.g. the biography of Stalin. It is very evident that the book is per-

meated through and through with the cult of the individual, ascribing to Stalin miraculous powers.

While Stalin, in a general way, very often criticised exaltation of individuals as being alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, the concrete form which it was taking in the Soviet Union in relation to him, in the latter period of his life, he did not combat; but, on the other hand, encouraged it. I know on an issue like this, it is very difficult to be very objective. At the same time, it is necessary to do so because, what has happened is a major event not only in the life of the CPSU, but in the life of all Communist parties.

I hope you have got the statement that has appeared in *New Age*, made by the Chinese party. That document deals with the question in a more satisfactory and in a more elaborate way than I have seen so far anywhere. All comrades should read that article.

We should understand that what is today being criticised is not merely Stalin. What is being criticised is the whole method of leadership that had evolved in the CPSU over a certain period. If Stalin is specifically mentioned, it is so because he was the leader of the CC of the CPSU. If we look at it as a mud-slinging business, then we would not be able to see any further. Let us look at the thing in a different way. We must see the criticism in its proper perspective; it is necessary to do so because today many of the bourgeois leaders say : "What did we tell you? Is this not what we told you all along?" Some of our comrades also say that the whole moral basis on which they stood is shaken and there is nothing on which to stand. But let us see whether this is really so.

In the years since it was born there have been mighty achievements of the Soviet Union in every sphere. From a backward country it has been transformed in this period into one of the most advanced countries in the world, and also a country with advanced agriculture. In this very period there has been an enormous increase in the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people. The USSR played an immense role in transformation of socialism into a world system, in

bringing about the present situation when one-third of humanity has taken to the path of socialism. But for the USSR, the disintegration of colonial system could not have taken place. But for the USSR, victory in the anti-fascist war could not have been won. But for the USSR, there would be no people's democracies. What we have to see is, first of all, the mighty achievements of the USSR which are of profound historic significance, not only for the Soviet Union but for the whole humanity. The mistakes have to be judged in the background of these achievements. It would be no exaggeration to say that never in the history of humanity has so much been achieved in 40 years as in the USSR. This is the first fact that has to be recognised.

When we recognise that all this could not have come of itself, then we will see that the basic line which has been pursued all these years is a correct line. It is not only Stalin, but the present leaders of the CPSU and the Central Committee too that have made this possible. The CPSU has been the party which has acted as a model for international Communist movement and Stalin was the international leader of the Communist movement. Where was the international Communist movement thirty years ago and where it is today, we know. That also is a tribute to Stalin and to the leaders of the international movement. So the whole thing has to be viewed in the background of victories which have no parallel in history.

Contrast this with the achievements of other parties which throw mud at us. For example, the Labour Party in England. It came to power several times and every time it paved the way for the victory of the Tories. Here in India, we have the Congress in power which received the support of overwhelming majority of the people before 1947. Within three or four years, people began cursing the Congress. Did the Labour Party or the Congress ever think it necessary to come before the people and say to them that these were the mistakes they committed? Parties which have not got achievements of even one-millionth part of those of the CPSU, come and say today that the CPSU has been committing mistake after mistake.

And many of our comrades also are unfortunately taken in by that. What we have to say is : See where the world stood 40 years ago, in 1917 and today. And this is because, first and foremost, of the October Revolution and the Soviet Union.

What we have to see is that the Soviet Union was faced with an exceptionally difficult job. In all other states, all other parties that came to power had before them only one task—perpetuate their own rule. Here it was a question of bringing about a transformation of a type that has never been attempted in history and together with that create the conditions for transition to a still higher form of society. There was no previous precedent by which it could be guided. A country launched on a new path, an uncharted path, beset with enemies outside and inside—it was in this situation that the Soviet Union found itself. It was inevitable that in such a situation mistakes would be committed, even mistakes of a serious character. It is inevitable because something new is being attempted : Not replacement of one class rule by another only, but simultaneously creating conditions for the total abolition of class rule itself.

It is also inevitable that wrong theories would be propounded again and again. And we have got to go forward by correcting them from time to time. But it is not enough to see this, it is necessary to realise also that these mistakes should be as few as possible and they should be rectified as quickly as possible. If we do not see this, then we would not be doing justice to the masses of our country, the proletariat of our country, to the cause of world socialism itself.

It is precisely this recognition and speedy correction of mistakes that was prevented by the cult of personality. Herein we have to see the harm done by the development of cult of personality. That is, if powers to do miracle are ascribed to certain persons, if they are looked upon as infallible, then inevitably the tendency would be to okay everything these persons say or do and, therefore, mistakes would accentuate and get perpetuated. That is, a speedy correction becomes difficult if the cult of personality exists.

Mistakes often get committed because of the nature of the situation, because of the complexity of the tasks, but those mistakes fail to get corrected, they pile up and lead to new mistakes if the cult of personality grows. It is in this context that the criticism has to be understood.

The sharp criticism is not with a view to discredit Stalin. I did not meet any person in the USSR who in any way minimised the immensity of the achievements of this period and also the fact that Stalin's was the outstanding role in this. But they say that mistakes were committed and they were not speedily corrected because of the cult of personality; the belief that a particular individual is infallible, a belief which Stalin himself gradually came to foster. Collective leadership cannot come into existence only by regular meetings. No one should consider himself to be infallible—this is the precondition for collective functioning. Because collective leadership presupposes readiness to understand each other and correct one's own mistakes.

If the cult of personality grows, gradually inner-Party democracy comes to an end, collective functioning ceases, even regular meetings do not take place, the party fails to assess its work objectively and learn from its mistakes.

Therefore let us first recognise the immensity of the achievements and the tasks, see that mistakes were committed in the execution of these tasks, and that these mistakes did not get corrected because of the cult of personality, which resulted in the continuation of old and commission of new mistakes. All this did serious damage to the party and the movement.

Comrades would like to know what kind of damage has been done due to this.

I shall not be able to deal with it in detail, but I would like to mention certain facts. For example, regarding agriculture, it has been stated that a serious situation developed in agriculture because of certain policies, which were later rectified after Khrushchov's report made in September. You will see the rectification that was made. Then it was pointed out that mistakes

were committed with regard to Yugoslavia. Further, there was lack of vigilance about the attack of Hitler's Germany.

But I want to deal with another and a more vital question. That question is the position of the security services and the question of Beria. It has been stated that the security services abused their power, that they grew into 'a state within the state' and that certain excesses were done.

Class struggle as we all know leads to the overthrow of capitalism. It does not cease after the bourgeoisie has been overthrown. Dictatorship of the proletariat is a determined war waged by the proletariat against an enemy who has been overthrown but not yet destroyed, who is not in power but still very powerful. The question arises—what happens after the abolition of classes? As you know, by about 1934 in the Soviet Union hostile classes came to be eliminated. The big capitalists had been eliminated long ago and by 1934 the kulaks also ceased to exist as a class. The question was whether there would be class struggle even after this. It was correctly pointed out by Stalin that there was the capitalist encirclement and there were elements from among hostile classes and degenerates who act as agents of imperialism outside. Therefore we cannot say that class struggle had ended. Vigilance had to be exercised so that the enemies of the working class do not take advantage of the situation. Capitalism continues to survive in the minds of men for a long period and sustained struggle had to be waged to eliminate it. But the concept that class struggle becomes more and more intensified as the socialist society grows stronger and stronger—this was a wrong and dangerous concept. It led to the tendency to brand as 'enemies of the people' even those who were only politically wrong or who politically differed. It led to excessive reliance on security services and underestimation of the fact that the socialist society, as it grows, develops the moral power to isolate and combat harmful trends and tendencies, and educate elements from all sections.

The result was that the security forces came to occupy extraordinary powers and when a person like Beria took charge

of these services, excesses were committed. Not merely enemies were made the target, but action was taken against some others and they were persecuted.

Such a theory, and the practical measures that followed, created an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust in many spheres and prevented frank criticism and self-criticism. Men like Beria took full advantage of the situation to creep into responsible posts and use them against the interest of the socialist society.

Beria had a shady past. In the years of the civil war he was on the side of the bourgeois-nationalists in Trans-Caucasia who wanted to overthrow the Soviet government. The organisation was directly in touch with the imperialists, financed and helped by them. Subsequently certain persons who knew Beria in those days tried to expose him and Beria used his power in the state apparatus to liquidate them. One of the things which contributed to the growth of his power and one of the reasons for the excesses—was this understanding about the intensification of class struggle under socialism.

From this it should not be taken to mean that all the trials that took place in the Soviet Union were fabricated. Many of those who were punished were guilty. But in several cases the punishment was excessive and also a number of innocent people suffered. This particular theory about class struggle and the manner in which it was applied and understood did damage to Soviet law and authority and there were violations of the rules laid down by Soviet law.

Doctrinairism grew inside the party and the concept grew that certain persons are to develop theory and others are merely to apply it. Initiative got stifled. This prevented the party from working out a flexible policy on several issues.

Doctrinairism affected other parties too. In 1924 Stalin made a well-known speech where he stated that the Indian bourgeoisie is split in two sections—one of which had already managed in the main to come to agreement with imperialism. For a long time a discussion started inside our party on this—which section? The fact is that it is an incorrect statement. It is believed by events. Yet none of us even dared to say it is

wrong. It was assumed that it cannot be wrong because Stalin has stated it. This doctrinairism grew not in one party, but in many parties. It was thought that it is the job of particular parties and of particular leaders to develop Marxism and others were merely to apply the theories. A tendency developed to fit facts into particular theories and when they did not fit in, to deny the facts themselves.

In organisation also, with the growth of the cult of personality, methods of personal leadership came into existence and started getting reproduced at the lower levels also. This happened in many cases.

Again, this method of personal leadership is a factor which prevents correct assessment of the situation and pooling together of experience and results in serious mistakes.

So it has been correctly pointed out that both in the realm of theory and practice, the growth of cult of personality did serious damage. One question may be asked : Why Stalin did this? Was it that he was seeking some personal ends?

Every one with whom I have talked is of the opinion that there was no trace of any personal interest as far as Stalin was concerned. Everything he did, he did very sincerely believing that that was in the best interests of socialism, of the working class and of the revolution. But he came to believe in his infallibility and so he began to think that he alone was right. He developed the habit of distrusting others. The practice of constant consultation, of seeing his own mistakes declined. The aim he set before himself was the strengthening of socialism and the revolution; but there itself, with the growth of cult of personality and with the belief in his own infallibility, he committed mistakes and these mistakes did damage politically and theoretically.

All this, let me repeat again, should not be allowed to blur in any way the gigantic achievement of the USSR in every sphere, the immense advance registered by the world Communist movement and the outstanding role played by Stalin in all this. To do that would mean to deny facts, to distort history.

At the same time, we must also recognise that serious

mistakes were committed and but for these mistakes the achievements and the advance could have been still greater. Today, with old methods of leadership abandoned and collective functioning restored, we can confidently look forward to such advance.

The leadership of the CPSU, by boldly declaring ideological war against the cult of personality and by laying bare the damage it has done, has rendered great service to the Soviet people, to the people's democracies and to the entire international Communist movement. Whatever criticism we may make of the specific manner in which this was done, the fact remains that the job had to be undertaken. Whatever temporary confusion it may have created, in the long run it will be of great help to all Communist parties.

Many of us may be critical of the way in which certain things were done. But we must not permit a spirit of cynicism to develop in relation to the USSR and the CPSU. That would be fatal for our movement. Let us remember that has not happened, but the present leadership has fully demonstrated its capacity in deeds. The success which its peace policy has attained is there. The security services have been deprived of their extraordinary power. Collective leadership has been restored. Big advance has been made in raising the standard of life of the people. Marxism-Leninism has been creatively developed. The CPSU remains the leading party of the international Communist movement and its record shows it is worthy of the trust reposed in it by the Soviet people.

Then in the organisational sphere, certain other principles have been laid down in the report which are of value not only to the CPSU but to all parties.

It points out : "The main things in the party's work of organisation is work among the masses—to influence the masses and rally them for the accomplishment of the economic and political tasks set by the party. We must no longer tolerate a situation when workers of the party apparatus, instead of being daily amidst the masses, confine themselves to their offices, produce reams of resolutions, while life passes them by."

This is equally true of many other parties, particularly of our party. Here another thing I will read out : "Unfortunately, in many party organisations we still find the absurd juxtaposition of party political work and economic activity. We come across party 'leaders' who hold that party work is one thing and economic and government work quite another. These 'leaders' even complain that they are being diverted from so-called 'pure party' work and are made to study economics, technology and agronomy, to study production".

What is the significance of this for us? Every party is faced with the same problem—not only parties in power : A kind of divergence between party work and mass work.

Then, "Many party organisations are oblivious of the party principle that, together with proper utilisation of old cadres, young people who have proved their mettle in practical work should be boldly promoted to leading posts". This is another vice which is found not only in the CPSU—is this not there in our party?

Again, "Despite this progress in disseminating knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, the position in respect to ideological work is still unsatisfactory. The main shortcoming at present is that it is largely divorced from the practice of Communist construction". Divorce between ideological work and practical problems is a common failing of all Communist parties but is especially found in our party.

The 20th Congress of the CPSU is a landmark in the history of the international Communist movement. On the basis of mighty victories it showed the way to still greater victories. Eschewing all dogmatism and doctrinairism, it tackled the current problems in a bold way, creatively developing Marxism-Leninism. It has shown what possibilities have opened out and how these can be realised for uniting all patriotic, democratic and socialist elements in every country for advance in every sphere, for new successes, for the cause of the people and the working class.

Resolution on the Demand for Linguistic Province

Adopted in the Fourth Congress of the C.P.I. held at Palghat on 19–29 April, 1956

The fourth congress of the Communist Party of India greets the people of various linguistic nationalities of our country for their heroic struggle and their success in securing the establishment of linguistic states in the country. These struggles and successes have not only vitalised the forces of democracy, but have gone a long way towards strengthening the unity of the people of our great country.

The SRC report which recommended the formation of such states and the legislative measures taken by the government to implement the new proposals constitute a great triumph of all patriotic and democratic forces which stand for the democratic reorganisation of our states, ensuring conditions for self-expression of various nationalities which inhabit our land and, above all, for building the unity of India on invincible foundations.

On the occasion the congress recalls with pride the great mass struggle of the people of Andhra which not only secured for them a separate Andhra state, but inspired the movement for linguistic reorganisation of states all over the land. It is to this mighty upsurge of the democratic and patriotic forces that the government has had to ultimately yield.

The formation of separate states of Gujarat, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Visalaandhra mark the victory of the democratic forces and of all linguistic nationalities.

It is a matter of profound significance that, when the

Congress rulers at the top sought, in violation of their past pledges, to deny the reorganisation of states on linguistic basis, the people themselves came forward and took the initiative in defeating the government policies and ensuring such linguistic reorganisation of states.

The strength of the people in this great struggle lies in their unity, the unity which brings together in common action democratic and patriotic forces within all parties, in all walks of our public life.

While congratulating the people on their success, the fourth congress of the Communist Party of India warns them that narrow provincial feelings are being roused in the border areas and provincial chauvinism and separatism are being instigated by the forces of reaction.

The struggle for the linguistic states is an integral part of the struggle for better life and democracy. Under no circumstances, therefore, can the masses be allowed to be divided by such disruptive activities. Such disruptive activities not only weaken the cause of the linguistic reorganisation of states, but disrupt the unity of our people so essential of democratic and economic advance.

Whatever may be the provocation, the working class and other democratic forces have to conduct their struggle for the cause of linguistic reorganisation of states in a manner which strengthens their unity by defeating the game of separatist and chauvinist elements.

The fourth congress of the Communist Party also warns that the vested interests are circulating mendacious propaganda to all minorities against the linguistic states and creating an atmosphere of panic and suspicion. It is all the more necessary, therefore, to conduct the movement in a manner which consolidates the fraternal ties among the people to fight back these slanders.

The congress of the Communist Party of India condemns the repressive measures taken by the government against those struggling for linguistic states. The state governments have jailed thousands of people for fighting for their just rights.

They have lathicharged vast crowds in many places, suppressed civil liberties and resorted to brutal shootings in Orissa and, on a mass scale, in Bombay.

The congress of the Communist Party of India pays its homage to the innumerable martyrs who have laid down their lives for this democratic cause and sends its greetings to all those who have suffered for it. It congratulates the thousands of men and women in Bengal, Bombay and other states who have courted arrest and braved jail, in defence of their democratic right.

The congress of the Communist Party of India condemns the proposed merger of Bengal and Bihar as against the interests of the peoples of the two states and against the cause of unity of India itself and congratulates the people of Bengal for resisting it. It demands the immediate withdrawal of the proposals.

The congress of the Communist Party of India strongly protests against the proposed separation of Bombay from Maharashtra and considers it to be a grave injustice inflicted on the people of Maharashtra under the pressure of vested interests. The proposal to keep Bombay under central administration deprives Bombay's citizens of their democratic right to have their own Legislature, tears it away from Maharashtra and disrupts the economic life of Maharashtra.

The congress of the Communist Party of India condemns the attempt to implement it despite public opposition and the onslaught of police terror.

It congratulates the people of Bombay and Maharashtra and of West Bengal on their peaceful satyagraha and struggles and assures them that the party will do everything in its power to strengthen their struggles so that the city of Bombay is included in Maharashtra and the West Bengal - Bihar merger proposal is withdrawn once and for all.

Struggle against the Cult of the Individual in CPSU

Resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the C.P.I. held on 1-11 July, 1956

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India has considered the situation arising out of the publication by the state department of the United States of America of a document which purports to be the text of the report delivered by Khrushchov at a special session of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU.

The Central Committee has also studied the resolution passed by the Central Committee of the CPSU on 30 June.

The facts mentioned in the report have come as a great shock to Communists and to millions of progressive people all over the world. They reveal that together with great successes in the building of socialism in the USSR there also occurred during the latter part of the life of J. V. Stalin instances of distortion of Soviet democracy, infringement of socialist legality by excesses and arbitrary acts and violation of norms of inner-party life.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India considers that in view of the seriousness of the mistakes committed and in view of the damage done by them it was necessary to take resolute measures to rectify the mistakes and undo the damage done. It was necessary to wage a determined struggle against the cult of personality, a cult alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, whose growth played a big part in creating the conditions in which these mistakes occurred. The cult of the individual belittled the role of the masses and the party, came in the way of the growth of their

initiative. By undertaking these tasks, the CPSU leadership has rendered a great service to the cause of socialism.

The resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has analysed the historical and social conditions that contributed to the development of the cult of Stalin. Historical circumstances of hostile capitalist encirclement, rise of fascism, and the threat of attack on the Soviet Union necessitated iron discipline, centralisation of leadership and also some justifiable limitations on democracy. It was under these conditions that certain negative traits of Stalin began to develop, which gradually led to the cult of the individual and lack of collective leadership with harmful consequences.

It is evident that Stalin was mainly responsible for the distortions of Soviet democracy and for the violation of inner-party norms. It is also incontestable that in the later period of his life, the cult of the individual assumed enormous proportions. While fully recognising the negative features and grave defects that developed in Stalin's methods of leadership, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India considers that a one-sided appraisal of his role during the last twenty years of his life, years of mighty developments in the USSR and the world Communist movement, causes bewilderment among the masses and can be utilised by enemies of Communism to confuse them. The Central Committee, therefore, is of the opinion that an objective assessment of Stalin's life and work in their entirety, Stalin's great achievements and serious shortcomings, is essential for successfully fighting the cult of the individual and for effectively combating the prevailing confusion.

The Central Committee considers that the excessive glorification of Stalin's person and role which became a marked phenomenon during his lifetime requires adequate explanation. It is also necessary to undertake a fuller analysis of the causes which led to the arbitrary acts and excesses. It is only then that a correct appraisal of the growth of the cult of the individual can be made. To ascribe all shortcomings and

arbitrariness to the defects of an individual falls short of Marxist-Leninist standards of historic objectivity.

The revelations made in the report of Khrushchov have been seized by the imperialists and other enemies of the working people to denounce the Soviet Union and undermine the confidence of the people in the socialist system. The resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU passed on 30 June has correctly exposed the machinations of these enemies and stressed the need for loyalty to the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism and to the cause of proletarian internationalism.

The enemies of the working class are at pains to make out that the violations of Soviet democracy and excesses committed are inherent in the Soviet system. There is serious danger of many honest and progressive elements being influenced by this propaganda, which the Communist Party of India considers it imperative to expose and combat.

Less than forty years have passed since the triumph of the proletarian revolution in Russia. During this period, the Soviet Union has transformed itself from a backward country into one of the most advanced countries in the world, from a country of Tsarist autocracy to a country of victorious socialism. During this period, one-third of humanity has been freed from the yoke of capitalism, and socialism has emerged as a world system. While the capitalist world is in the midst of ever-deepening crisis which dooms hundreds of millions of people to conditions of misery, unemployment and cultural backwardness, the socialist world has registered gigantic progress in every sphere. The example set by the socialist world and the positive measures taken by it have profoundly influenced the entire course of human history. If today the possibility has arisen for prevention of war, for peaceful transition to socialism in a number of states, if new opportunities have opened out before the countries of the former colonial world for independent economic development, the decisive factor in all these is the growing economic, political and moral might of the Soviet Union and other socialist states

and the policies adopted by them. It would be no exaggeration to say that never in human history has so much been achieved over such vast areas in such a short period.

It is evident that a system in which such violations and distortions were inherent could not have unleashed the creative energies of hundreds of millions on a scale never known before and brought about such unprecedented social transformations.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India is confident that the detractors of socialism and slanderers of the Soviet Union, though they may sow some temporary confusion, cannot prevent the growing popularity of the ideas of socialism in our country nor can they weaken the bond of Indo-Soviet friendship.

The Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, on the basis of the gigantic achievements of the past and guided by the all-conquering ideas of Marxism-Leninism, has charted out the path for further advance. The decisions of the Congress and the measures following from them have already had powerful impact on the whole world and have considerably strengthened the movement for peace, democracy and socialism.

The mistakes and excesses that occurred in the USSR were not due to the principles of Marxism-Leninism or the Soviet system but to deviations from them in practice in several respects. These deviations occurred in the backgrounds of great victories of socialist reconstruction carried out in an extremely difficult period. There can be no doubt that with the measures that are being adopted to combat and eliminate the defects that crept in during this period and with further measures based on a thorough analysis of the developments of the past, the Soviet society will advance further in every sphere and ensure continuous expansion of socialist democracy.

It is the enemies of socialism that have propagated that socialism is founded on regimentation in thought and constitutes a denial of that freedom of spirit which is the source of individual initiative. The socialist society is in a position to

guarantee full freedom of conscience and liberty to individuals because it abolishes exploitation of man by man and creates conditions in which such individual freedom can constantly flourish. The successes of socialist transformations in the economic life should make it all the more possible to enlarge the field of individual liberty and create effective guarantees against its violation.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India considers it necessary to state emphatically that for the advance of socialism it is indispensable to adhere firmly to the tenets of socialist democracy, and to expand it continuously. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India attaches fundamental importance to the safeguarding and development of individual freedom and liberty under socialism. The Central Committee is confident that the world Communist movement will profit by the experiences of the USSR and take effective measures for the defence and extension of democracy in every sphere.

While socialism has become the common goal of all progressive mankind in our present epoch, each country will, however, proceed to this goal in its own way. Firmly adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of India seeks to achieve its goal of socialism by basing itself on the national traditions and specific features of our own country.

Loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the common goal of socialism and the struggle for peace, democracy and the defence of national freedom, constitute today the basis of proletarian internationalism and fraternal co-operation among Communist and workers' parties. This co-operation which is based on exchange and pooling of common experience, freedom of criticism and self-criticism and independence of national parties is indispensable for the socialist movement. The Communist Party of India will do everything to promote and strengthen this common bond of proletarian internationalism.

On India's Path of Development*

Ajoy Ghosh

The articles by Modeste Rubinstein entitled "*A Noncapitalist Path for Underdeveloped Countries*" (see *Appendix No. VII* of this volume) has attracted some attention because of the attempt that they make to analyse the forms of economic development that are taking place in India.

Some of the formulations made in the article are perfectly correct. For example, it shows the differences between India on the one hand and the United States and countries of western Europe on the other and rightly points out that state capitalist enterprises in India under present conditions play a progressive role. It may be mentioned here that this has been the thesis of the Communist Party of India also, as can be seen from the following :

"We must clearly realise that while the extension of the state sector and the nationalisation of certain concerns in today's America may have no progressive significance whatsoever, in India the extension of the public sector in order to develop heavy industries has got a progressive significance."

Hence it is that our party has consistently supported all steps taken by the government for extension of the state sector.

Nevertheless, despite these and a number of other correct observations that the articles make, the general trend of the articles is wholly misleading and the main thesis that they put forth is without foundation.

*Published as a booklet in October 1956.

The articles, after stating that objective possibilities exist in India for taking to the path of socialism by peaceful methods, a statement with which there would be general agreement, make the astounding assertion : "That path has been advocated for many years by Jawaharlal Nehru".

Approvingly quoting the Avadi resolution of the National Congress, the author attempts to prove the thesis that the resolution "is expressive of the attitude of the Congress leadership and of the government on a number of key economic reforms". The case that is made in favour of the thesis cannot however carry conviction to one who has studied the political and economic realities in India.

The "commanding position of foreign capital" (mainly British) in several vital sectors of Indian economy such as coal, jute, oil and tea, is admitted in the article as also the position of Indian monopoly capital in some other sectors.

But their political and even economic implications are ignored. No importance is attached to the fact that the main profit-making concerns remain in the hands of private capital.

Profession and Practice

The author quotes from the Avadi resolution that there should be equitable distribution of national wealth but does not care to mention to what extent this pious declaration has been given effect to.

As is well known and has been mentioned in several articles, the net income from factory industries in India increased from Rs 550 crore to Rs 760 crore between 1950 and 1954. The total increase in wages and salaries, however, was only from Rs 232 crore to Rs 249 crore while the profits distributed as dividends, rents, interest etc. increased from Rs 318 crore to Rs 510 crore. The share of wages and salaries in the net income declined from 42 to 33 per cent, while the share of profits increased from 58 to 67 per cent.

And while these profits were being made by intensification of the exploitation of workers and also at the cost of the consumers, the proportion of direct taxes whose burden mainly

falls on the richer classes declined, while the proportion of indirect taxes grew. According to the taxation inquiry committee's report, if all taxes levied by the central, state and local bodies are taken into account, direct taxation declined from 45 per cent in 1944-45 to 24 per cent in 1953-54. The revenue collected from sales tax whose burden falls on common people increased from Rs. 8 crore in 1939-40 to Rs 52 crore in 1952-53 and is expected to reach Rs 70 crore in 1956-57.

The index of industrial production between 1946 and 1954 increased by 46.5 per cent. But the index of average number of workers rose in the same period by only 6 per cent.

Despite the stupendous increase in profits and in the productivity of workers as revealed in the above figures, the government did not think it necessary to compel the capitalists to grant adequate wage increase. All trade union leaders, including the leaders of the government-backed Indian National Trade Union Congress, have exposed the hollowness of the plea that the industries cannot afford such wage increase. Facts and figures quoted by the trade union leaders on the basis of the publications of the government and of the Reserve Bank of India have not been challenged by anyone. Yet all that the second five-year plan has to say is that "studies should be undertaken to see whether there is any scope for wage increases even at the present level of productivity" (*Second Five-Year Plan*, p 579).

Which class has profited most from the economic policies of the government—this is a question which any Marxist, any serious student of economics, has to examine in order to determine whether the path taken by a government is the path of socialism or even of democratic planning. Unfortunately Modeste Rubinstein does not even pose the question.

Second Plan

The second five-year plan has declared certain objectives and laid down certain principles. These objectives and these prin-

ciples have been welcome by patriotic-minded Indians—not because they bring about socialism but because, if carried out, they will help to strengthen India's national economy and bring about some improvement in the condition of the masses. Nevertheless the actual methods which the government has proposed not only intensify distress of the people but jeopardise the very declared objectives of the plan.

This is seen most clearly in the methods by which finances needed for the plan are proposed to be raised. Deficit-financing on a vast scale (1200 crores of rupees) and crushing burdens on the people—such are the proposed methods, in the main.

Already the effects of these methods are evident. In an editorial published on 7 May 1956 the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, a paper which generally supports the National Congress and the government, expressed concern at the “joint operation of the excessive price rise and the imposition of heavy indirect taxes” and warned, “Unless the prices come down to a reasonable level and the current method of levying taxation is replaced by a more just and equitable system the increase in national income, instead of adding to the common man's prosperity, will result in making the rich richer and poor poorer.”

The process has gone unchecked since then. The imposition of new excise duty on cloth in August 1956 which has already sent cloth prices soaring is the latest blow against the people. Prices of everyday necessities, above all foodgrains, are mounting rapidly threatening millions of people with semi-starvation.

On 31 August, 1956 the same day when the new excise duty on cloth was imposed, a question was put in the parliament by a member asking why the central government wanted to pay to the foreign owners of the Kolar Gold Fields in Mysore, a higher rate of compensation than that proposed by the Mysore government. The government's reply was that “it would not be in public interest to reveal details of the negotiation”.

Such is the concern for the people and such is the concern for the monopolists on the part of a government which claims to stand for socialism.

All these facts find no mention in the articles by Modeste Rubinstein. Nor does the author think it necessary to pose the question as to whether and to what extent trade union rights, democratic rights and civil liberties are being safeguarded and extended. The attempt to brutally suppress working class struggles as in Darjeeling, Kanpur, Amritsar, Orissa, the launching of thousands of cases against working class and peasant cadres, the mass shooting as was indulged in Bombay and Ahmedabad — all these are ignored. It seems to be assumed that these have no relevance to the question of “path of development”.

Agrarian Question

But by far the most astounding thing in the articles which claim to examine “forms of economic development” in India is that they practically make no reference to the agrarian question—the key question in India. This is not accidental. It follows directly from the whole basic approach.

This is not the place to examine in detail the agrarian policy of the Government. As the political resolution of the Communist Party of India adopted at its Fourth Congress points out, the government of India “strives to curb feudal forms of exploitation, transforming feudal landlords into capitalist landlords, and create a stratum of rich peasantry that can act as the social base of bourgeois rule in the countryside”. At the same time this policy is carried out in such a way as to preserve and consolidate the alliance between the bourgeoisie and the landlords.

This is seen in the heavy compensation that is being paid to the landlords whose land is acquired and also the way the land problem is treated. As regards compensation, “the sum involved”, writes H. D. Malaviya, secretary of the political and economic research department of the All India Congress Committee, “anywhere in the neighbourhood of Rs. 550 crore

will remain a constant source of anxiety for the state exchequers for years to come". Malaviya fully agrees with an American expert whose opinion was sought by the Government of India that "compensation at current rates will load the peasant with considerable debts".

Landlordism under various names and in various forms has long been the worst feature of our economic life. An article published in August 1955 by Krishna Ballabh Sahai, the revenue minister of Bihar, estimated that 2.54 per cent of the holdings in the state cover 7 million acres or 25 per cent of the total agricultural land. In Madhya Pradesh, 3.44 per cent of the holdings cover 30.5 per cent of the land. A. P. Jain, minister in the central government, has recently stated that 60 per cent of our peasants own only 15.5 per cent of the total cultivable area, while 5 per cent of landholders own 34 per cent of the land.

The high rent which peasants have to pay together with heavy taxes and other dues drive them to contract debts at usurious rates. Dr. Raj of the Delhi School of Economics has calculated that "perhaps as high as 800 to 1000 crore rupees of the income generated in the agricultural sector every year is appropriated in the form of rent and interest". This evidently is an underestimation.

What has been done in the course of nine years when the Congress has held absolute power? The *Second Five-Year Plan* itself, while waxing eloquent over what has been done, has nevertheless to admit certain facts: "Progress in the regulation of rents has been slow and in several states lags behind". "During the past few years there have been instances in some states of large-scale ejection of tenants and of 'voluntary surrender of tenancies'....Most 'voluntary surrender of tenancies' are open to doubt as bona fide transfers".

As regards ceiling on holdings, it is admitted that very little progress has been made in respect of the so-called private lands. Taking advantage of the deliberate procrastination on the part of the government, the landlords have resorted to fictitious transfer and other means on such a vast

scale that very little land will be left by the time ceilings are imposed—even if they are imposed at all. The open sabotage of the proposal for ceiling by the Bihar government, which has evoked the wrath of all honest Congressmen in the province, the blunt rejection of the very idea of ceiling by the UP government tell their own story. The *Times of India*, owned by the multimillionaire Dalmia, in an editorial of 10 August, 1956, criticising the dilatory tactics of the government on this issue, asks the question: “Must the question of ceilings await the accession to power of some other party which will do what the Congress has promised for the past 25 years?”

No useful purpose would be served by giving more facts. What has been stated should suffice to show the utterly untenable nature of the main thesis presented by Modeste Rubinstein in his articles.

It is one thing to state that capitalism is not popular in underdeveloped countries and its possibilities are limited. It is a totally different thing to assert that countries like India which are striving to develop an independent economy and, with that objective in view strengthening the state sector, have already thereby taken to or are moving towards a non-capitalist path. Unfortunately, Modeste Rubinstein fails to make a clear distinction between the two.

Government Policies—Communist Analysis

We do recognise that the economic policy of the Government of India is different from the policy that was pursued by the British government. We have pointed out in our political resolution that “the Government of India is a bourgeois-landlord government in which the bourgeoisie is the leading force” and that “its policies are motivated by the desire to develop India along *independent capitalist lines*” (emphasis added).

We have further stated .

“With this aim in view, the government strives to weaken the position of British capital in our economy. It strives to

curb feudal forms of exploitation, transforming feudal landlords into capitalist landlords and create a stratum of rich peasantry that can act as the social base of bourgeois rule in the countryside. It strives to extend and develop the state sector, which in the existing situation is essential for the development of capitalism itself. These aims and the measures resulting therefrom inevitably bring the government into conflict with imperialism, with feudalism and sometimes with the narrow interests of sections of the bourgeoisie, as was seen in the case of nationalisation of life insurance. They also lead to conflict of policies, as seen in the entire controversies over the problems of industrialisation.

"These conflicts have a progressive significance in relation to the democratic movement. They increase the possibilities to move the government, by mass pressure and by strengthening popular unity, in the direction of democratic reforms and against concession to reactionary forces.

"With the increased efforts for industrialisation in the conditions of today when the urge for national reconstruction among the people as well as the mass movement are both growing, these conflicts cannot but further sharpen making it possible for the democratic movement to secure the adoption of a number of measures that weaken the position of foreign capital in our economy as also that of the position of Indian reactionary forces in our political and economic life.

"The Communist Party is vitally interested in such developments and strives to strengthen them, for they help in strengthening the democratic movement and in consolidating and extending the democratic front. Every step that is taken by the government for strengthening national freedom and national economy, against imperialist, feudal and monopoly interests, will receive our most energetic and unstinted support" (*Political Resolution*, pp. 21-22).

The Government of India, abandoning its earlier policy of total dependence on imperialists, has entered into economic relations with the USSR and other socialist countries. It is defending the cause of peace and taking a resolute

against imperialist warmongers. All this strengthens our national economy, our national independence and heightens our national prestige. These measures are fully in accord with our national interest, with the interest of progressive forces all over the world and hence the Communist Party wholeheartedly supports them.

At the same time conscious of the limitations of independent capitalist development in India in the present context, we have stressed that:

“.....It would be a profound mistake to consider that the sharpening of the conflict between imperialism and the government of India, of the conflict between feudalism and the needs of bourgeois development and the attempt of the bourgeoisie to strengthen its position in this conflict, have already led to or can by themselves lead to the internal policies of the government becoming popular democratic. The bourgeoisie seeks to strengthen its position not merely in relation to imperialism and feudalism, but also in relation to the popular masses. It seeks to resolve its conflict with imperialism and feudalism at the cost of the people.

“Therefore, while opposing and attempting to weaken its grip over national economy, the bourgeoisie simultaneously maintains its links with British capital and gives facilities for further inflow of foreign capital. While striving to curb and weaken feudalism, it simultaneously maintains its alliance with landlords, against the democratic forces and makes concessions to the landlords. While striving to industrialise the country, it seeks to place the burdens of economic development mainly on the common people. While extending the public sector, it simultaneously pursues policies of support to monopolists in their attacks on the working people and adopts many measures which enrich the monopolists and thus help them to strengthen their position in important spheres of our life. While calling upon the people to co-operate in the task of national reconstruction, it simultaneously strengthens the bureaucratic apparatus, places main reliance on it, refuses to extend democracy and to adopt measures that would improve

the conditions of the people. These are policies that weaken and shackle the very classes that are the most resolute defenders of peace and national freedom—the classes without whose initiative and creative activity the nation cannot be rebuilt.

“Due to all this and the divergence between the aims of industrialisation and the methods adopted by the government to achieve these aims, the process of development of the country acquires a slow and halting character, marked by twists and turns, giving rise to sharp conflicts and profound contradictions. They retard the sweeping away of the obstacles that stand in the way of India's development. They impose colossal burdens on the people, impoverish them, thus preventing stable and continuous expansion of the internal market.

“In executing these policies, the government not only attempts to placate the people by making concessions and granting some relief, but often resort to repressive measures also. In the day-to-day struggles of the masses as well as the struggles waged by the people on democratic issues, the Congress government often resorts to wholesale arrest, lathicharges and even terror by shooting. The brutal suppression of the struggles in connection with the SRC report, the killings of Patna students, the firings on tea-garden workers of Darjeeling, the mass arrests in several places in connection with day-to-day struggles, all these reveal the callous character of the government in relation to the masses when they dare to resort to action in defence of their rights and interests. The struggle against this suppression, the struggle for protecting and extending the democratic rights, forms an integral part of the struggle for uniting the people.

“In these circumstances, the task of building national unity for peace, for defence and strengthening of freedom, for national reconstruction, for defence of the vital interests of the masses and for extension of democracy is an extremely complex task. It demands support to the government's stand in relation to the struggle for peace and efforts to strengthen it further. It demands support to all those measures of the

government which weaken the position of imperialism and feudalism, curb monopoly and strengthen national economy. It demands the bringing of pressure on the government in order to accelerate the pace of industrialisation and the adoption of measures related to this task. It demands vigorous combating of the policies of compromise with and concessions to foreign capital, landlordism and monopoly interests. It demands determined struggles against the government for improvement in the condition of the life of the people. It calls for vigorously combating and defeating the repressive measures of the government and securing the protection and extension of democratic rights. In order that the Communist Party may pursue such a revolutionary and flexible policy and play its rightful role as the builder and spearhead of the democratic movement, it must come forward as an independent national force. It must act as a party of opposition in relation to the present government.

“Guided by the interests of the country and the people, the Communist Party will extend wholehearted support to the government in its policy of defence of peace and in every measure that the government takes to reduce the dependence of Indian economy on imperialism. But it will oppose the serious concessions the government makes to foreign capital and will mobilise the masses with a view to curtailing these concessions.

“The Communist Party will support every measure the government takes against feudal landlords and for the land reform measures it has proposed. It will mobilise the peasantry and our people against their sabotage by landlords’ interests in the states’ governments and the bureaucrats linked with them, and for consistent implementation of these proposals through the democratic cooperation of the peasant masses and their organisations.

“The Communist Party will resolutely fight against the government’s policies of support to the monopolists’ attack on the working people, which result in fresh burdens on the masses. It will fight its anti-democratic policies that suppress

democratic rights and civil liberties, disrupt the trade union movement and deny trade union rights. It will organise the mass movement of workers, peasants and other democratic sections with a view to defeat and reverse these policies as well as to secure relief for the people and to improve their conditions."

Such is our analysis of the policies of the government, based on objective study of facts. Such is the policy which the Communist Party of India follows in order to unite the masses of our people in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

Transition to Socialism

Modeste Rubinstein's articles not only give an incorrect picture of the economic situation in India, they also suffer from other defects. Whatever the intention of the author may be, the articles strengthen some erroneous concepts about socialism that have recently gained currency in certain circles.

It is undoubtedly true that the massive achievements of socialism in the USSR and the epoch-making advance registered in China have had a powerful impact all over the world and especially in underdeveloped countries and have enormously strengthened the ideas of socialism not merely among the working class but among the peasantry, and other progressive classes and sections. It is equally true, as already stressed, that the extension of the state sector plays a progressive role in these countries. All this, however, does not justify the thesis that by declaring socialism as their aim and by developing the state sector, these countries can launch themselves on a 'non-capitalist' path of development.

Rubinstein admits that "steps to develop state industry are not, in themselves, of a socialist character". Unfortunately, however, this perfectly correct thesis gets practically negated by other formulations in the same article.

In support of his analysis about the developments in India, Modeste Rubinstein asserts that "socialist development is bound to differ in accordance with the conditions prevailing

in different countries". No one will dispute this formulation. But what is virtually ignored in the article is the profound truth that "Whatever the form of transition to socialism, the decisive and indispensable factor is the political leadership of the working class headed by its vanguard. Without this, there can be no transition to socialism" (*Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the Twentieth Congress*).

The historic formulation of the 20th Congress of the CPSU about the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism arm the working class movement all over the world with a weapon of exceptional power. This formulation of the 20th Congress is fully in accordance with Lenin's teaching that "Marx did not commit himself—or the future leaders of socialist revolution—to matters of form, to methods and ways of bringing about revolution". At the same time, there is a serious danger of these formulations being understood in an incorrect way which is contrary to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism—principles which are equally valid for all countries.

"Socialism is inconceivable", wrote Lenin, "unless the proletariat is the ruler of the state" (*ibid*, p. 365). The essence of this thesis, as we have seen, has not been negated but on the contrary has been reasserted by the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

In what sense then, one may ask, did Lenin consider state capitalism, even under bourgeois rule and even in advanced capitalist countries, to be an advance? The answer is given in Lenin's well-known article, written a year before the October Revolution, "*The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It*": "State monopoly capitalism is a complete material preparation for socialism, the prelude to socialism, a rung in the ladder of history between which and the rung called socialism, there are no intermediate steps" (Lenin's emphasis, *Selected Works*, Vol 2, p. 114).

Earlier in the same article: "...given a really revolutionary democratic state, state monopoly capitalism inevitably and unavoidably implies a step or several steps towards socialism!" (*ibid*, p. 113).

After the revolution, Lenin combating the 'lefts' showed how state capitalism with the working people in power can help to create conditions for transition to socialism. The example of China fully corroborates this thesis of Lenin.

The bourgeoisie, no matter how radical and progressive, cannot build socialism which is based on new property relations. Power in the hands of the democratic masses led by the proletariat—this is the essential condition for the building of socialism. The replacement of bourgeois-landlord rule by the rule of the people headed by the working class—without this socialism is inconceivable. The actual methods of conquest of power will not be the same in all cases. New historic possibilities have opened out of effecting the transition to socialism in a peaceful way: and it is the duty of all Communist parties, all forces standing for socialism, to strive their utmost to realise this possibility. But it would be utterly incorrect to hold that this is the same as the theory of 'gradualism', the theory of socialist 'elements' gradually growing within the capitalist state and ushering in socialism.

Further, the Leninist thesis that the bureaucratic state machine of the bourgeoisie cannot be the instrument for the exercise of power by the toiling masses and for the building of socialism—this thesis also retains its full validity. The precise method of eliminating the old state apparatus may be different and spread over a much longer period than was the case in Russia after revolution. But in order to build socialism the old state apparatus has to be replaced by a new system—one in which real power is vested in popular elected organs. It is worth noting that under the Nehru government, which claims to stand for socialism, the bureaucratic-police apparatus has not merely been kept intact but its power and scope have steadily grown.

To conclude: There undoubtedly exists a non-capitalist path of development for the underdeveloped countries like India. But it would be an illusion to think that the present government, headed by the bourgeoisie, can advance on that path. The Communist Party of India does not suffer from

such illusions. Therefore, while fully recognising certain possibilities of advance in the existing situation and while fully supporting all measures of the government which help to realise these possibilities and strengthen the cause of peace, national freedom and national economy, the Communist Party simultaneously strives to strengthen the forces of democratic hands of the democratic masses led by the working class. That alone can complete the tasks of the democratic revolution with the utmost rapidity and advance the country towards socialism.

On J. V. Stalin*

Ajoy Ghosh

Seventy-seven years ago, on 21 December 1879, was born J. V. Stalin, the great comrade-in-arms of the immortal Lenin, founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Faithful disciple of Marx, Engels and Lenin whose teachings he upheld and enriched, Stalin made a great contribution towards socialism in the USSR and towards the development of the world Communist movement.

He played an outstanding role in the struggle against tsardom and in the struggle against the forces of counter-revolution in the period of the October Revolution and civil war.

When, after the death of Lenin, the young Soviet state faced grave dangers from all sides, when right and left-wing factions were striving to deviate the party from the path of Leninism, the Central Committee of the CPSU under the guidance of Stalin unflinchingly battled against their harmful theories, trends and machinations—guarding the unity of the party, defending the heritage of Lenin, rallying the masses in the fight for building socialism.

Socialist Construction : Its World Historic Significance

Routing the external and internal enemies whose success would have led to the restoration of capitalism, the mighty edifice of the socialist society was created—demonstrating

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to the whole world the creative power of the working class freed from the shackles of capitalism. It was an achievement of which there exists no parallel in recorded history.

This achievement has profoundly influenced the course of events in the present epoch. It has profoundly influenced the minds of men all over the world.

"The bourgeoisie of all countries asserts", said Stalin in his report at the 18th Congress of the CPSU, "that the people cannot get along without capitalists and landlords, without merchants and kulaks. The working class of our country has proved in practice that the people can get along perfectly without exploiters.

"The bourgeoisie of all countries asserts that the working class, having destroyed the old bourgeois system, will be incapable of building anything new to replace the old. The working class of our country has proved in practice that it is quite capable not only of destroying the old system but of building a new and better system, a socialist system, a system moreover to which crisis and unemployment are unknown.

"The bourgeoisie of all countries asserts that the peasantry is incapable of taking to the path of socialism. The collective-farm peasants of our country have proved in practice that they can do so quite successfully.

"The chief endeavour of the bourgeoisie of all countries and of its reformist hangers-on is to kill in the working class faith in its own strength, faith in the possibility and inevitability of victory... If the successes of the working class of our country, if its fight and victory serve to rouse the spirit of the working class in the capitalist countries and to strengthen its faith in its own power and in its victory, then our party may say that its work has not been in vain. And there need be no doubt that this will be the case."

In these words, marked by the comprehensiveness and lucidity that characterised all the utterances of Stalin, was summed up the world-historic significance of the victory of socialism in the USSR, its powerful impact on the consciousness of men in all countries. The ideas of socialism, in less

than two decades after the 18th Congress of the CPSU, triumphed in many countries of Europe and Asia, proving conclusively that the working people have learned the lesson held out by the experience of the USSR. All the mistakes that have been committed in the USSR in carrying out this gigantic task of building socialism cannot blur the significance of this glorious achievement—a landmark in humanity's march towards the cherished goal of communism.

Planning—Its Lessons for Other Countries

It was the Central Committee of the CPSU headed by Stalin that, following the behest of Lenin, first demonstrated the necessity and possibility of economic planning—the necessity and possibility of mobilising the entire resources and manpower of a vast country and harnessing them to the task of national reconstruction in order to overcome age-old backwardness in the shortest possible period and take to the path of all-round progress. The very idea was one which when first formulated appeared to many to be utopian and was dismissed by the bourgeoisie as the fantastic dream of mad men.

But within a short period, they ceased to sneer.

Today none scoffs at the idea of planning. It has come to be accepted, even by many bourgeois circles, especially in countries whose development has been retarded, that for the task of national reconstruction to be carried out with the utmost rapidity reliance on the profit motive of the capitalists is not enough. It has come to be accepted that planning is essential for all-sided progress, that this planning, if it is to succeed, must involve restriction of the power and of the sphere of activity of monopoly capitalists, that special emphasis has to be laid on heavy industries which constitute the basis of a country's economic strength and the foundation for advance.

Stalin's Contributions

Implementing Lenin's programme of socialist industrialisation, the USSR transformed itself from a backward agricultural

country into one of the mightiest industrial powers of the world—an industrial power which renders unselfish aid to the people's democracies of Europe and our great neighbour China to rebuild their own economy, an industrial power which helps India and other countries of the east to overcome the colonial backwardness imposed on them by their former imperialist rulers.

Lenin's plan for the unification of small scattered individual peasant households into big mechanised socialist farms was carried out. In the concretisation and further elaboration of these plans, in the practical leadership for their implementation, J. V. Stalin made outstanding contribution.

Of great significance for the development of Marxism-Leninism were several of the theoretical works of Stalin. These works, which combined profundity of thought with simplicity of expression in a manner which has seldom been equalled, played an immense role in instilling socialist consciousness in the advanced workers and in rearing a whole generation of Communists.

The name of Stalin is inseparably associated with the solution in the USSR of one of the most complex problems in the history of human society, the national problem.

A determined opponent of bourgeois nationalism in every form, Lenin at the same time repeatedly stressed the great importance which the party of the working class must attach to the national question so that national inequalities are eliminated and all nations acquire full opportunities for their development.

Lenin's teachings on the national question were further elaborated and developed by Stalin. The nations oppressed by tsardom awoke to a new life, registered advance in every sphere and the Soviet was welded into a family of nations.

Stalin drew pointed attention of the working class of Europe to the movements of national emancipation waged by the countries of the east, movements which were of great revolutionary significance in the world struggle against imperialism. As early as 1918, he made the classic formulation

whose correctness the entire history of the last 38 years has borne out, that the October Revolution has "created a bridge between the socialist west and the enslaved east—having created a new line of revolution against world imperialism, extending from the proletarians of the west, through the Russian revolution, to the oppressed nations of the east".

His Name will Live

Today, when under the impact of the emergence of socialism as a world system and of the emergence of increasing number of countries of the east as sovereign states, the whole imperialist system is breaking down, when bonds of close friendship and cooperation have been established between the socialist world and the free countries of the east, when those bonds have been further strengthened by them in defence of the freedom of Egypt—and by the decisive role of the USSR in halting Anglo-French aggression—in such a period these words of Stalin acquire a new and profound import.

Stalin's teaching that peace can be defended only if the peoples of the world take the cause of peace in their own hand and fight for it, guides millions of partisans of peace all over the world in the struggle against the instigators of a new war. The USSR stands out as the most resolute defender of peace and of the cause of friendship between peoples.

In the course of construction of socialism in extremely difficult historic conditions, a number of serious mistakes were committed by Stalin—mistakes in the sphere of theory, in the sphere of socialist law and socialist democracy, in the sphere of relation between nations within the socialist world. These mistakes which became specially pronounced in the latter period of Stalin's life, due to the growth of the cult of the individual and to other factors, have had grave consequences. These mistakes have to be and are being corrected and their lessons learned.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding these mistakes, the name

of Stalin will always be cherished by mankind as one of the greatest Marxists of all times, as a towering personality and a titan of thought and action, as a man who dedicated his life to the service of the working people and to the cause of socialism. His contribution to the cause of emancipation of mankind will continue to inspire millions all over the world.

Polit Bureau Statement on Second General Elections*

The Second General Election of our republic commences on 25 February. There are barely two months to go before nearly 170 million men and women go to the polls to record their verdict on the past and their mandate for the future.

On the formative period of our republic with their inevitable clashes of ideas and policies, the coming general elections cannot but assume historic significance. Indeed this election comes as a challenge to the future of our people and of our country. The challenge has got to be met with all the forces that the vanguard of Indian democracy—the parties of the democratic opposition—can command.

In the years that we have left behind since the first general elections, our people have fought many a bitter battle in defence of their vital interests as for the larger interests of the country. And these battles have not been fought in vain. They have resisted many attacks of the government and of the exploiting classes. They have thwarted many fond plans of reaction and they have won many significant and inspiring victories as well. The saga of popular struggles is too long a tale to be recounted here.

In the coming election, the achievements of the people have to be consolidated, their endeavours and struggles carried forward into still greater victories. What is going to be the direction of our political and economic life tomorrow

*Polit Bureau of the C. P. I. issued this statement on 1957 General Elections in India, published in *New Age* of December 23, 1956.

very much depends on the outcome of the election battles that we face today. Let there be not the slightest mistake about it.

Our people want to see their country play an increasingly beneficial role in world affairs, for the peace and happiness of the human race. They want to rebuild their country and so rebuild it that it does not become a paradise for the princes and landlords, monopolists and speculators. They want to wipe out every vestige of the colonial past and so reorganise the society that our teeming millions are speedily lifted from the pit of want and hunger, disease and death, and firmly set on the broad road to a new, prosperous life.

National reconstruction has naturally become a rallying point for the people but not in the sense the present ruling classes and the government understand it.

The masses stand for such programmes of national reconstruction and such lines of development as will ensure all-round progress in our political, economic and social life.

THEY WANT their living conditions, material as well as cultural, to continuously improve.

THEY WANT to be saved from the nightmare of unemployment, from landlessness and destitution, from the tyranny and oppression of mounting taxes and soaring prices.

THEY WANT habitable houses to live in.

THEY WANT medical facilities for their families, education for their children and so on and so forth.

That is why they have refused to submit to the misleading exhortations of the ruling classes which, in the name of national reconstruction, deny the workers, peasants, middle-class employees, teachers and students and other sections of the community their legitimate demands. Our people have refused to live on doubtful promissory notes on the future when the fruits of their labour are stolen by a handful of exploiters on whom are showered all the blessings of the Congress regime.

The failings and injustices, exploitation and oppression of the Congress raj could have been much lessened if the

monopoly of political power which the Congress, to our great misfortune enjoys today, was not there. This monopoly of power has been used in the service of reaction and for bolstering up reactionary policies.

IT HAS fostered soullessness and cynicism in the ruling circles, fed obstinacy and arrogance among the rulers.

IT HAS permeated every pore of the government with fostering corruption and unbelievable inefficiency. It has encouraged authoritarian trends which spell serious threats to our democracy.

IT HAS hardened bureaucracy and enabled it to spread its deadening influence at all levels of public administration.

IT HAS even stifled the voice of those who stand for progress inside the ruling party itself. Finally this monopoly of political power has provided incentives for mass arrests, wanton police firings and various other methods of suppression of democratic rights and liberties.

The breaking of this monopoly of political power by defeating the Congress in as many constituencies as possible and by strengthening the Communist Party and democratic opposition, therefore, stands out as the central objective of the coming general elections. The realisation of this objective on a national scale is well within our reach if only the parties of the democratic opposition will close their ranks and unitedly confront the party in power.

This indeed is what our people expect of the leadership of parties of the democratic opposition. This is what we all must still try to achieve. Life has proved that unity is the mainstay of our strength. It is unity that sets the masses in historic motion and brings about national upsurge. All this we so desperately need for meeting the challenge in a way worthy of our great people in all their fighting traditions. The Communists will redouble their efforts for forging this unity and they fervently desire that others of the democratic opposition will join with them in this task.

Here we also want to stress that the coming election battles are going to be the severest we have yet known. The power

of wealth, the pull of privilege, the invidious manipulations of the state apparatus will all be on the side of the ruling party in order to defend its monopoly of political power. But the Communists and their fellow fighters disdain these ill-sought advantages. They will rely on the unity and strength of the people, on their sound democratic instincts and flaming patriotism—on the activity and mobilisation of the broad masses. They will rely on the superiority of their policies which have already stood the test of life. The coming general elections will, above all, be a battle of alternative policies.

The Communist Party of India, championing the interest of the downtrodden masses, has put forward policies which conform to the interest of the Indian people and ensure all-sided national advance. In furtherance of these policies, members of our party have led battles of the working people in every part of the country. In furtherance of these policies they have put forward concrete proposals in parliament and in the state legislatures—proposals which have won the support of a large number of democrats in every party. Today a gigantic battle has to be fought to explain these policies to our people and win their support for them.

In order to explain the policies we stand for among the masses and draw them in their millions into fighting positions, we must strengthen and widen our bonds with all sections of the democratic people.

WE MUST reach every home and share our thoughts with every voter.

WE MUST combine ceaseless political campaigning with vigorous organisational activities.

Right from this moment, let every member of the Communist Party, every one of our sympathisers and friends whose role is of supreme importance, regard himself or herself a soldier mobilised on the battle front. Only through such personal example can they inspire others into similar activity.

So let us all roll up our sleeves and plunge here and now into the election battle as we have never done before. If we

play our part with devotion and courage, there is nothing on earth which can deprive the democratic opposition of the historic successes that await us. Nothing can save the Congress from losing its monopoly of political power.

The Way Forward *

**For the Countries within
the Sphere of British Imperialism**

R. Palme Dutt

The significance of our conference is very considerably increased by the moment at which it is being held.

It meets at the moment of the present critical situation in South-East Asia, with the now open threats of extended war by Mr. Dulles and the American war camp.

It meets at the moment when the hydrogen bomb explosions in the Pacific—the first warning salvos or preliminary artillery barrage of the new intensified American war threats have aroused anger, horror and indignation among all decent people, and led to the universal demand for the banning of such weapons, as originally proposed by the Soviet Union and now proclaimed by the Pope.

It meets at the time of the Geneva Conference which draws together representatives, for the first time, of the Five Powers, including the Chinese People's Republic, and the Korean People's Republic.

And it meets at a moment when here in Britain the Easter conferences of trade unions and of the Co-operative Party have demonstrated the stirring of the British people on these

*This was actually a speech of R. Palme Dutt delivered in the Second Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of the countries within the sphere of British Imperialism, held in the Caxton Hall, London, April 1954. This was first published by the Communist Party of Great Britain. This speech was reprinted by the National Book Agency Private Limited, Calcutta, in 1954 as a booklet.

questions and the overwhelming anger and opposition against these imperialist war plans.

The fact that this present critical war situation, which is felt by everyone and occupies the attention of the entire world, centres in South-East Asia and the Pacific, demonstrates that it is a question of imperialism, of imperialist wars of aggression against the peoples and the just freedom struggles of the subject and dependent peoples, which is at the very heart of the world situation today. These are the questions which are the concern of our conference.

It will be the first concern of our conference to proclaim our opposition to these plans for extended war in South-East Asia and Eastern Asia; to demand that our Government shall take its plain stand of opposition to these war plans and proclaim it as definitely as the Indian Government of Jawaharlal Nehru has already done; and to call for lasting peace and a just peace in Eastern Asia, for the realisation of the national aspirations of all the peoples in South-East Asia who are living under imperialist domination.

It has been pointed out to you that our conference meets under certain difficulties. It is not surprising in this situation. It is precisely because of this critical world situation at this moment and of the significance of such a conference as ours at this moment, a significance well understood by the Governments concerned, that our conference has this time to meet under exceptional difficulties, limitations and restraints imposed by Government action robbing us of many of our delegates.

We would say at the outset that these attempts to hinder free movement and interchange of experiences and friendship between the peoples in the countries of the British Empire by the Governments concerned is only an expression of the guilty conscience of the rulers with regard to the real feelings of these peoples, and will not succeed in defeating the aim of our conference to strengthen the co-operation of our peoples for peace and national independence, and for the well-being of our peoples.

I. OUR CONFERENCES OF 1947 AND OF 1954

Seven years have passed since the first conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in countries dominated directly or indirectly by British imperialism met here in London in 1947, on the initiative of the Communist Party of India.

That conference was attended by representatives from twelve countries: Australia, Britain, Burma, Canada, Ceylon, Cyprus, India, Ireland, Malaya, Palestine, South Africa, Syria and Lebanon.

The Declaration of that conference, signed by representatives of these parties proclaimed :

"We greet with enthusiasm the unprecedented upsurge of the colonial and subject peoples in the great struggle for liberation... The fight for the peace of the world, the advance of the subject peoples to independence, the struggle of the workers for socialism are all part of a common fight. The alliance of the freedom movements of the subject peoples and the working class movement is vital for the victory of the aims of both...

"Our Conference in London has strengthened the bonds of fraternal solidarity of the Communist Parties within the countries of the Empire. The leading role in building the solidarity of the peoples of the Empire countries must be borne by the working class in Britain, the Dominions and the colonial countries. Foremost in this task will be the Communist Parties with their socialist understanding and internationalist spirit."

Today, after seven years, we meet anew to carry forward these common aims at an enormously more advanced stage in the struggle for peace, national independence and socialism.

If today the representatives of some of the countries which participated in the 1947 conference, such as Malaya and Burma, where the war of national liberation is speeding forward, cannot be directly present to participate in our deliberations, this is a sign not of the weakening of those parties or of the popular struggle but of their advance, and also of the measures of war and repression which the rulers

of imperialism are operating in wide areas of the Empire to maintain their rule and hamper co-operation of the peoples struggling for freedom. The iron curtain of imperialist restriction hinders the full representative character of our conference. Nevertheless we are glad to welcome the participation of accredited delegates of organisations from countries not represented in 1947, especially from the Middle East and Africa. And in respect of those territories not here directly represented, we are the more conscious of our responsibility to voice the struggle of all the peoples who are at present oppressed by the domination of British imperialism.

We are glad also to welcome many observers and guests from other territories, from groups of colonials in Britain, and from British working-class organisation.

Our conference will speak not for the imperialists, not for the Lytteltons, Menzies, Malans and their associates, but for the hundreds of millions of working people who are oppressed and exploited by the British monopolists, who are subject to the extending offensive of American imperialism and the drive to war, and who are striving for freedom and peace, and for the opportunity to build a happier future for their countries.

II. SEVEN YEARS OF CHANGE

Great changes have taken place during these seven years since 1947.

Victory of the Chinese Revolution

Seven years ago China had not yet completed its victory in the war of liberation against Chiang Kai-shek, the satellite and agent of American imperialism. The final victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949 and the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic has transformed the international situation and the balance of forces in the world. The example of the victorious Chinese Revolution has given new inspiration to the national liberation movements throughout Asia and in every continent. The alliance of the USSR, Chinese

People's Republic, and the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe, together with the German Democratic Republic, constitutes a mighty and impregnable alliance of states of the camp of democracy and socialism. It embraces the population of one-third of the world and represents the strongest bulwark of freedom and peace in the interests of the peoples of the entire world. This transformation in the international balance of strength is increasingly affecting the course of world politics, has brought the first beginning of top level negotiations of the Powers at Berlin and Geneva, and is thus powerfully strengthening the camp of peace against the menace of a new world war.

India and Pakistan

Seven years ago India was still a direct colony of the British Empire. That situation ended in the summer of 1947. In the face of the universal upsurge of the Indian people, including the Indian armed forces, British imperialism could no longer maintain its direct rule in India, and the states of India and Pakistan were established.

The full liberation and independence of the peoples of India and Pakistan from the domination of imperialism has still to be won. The stranglehold of British capital still holds the economy of these countries in its grip; the Indian masses are still at the lowest level of colonial standards, and continue to suffer all the miseries of double exploitation at the hands of the foreign monopolists and their own exploiters. The partition of India has imposed heavy problems; and American imperialism is engaged in drawing Pakistan into its military orbit.

Nevertheless, especially since the victories of the Chinese Revolution, with its far-reaching influence on India, and on the whole balance of strength in Asia, great changes are taking place in these countries. The overwhelming anti-imperialist feeling of the people, especially in face of the aggression of western imperialism in eastern Asia, and the struggle equally against the stranglehold of British imperialism and

against the new threat of American imperialism, has brought new trends to the forefront. Even within the limits of the existing regime, India under the leadership of Premier Jawaharlal Nehru stands more and more actively and openly in the cause of peace and against the aggressive aims of the imperialist war camp, and draws towards closer association with the camp of peace.

At the same time within India the democratic front, supported and built up by the Communist Party of India, is winning ever wider support and has gained signal victories in the electoral field and in mass struggles. It stands out already as the advancing alternative national political force in India to the rule of bankrupt Congress regime, representing the rule of big monopolists and landlords. The programme of the Communist Party of India, finally adopted in 1952, marks out the future path for India. We hail the historic advance of the Communist Party of India and its allies, the true representatives of the future of India.

We welcome also the signal of the elections in East Pakistan, where the victory of the United Front and the rout of the reactionary Moslem League leadership has dealt a blow to the policy of making Pakistan a military vassal of the United States and has marked the advance of the supporters of democracy and peace.

Advance of the Colonial Liberation Movement

During these seven years the liberation movement of the colonial and dependent peoples has swept forward through every corner of the world. It is no longer a question of the post-war upsurge which followed the second world war. Today, nearly a decade after the close of the war, the revolt of the colonial peoples is higher and more universal than ever before. If once the colonial territories could be spoken of as the rear and the reserve of imperialism, and the struggle of their peoples as the reserve of the struggle of the working class against imperialism, today the colonial front is at this moment the principal active fighting front against imperialism.

In South-East Asia the Vietnam People's Republic advances in the eighth year of its war of liberation against French imperialism, which is now only sustained to continue the war by the pressure and direct support of American imperialism. The Malayan National Liberation Movement carries forward unbroken in the sixth year of its war against British imperialism. The Burmese People's Liberation Movement extends its strength over a great part of the territory of Burma.

The whole Middle East is aflame. The prolonged resistance of the Middle Eastern peoples to the imperialist plans for a Middle Eastern Military Pact, corresponding to the Atlantic Pact, is evidence of this situation. In Iran, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company has had to surrender its half-century-old monopoly, through which hundreds of millions of pounds have been plundered from the Iranian people, and withdraw in face of the popular upsurge and the Oil Nationalisation Law. Today, the establishment of a shaky military dictatorship to stem the popular advance is being utilised to prepare a new oil agreement, in which the American monopolists seek to establish their dominant role; but the advance of the popular struggle will assuredly shatter in the end such renewed attempts of imperialism to re-establish its domination over the Iranian people.

The collapse of the former British colony of Palestine has been followed by the establishment of the state of Israel, which is nominally independent, but in practice a semi-colony of American finance-capital. But there also the popular struggle advances, as seen in the recent election victories of Nazareth, when Easter greeted the rising of the Red Star over Nazareth with 40 per cent of the votes for the Communist candidates.

In Egypt, as in other Middle Eastern countries, the method of military dictatorship has been used to crush the advance of the people; but the instability of this regime has been demonstrated in recent events. The Egyptian people are astir. Their anti-imperialist feeling is deep and hinders every attempted agreement of their rulers with imperialism. Only the absence

of a united Communist Party, leading the Egyptian national liberation movement, delays the victory of the Egyptian people in the heavy struggle which they have still to wage against the parallel offensive of American and British imperialism and their own reactionary exploiters.

The liberation movement in the Sudan has made great strides in recent years, with the working class emerging as a powerful force in the fight against imperialism. In Iraq, the masses rose in revolt in 1948 against the Portsmouth Treaty imposed by British imperialism, and again in November 1952, when a new revolutionary upsurge was led by the illegal Communist Party. In all these countries of the Middle East the power of British imperialism is being undermined.

Most significant of all in the present period is the upsurge of Africa. In Kenya, the whole world has seen with admiration the heroic struggle of the Kenya African people against the armed onslaught of British imperialism; and the shameful criminal barbarities of the imperialists in this war have shocked the conscience of the world and all that is decent among the British people. Nigeria and the Gold Coast have been the scene of large-scale strikes, mass struggles, local uprisings and armed repression during this period. Here the imperialist tactics to divide and confuse the national movement, and to corrupt the upper leadership, taking advantage of the still early stage of development of the role of the working class and of the Marxist groups, have temporarily availed to hold in check the advance of the people. The banishment of Seretse from leadership of Bamangwato people, because of his marriage to an English woman, and the steadfast support given him by the people in face of heavy pressure and intimidation by the British authorities, as also the banishment of the Kabaka of Buganda, because he voiced the demands of his people for self-government—these are all evidence of the universal extending unrest and spirit of resistance to imperialist rule.

In South Africa the Malan Government has established a

Hitlerite regime of racial oppression and anti-democratic legislation which only betrays the guilty panic and hatred of the white exploiting minority against the four-fifths majority of the population, the savagely exploited African, Asian and coloured masses. Against this regime of barbarism the united resistance of the defiance movement has been maintained in spite of all the measures of oppression. In Central Africa the imposition of federation represents a similar attempt to establish a Malanite type of white settler dictatorship, and has met with the united opposition of the entire African population.

All over Africa the African peoples are demonstrating that they are no longer prepared to be the subject of imperialist enslavement and exploitation. They are growing conscious of their strength, once they march forward and fight in unity. The future of Africa belongs to the African peoples.

In the West Indies also, the oldest region of British colonial domination, the torch of freedom is being carried forward by the people. The absolute victory of the People's Progressive Party in British Guiana in an election based on universal suffrage, and the consequent suppression of the constitution and despatch of warships and troops by the British Government, because the newly elected ministers sought to carry out the most elementary democratic and social reforms in accordance with their election programme, has exposed for all time the hypocrisy of the colonial constitutions imposed by British imperialism as a fig-leaf for its rule.

The example of British Guiana has shown that even these restricted colonial constitutions, in which real power is firmly retained in the hands of British colonial officials, become regarded as too dangerous as soon as the people endeavour to use their limited rights under them in order to advance their democratic movement or win reforms. These so-called constitutions are only permitted to operate so long as docile politicians and stooges of the Bustamente or Grantley Adams type betray the people and serve the interests of imperialism. Once genuine representatives of the people endeavour

to utilise these constitutional forms in the interests of the people, the mask is thrown aside and the mailed fist comes down.

In British Honduras corresponding measures are being openly contemplated to prevent an electoral verdict displeasing to the imperialist rulers. New ordinances, anti-democratic legislation and bans on transport and on literature throughout the West Indies reveal the growing alarm and repression of the imperialists in face of the advance of the people.

These seven years have shown, especially in Malaya and Kenya, that there is no limit to the brutality and savagery of modern imperialism in seeking to maintain its colonial domination. All the lying talk of voluntary granting of self-government, based on the enforced evacuation of India or Burma, is shattered by the examples of Malaya, Kenya, Central African Federation, and British Guiana. The dying beast of imperialism grows more ferocious, as it senses its approaching end. While against the 400 millions of India the resources and manpower were lacking to maintain the machinery of direct rule and repression once the half million of the Indian Army could no longer be counted upon, and therefore a strategic compromise with the upper-class national leadership had to be effected, the full force of colonial dictatorship and armed violence is shown against the six millions of Malaya, the five millions of Kenya and the half million of British Guiana.

Offensive of American Imperialism

The British Empire is still the largest colonial empire, extending over one-quarter of the world. But today the British Empire is faced with a new menace to its continued domination not only from the advancing revolt of the peoples within it but at the same time from the extending offensive of American imperialism.

American imperialism had already reached its overwhelming predominant position in the imperialist world by the end of the second world war. But it is these seven years which have seen the unfolding of its offensive for world domination.

Almost in the same month as our conference seven years ago the Truman Doctrine gave the first proclamation of this programme of extending intervention in all countries for the aims of world domination in the name of the "cold war" Through the successive stages of the Marshall plan, the North Atlantic Treaty, the Korean war, the imposition of colossal rearmament programmes on its allies, the trade bans to strangle East-West trade, the plans of rearming German militarism in Western Germany and Japanese militarism, through Point Four and the Military Security Administration, through the new aggressive threats of Dulles in South-East Asia and the brandishing of the hydrogen bomb, the offensive has gone forward. Billions of dollars have been spent in subventions and supply of arms to establish the American grip on scores of countries in every continent. American military, naval and air bases, and over 1½ million American troops had by 1953 been established in 63 of the 97 countries outside the United States.

Just as the previous offensive of the Hitlerite Axis used the slogans of anti-Communism and the anti-Comintern pact to cover its aim of world domination; so the present offensive of American imperialism uses the same slogans to pursue corresponding aims not only against the countries of Socialism and People's Democracy but for the domination of the older colonial empires of the European colonial powers, as well as of the other capitalist countries.

It is above all against the countries of the British Empire, representing the largest colonial world empire, and therefore the principal rival and richest spoils, that this extending American offensive has been directed. In trade, shipping, finance, and investment, the American monopolists have steadily displaced the former British dominance. By 1951 United States exports to the British Empire (Canada and the sterling area), amounting to £1,425 million, for the first time exceeded the United Kingdom total of £1,391 million; omitting Canada, the United States total of £465 million amounted to nearly two-fifths of the United Kingdom total of £1,254 million.

Canada has become in the main a North American annexe of the United States, even though there are contradictory trends to stake out the claim of a secondary imperialist power and to manoeuvre between the United States and Britain for this purpose.

Australia and New Zealand have been drawn into the American orbit through the Anzus Pact, with the pointed exclusion of Britain. Nor has the device of a royal visit availed to change this real trend, which has been carried forward by the American-financed projects to exploit oil and uranium resources in Australia. In all these dominions and in South Africa, United States investments have been advancing faster than British, and the American proportion of their markets has been in general increased, despite imperial preference. The General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs imposed by American pressure, has prevented the extension of imperial preference, and has thus been used to extend the American offensive.

In India the United States first displaced Britain in the larger share of the market in 1951; and while the main field of capital investment is still in Britain's hands, active United States financial penetration has begun.

In all the British colonies the first stages of American financial penetration have developed, mainly in the form of buying a controlling interest in existing concerns, especially mining.

The total of U.S. investments in the British Empire and in British spheres of influence (i.e., including the Middle Eastern countries within the British sphere) rose from \$2,689 million in 1936 to \$5,685 million in 1950, or more than doubled. The Point Four programme has been devised to extend American technical missions and prepare the way for American penetration in all the so called under-developed, i.e., colonial and semi-colonial, territories. The Paley Report has set out the aim to extend the American hold on all the raw material resources of the world. Even where these raw material resources remain in British hands, and are re-

garded as valuable dollar earners, as with Malayan rubber and tin, the dependence on the American buyer, and on American stock-piling programmes or sudden cessation of buying, leads to extreme economic instability, with the United States holding the whip hand.

This offensive of American imperialism has extended also to Britain, with the first stages of economic intervention and penetration through the Marshall Plan machinery from 1947, the dependence of every British Government since the war on American loans and grants, the imposition of trade bans, and the beginnings of military occupation with the establishment of the bomber bases and troops in 1948. U.S. direct investment in Britain was officially recorded to have reached £300 million by 1950, or the highest figure of American investment in any European country. This figure of direct investment considerably understates the real penetration.

At the same time the contradictions between American and British imperialism are rising, as predicted by Stalin in his *Economic Problems of Socialism* in 1952. These contradictions have found partial expression in official policy, as in the Churchill speech of May 11, 1953, in the proceedings of the Empire Finance Ministers' Conference at Sydney in January 1954, and in the current efforts to obtain some partial relaxation of the bans on East-West trade. In popular feeling the antagonism to American domination and military occupation has reached a very high point.

Deepening of the Crisis of British Imperialism

As a result of all these conditions, the crisis of British imperialism has very greatly deepened during these seven years.

At the time of our conference seven years ago the full conditions of crisis were only beginning to reveal themselves. 1947 was the first year of crisis of the balance of payments, which led to the rapid exhaustion of the American loan, and acceptance of economic subjection to the American Marshall Plan. 1949 saw the devaluation crisis which registered the victory of the dollar over sterling as the single

world currency in the capitalist world. 1951 saw the renewal of the crisis of the balance of payments, despite all the previous claims that it had been overcome. The temporary unstable recovery of the balance of payments during 1952 and 1953 has been based, not on any underlying change in the situation, but initially on a heavy contraction of imports, and mainly on a temporary shift in the terms of trade (lower prices paid for imports from colonial and semi-colonial countries and relatively higher export prices) alongside a deterioration of living standards in Britain, as well as in the colonial and dependent countries. The onset of economic decline in the United States during the latter part of 1953 and beginning of 1954 throws its shadow over the British economic situation.

The measures adopted by the British imperialists to meet this crisis of their economy have been based above all on the heaviest increase of colonial exploitation. This has been partially reflected in the continuous and accelerated growth of the sterling balances owed to the dependent colonial territories, from a total of £454 million at the end of 1945, to £1,222 million at the end of 1952, or an increase of £768 million in seven years, representing an annual rate of £110 million a year extracted from the colonial peoples in this form, without current return of goods. This is more than the total net deficit of the balance of payments in the same period. Britain's net invisible trade earnings were raised from £121 million in 1947 to £474 million in 1953, or a four-fold increase. Despite the recurring deficits in the balance of payments, and the dependence on American loans and grants, the export of capital to the sterling area has been forced up, and during the six years 1947-1952 amounted to £1,083 million, or an annual rate of £180 million a year.

The consequences of this policy of intensified colonial exploitation have shown themselves in catastrophic deterioration in the standard of living of the colonial peoples. This in turn has further strengthened the revolt of the colonial peoples.

To meet the revolt of the colonial peoples, and the consequent colonial wars, as well as the requirements of the rearmament programme imposed by American imperialism, the arms expenditure of Britain and the overseas military expenditure have been enormously increased. British arms expenditure has risen from £263 million in 1938 on the eve of the second world war to £1,776 million in 1953, or a seven-fold increase on what then represented a heavy rearmament programme. The two-year period of conscription has been imposed and maintained to meet the ceaseless demands of overseas military commitments. By January 1954 the British Minister of Defence, Lord Alexander, stated that no less than one in eleven of the population were engaged in the armed forces or in their direct supply, and that even so there was still no available mobile strategic reserve to meet any new commitments. United Nations statistics have shown that this is the heaviest military drain in proportion to population on any major country in the world. While the net deficit in the balance of payments during the eight years from the end of the war to the end of 1953 amounted to £314 million, the total overseas military expenditure in the same period amounted to £1,313 million, or over four times as much. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Butler, stated at the Finance Ministers' Conference in Sydney that Britain's arms expenditure represented a burden of £350 to £400 million a year on the negative side in Britain's balance of payments.

Thus the deepening crisis of British imperialism is reflected in the deepening of the crisis within Britain. The need for a radical change of policy arises equally for the British people as for all the peoples in the countries of the British Empire, both the self-governing dominions and the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

III. AIM OF THE CONFERENCE

Our conference meets at a time when all the contradictions arising from this crisis of British imperialism are advancing

to their sharpest point. The choice before the peoples in all the countries within the region of British imperialism stands out more clearly and inescapably than ever before.

American imperialism is driving headlong in the direction of a new world war. The Dulles Doctrine, promulgated in January 1954, has proclaimed the "new look" strategy of a world atomic or hydrogen bomb war to be launched by the United States and its satellites at any moment when the American rulers think fit to designate the advance of national liberation or socialism in any part of the world as "Communist aggression". The British Government has, up to the present, passively acquiesced in this doctrine, although it is universally recognised that such an atomic war, which would make Britain the main American bombing base in Europe, would inevitably make it the main target and lead to the destruction of Britain. The dread consequences of the explosion of the American hydrogen bomb in the Pacific in March have aroused universal concern among the peoples of the entire world. But no effective steps have yet been taken to break free from the death-grip of the American alliance. British policy still supports the re-armament of West German militarism. The older dominions are equally tied in their policy to the United States. Alone, India has taken the first steps towards an independent policy away from the American war alignment. The colonial peoples are dragged against their will in the wake of the war camp.

All the colonial and semi-colonial peoples are facing intolerable conditions of life. Imperialist policy is strangling the development of their countries, and has brought the steady worsening of their already murderously low standards of life. In Malaya, the sixth wage-cut since the war is being imposed, although it is officially admitted that the rising prices have brought the level of real wages heavily below pre-war.

The United Nations has coined a new name—"under-developed territories"—for the colonies and semi-colonies, which embrace over 1,000 million people, the majority of whom are within the sphere of British imperialism. But it cannot

hide the fact that in these countries infant mortality reaches levels running in some cases as high as 400 per 1,000 compared with 27 in Britain. The average expectation of life is 30 years compared with 65 in Britain.

Its Food and Agricultural Committee Report for 1952 admits that the average daily diet in these countries was still substantially below the already inadequate pre-war standards, and the latest 1953 Report indicates that it has fallen lower still. The latest annual report of the Colombo Plan for South-East Asia reminds us that even if the plan is fulfilled in the next three years (of which there is grave doubt) it will do little more than maintain the existing low standards of life.

The average annual wage of Africans in Kenya is £27, and the income per head only £5 18s. A study of Egypt conducted by the Rockefeller Foundation for the period 1948-52 revealed that expectation of life at birth was only 15-20 years, and 50 per cent of the children died before reaching the age of five years.

In plain words, in the British colonies and semi-colonies hundreds of millions are hungry, disease-ridden, ill-clothed and ill-housed from the cradle to the grave.

It is against these conditions that the colonial peoples are struggling.

These conditions are in all the more striking contrast to the unparalleled social, political, economic and cultural advance achieved by the liberated countries which were formerly colonial territories of the old Czarist Empire. These countries, on the basis of the alliance of their peoples with the Russian working class, won freedom from imperialism a generation ago, and have now established socialism and are speeding forward in the direction of Communism. From the most backward levels still in Middle Eastern countries or India, they have advanced to an economic level comparable with industrialised European countries, and a far superior level in every social measure. From being exploited agrarian sources of raw materials they have developed balanced economies of large-scale industry and mechanised agriculture; they have

increased the real income per head over twelvefold; they have not only liquidated illiteracy but they have three to four times as many university students as Britain in proportion to population; they have more doctors in proportion to population than in Britain; and 150 times as many as in Nigeria. Such is the achievement of the triumphant alliance of the working class and the liberated colonial peoples. In the Chinese People's Republic already during these few years since liberation, the first beginnings of a corresponding advance have been made.

It is not surprising that the colonial peoples everywhere are in revolt to win their freedom, to win new conditions of life, to improve their economic and social conditions, to win democratic rights and national independence, to end imperialist exploitation and to rebuild their countries. All the savage repression of imperialism, the penal ordinances, mass arrests and concentration camps, the naval guns and the bombing planes, can never crush this just revolt, which grows and extends everywhere.

From this platform we proclaim on behalf of the militant working class and all true supporters of democracy and socialism in the imperialist oppressing countries our unity and solidarity with the colonial peoples in their battle for our common victory against our common enemy, imperialism.

The crisis of imperialism strikes also at the living conditions, the national existence and the whole future of the British People. It imposes on them the worsening of their economic conditions and standards to pay for the endless colonial wars and military expenditure; it conscripts their youth not for defence but to fight in shameful colonial wars against people struggling for their freedom; it subjects them to American domination; it drags Britain towards an American-imposed world war.

The advance of the mass movement in the recent period in Britain and the development of the left in the trade unions and the Labour Party have shown that the British people are stirring to change these conditions arising from the crisis of imperialism.

This imperialist system of domination of Britain is neither in the interests of the colonial peoples nor in the interests of the British people. It is in their common interest to end it.

The aim of our conference is to help to build our alliance for this common aim of victory over imperialism and its replacement by fraternal co-operation of the peoples.

Our conference sets itself the aim:

1. To proclaim to the world the needs and demands and aspirations of all the people of countries at present under the domination of British imperialism.

2. To draw closer our unity and co-operation in the struggle for peace against the war policies of American and British imperialism.

3. To draw closer our unity and co-operation in the struggle for national independence of all the peoples who are at present held in colonial and semi-colonial subjection or whose national independence is threatened or subverted by American penetration.

4. To build the alliance of our peoples for common victory in the struggle against imperialism, and for fraternal co-operation and mutual help after victory in the reconstruction of our countries on the basis of national independence and equal rights.

5. To strengthen the co-operation of the Communist and Workers' Parties in our countries as the vanguard of the struggle of our peoples for freedom, peace and the aims of socialism.

IV. THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

In the present world situation the fight for peace stands in the forefront for all of us. The struggle of the peoples in the countries under the domination of British imperialism to end the present colonial wars, banish the menace of a new world war, and win the victory for peace, is a part of the common struggle of the world camp of democracy and peace.

The war camp in the world to-day is the camp of imperialism. The Atlantic war alliance is the alliance of the im-

perialist colony-owning powers, of American, British, French, Belgium, Dutch imperialism and their associates. The wars in progress in the present world situation are colonial wars of imperialist aggression against the national independence movement of the peoples. Such are the colonial wars in Vietnam, Malaya, and Kenya. The Korean war also represented the aggression of American imperialism, together with its satellites, against Korean national freedom and with the aim to turn all Korea into an American colony. The menace of a new world war arises from the aggressive plans of the imperialist powers, led by American imperialism, and from the deep contradictions of the imperialist powers. They are preparing to rearm West German and Japanese militarism. They finance and arm their war-mad puppets, the Chiang Kai-sheks, Syngman Rhee and Bao Dais, as their agents for war. They are piling up armaments at an unparalleled rate. During the last three years the Atlantic Pact powers have trebled their arms expenditure. They openly proclaim their intention to use atom bombs and hydrogen bombs, and are preparing for germ warfare.

The fight for peace is thus the most urgent common concern of all peoples in the world.

The fight for peace in the present world situation is closely bound up with the fight for national independence of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

This follows from the nature of the present world situation. The wars now in progress are colonial wars. History has shown that such local wars can prove the breeding ground, if they are not stopped, to extend to major conflicts and to world war. The Dulles doctrine of "instant retaliation" has demonstrated that American imperialism is prepared to use such local conflicts as the starting point for its plans of major world war. The American war makers are exercising the most extreme pressure on the French Government to continue the war in Vietnam, and to prevent an armistice, at a time when the entire French people, no less than the people of Vietnam, demand an armistice and the opening of

negotiations. Behind British and French imperialism, which are conducting these wars, stands American imperialism.

To end these colonial wars is an imperative necessity in the fight for peace. These wars of imperialist aggression against peoples struggling for freedom are unjust wars. The national liberation movement of the peoples who are fighting to free their countries from foreign invaders and foreign domination are conducting just wars which correspond to the true interests of world peace.

We call for an immediate cease-fire in Malaya, the lifting of the emergency regime, and negotiations with the leaders of the Malayan National Liberation Movement in order to establish the national independence of Malaya.

We call for an immediate cease-fire in Kenya, the release of arrested and imprisoned leaders and national patriots, and negotiations with the leaders of the Kenya African people on the basis of the recognition of their just national demands and the right of their people to the land of their country.

We call for the withdrawal of forces from British Guiana with restoration of democratic rights, and restoration of the elected ministers who have been wrongfully deposed, in order to reach agreement with them for the advance of British Guiana to full democracy and national freedom.

We call similarly for the withdrawal of troops from Egypt, Sudan, Cyprus, Iraq, Jordan and other Middle Eastern countries, and from all the bases of occupation where they serve the interests of colonial subjection and of the war plans of imperialism.

At the same time the fight for peace must extend to the wider aims to endeavour to reduce international tension and to end the American programme of the cold war. We need to work for the aims of top-level negotiations and co-operation of the powers for a five-power pact, the recognition of the rightful place of China in the United Nations, the restoration of the role of the United Nations as an instrument of peace on the basis of the co-operation of the leading powers, the banning of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction and the all-round reduction of armaments.

In some quarters, it is argued that these wider aims of international co-operation of the powers and of a five-power peace pact are of less direct concern to the colonial and semi-colonial peoples who have still before them the foremost task to win their national independence.

It is even argued in some quarters that the fight for peace does not correspond to the vital interests of the colonial peoples who are striving for their national independence, since the division of the powers may make easier their fight for freedom. Did not the first world war lead to the first great colonial upsurge in a wide series of countries? Did not the second world war bring a still greater colonial upsurge? Would not a third world war, these advocates argue, lead to the downfall of imperialism and the victory of liberation?

Or again, the argument is put forward that the colonial peoples cannot concern themselves with the fight for peace until *after* they have won their national independence, since, so long as they are subject, they have no control over the policies of their governments. Therefore, it is argued that the fight for national independence must come first, and the fight for peace can only come at a later stage.

These arguments are false and dangerous. They are calculated in practice, whether consciously or unconsciously, to separate the colonial peoples from the world camp of democracy and peace, and thereby to weaken their struggle by isolating them from their strongest allies. Thus, these arguments, while noisily proclaiming the aim of national independence as the supreme objective, in fact serve the interests of the war camp of imperialism, to disrupt the anti-imperialist camp of the peoples, and are in consequence contrary to the real interests of national independence.

It is true that the full strength of the peoples who are at present subject to colonial or semi-colonial domination can only be finally exercised without limit or restriction on the side of peace when they have won their national independence. But it is now that the fight for peace is the most urgent. The fact that national liberation has still to be won

does not mean that these peoples cannot play, and do not need to play, a powerful role in the common struggle for peace already in the existing conditions, even at the same time as they are fighting for their national independence.

The example of India has shown how the pressure of the people against the war plans of imperialism and for peace can exercise its influence, even though its government still has close links with imperialism. India today stands out as an increasingly active and potent force on the side of peace in the present world situation, and will still more exercise that role in proportion as the democratic peace movement advances in India. Thus it was not without reason that G. M. Malenkov, in his recent speech on March 12, paid tribute to "the valuable contribution to the strengthening of peace being made by the great Indian people".

Similarly, it is true that in the past, when imperialism ruled the entire world, before the victory of socialism and the formation of the world camp of peace and democracy, in that past period the divisions of the imperialists represented in a certain measure the opportunity for those oppressed by them to revolt. But this is no longer true in the same way of the present world situation. The world today is divided between the camp of imperialism and war and the camp of socialism, democracy and peace. The interests of all peoples, equally in the imperialist countries and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, are bound up with the camp of socialism, democracy and peace, headed by the USSR and the Chinese People's Republic, and with the victory of the aims of peaceful co-existence.

It was not the fact of the first world war, the outbreak of which was a disaster for all peoples without exception, but the victory of the first Socialist Revolution, born of the fight against the imperialist war, which led to the mighty colonial upsurge following the war. It was not the fact of the second world war of Hitlerite aggression, the outbreak of which was equally a disaster to all peoples, but the victorious anti-fascist struggle of all the peoples of the world, with

the Socialist Soviet Union in the forefront, and the subsequent victory of the Chinese People's Revolution which gave the impetus to the present mighty upsurge of the colonial peoples throughout the world.

The menace of a new world war threatens all peoples without distinction. No corner of the globe no territory, is immune or even remote from its menace. The strategic war plans of imperialism are especially concerned with the colonial and semi-colonial areas of the world. This is seen in the concentration of attention on the Middle Eastern countries to build a so-called Middle Eastern Defence Organisation or military alliance of puppets and dictators under Western imperialist control. It is seen in the lavish expenditure to develop Africa as a war base. It is seen in the American moves to draw Pakistan into its military network not only because of the key character of the position of Pakistan from a strategic point of view but in order to put pressure on India.

Africa, the Middle East, India, Pakistan and South East Asia are all seen as key strategic areas for the global war planned by American imperialism and its Atlantic partners. Further, the economic burdens of the war drive and rearmament fall with merciless severity on the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Here are seen the decisive areas of strategic raw materials required for rearmament. The spoliation and plunder of the colonial peoples is intensified to supply the needs of the war drive. The hypocritical "development" and "aid" plans are openly transformed to become part of the war drive and fall under the Military Security Administration. The cost of the drive to war is paid for above all with the ceaselessly intensified exploitation of the colonial peoples.

As against this menace of the imperialist war drive to all peoples, the victory of the aims of the peace camp, of peaceful co-existence and of co-operation of the powers, and the consequent reduction of inter-national tension and limitation of armaments, would provide the most favourable conditions

for the advance of the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for national independence. The main basis for the present inflated level of armaments and of armed forces, which in practice are principally used at the present time against the colonial peoples and national liberation movements, would be removed; and the incentive would be increased to seek a peaceful settlement with the national demands of the colonial peoples. The functioning of the United Nations would be transformed from its present distortion as a rubberstamp machinery for imperialist aggression into its proper role as a machinery for peace and for the rights of nations. The victory of the peace camp against the most reactionary war-making imperialist sections would mean the powerful advance of the democratic and progressive forces in all countries.

Thus the peoples in the colonial and semi-colonial countries have an equal and common interest alongside the peoples in the imperialist countries, the British people and the Canadian, Australian and New Zealand peoples in the fight for peace.

Nor is the real strength of their contribution to the common fight for peace paralysed by their lack of political rights. Just as the fight for peace is closely bound up with the fight for national independence, so is the fight of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples for national independence an integral part of the front of the fight for peace. The revolt of the Kenya African people has shattered the British war plans to make Kenya, alongside Cyprus, their base in the Middle Eastern region in the place of Suez. The heroic struggles of the Vietnam and Malayan peoples, alongside the liberation war of the Korean people, have held up the openly proclaimed plans to make these conflicts the starting point for a major war in the Far East.

At the same time the heaviest responsibility in the fight for peace falls on the British people. It is British imperialism which is conducting two of the three main aggressive wars at the present moment, in Malaya and in Kenya. British imperialism is the principal associate, even though as

junior partner, of American imperialism in its war drive. Britain is the principal American offensive base for war in Europe. All this is completely contrary to the true interests of the British people. The British people can play a decisive and pivotal role at the present time in the fight for peace. If the British people can compel their Government to take an active initiative for peace, alongside the existing peace leadership of the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and India, such an initiative would rally united support throughout Europe and Asia, isolate the American war-makers, and open the way to the victory for peace. This is the great opportunity and the great responsibility which rests today upon the British people.

Thus the fight for peace can be truly described as a joint fight in which all the peoples of the countries represented at this conference, and of all the countries dominated by British imperialism, can play their part, in order to defeat the war plans of the American and British imperialists and their satellites, and to win the victory for peace in common with all the peoples of the world camp of democracy and peace.

V. THE FIGHT FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

If the fight for peace has advanced to a new intensity at the present moment, so also the fight for national independence has advanced to a new stage.

At our 1947 conference we spoke of the battle for national independence as having come to the forefront in a series of countries, especially in India, Burma, Ceylon and the Middle Eastern countries, while in a series of other countries in the British Empire the stage reached was that of the battle for elementary democratic right in order to develop the popular movement, the beginnings of organisation of the national movement and of the working-class movement, and to advance to the struggle for national liberation.

Such a distinction no longer applies in the world to-day. The struggle for national liberation is breaking out in every territory of the British Empire, without distinction of so-called

backwardness of development. What is happening today in Kenya could happen tomorrow in any other subject territory of the British Empire. In this sense the era of backwardness is over. Whatever the variations in the stages of development, political conditions or forms or character of popular organisation, the aim of national liberation as the supreme objective is seen more and more clearly among all the peoples dominated by British imperialism.

There is a further new feature in the modern situation. As a result of the policy of their rulers, and of the dominant role of American imperialism in the imperialist world, the British people have lost in practice no small part of their national sovereignty and independence, and fallen into a state of very considerable political and economic and military subordination to the rulers of the United States. The same applies to the peoples of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The conditions of the American loan, then of the Marshall plan with its elaborate machinery of American economic supervision of the internal policies of Britain, of GATT, of the trade bans and the Battle Act, have placed Britain in an American economic straitjacket. The inflated £4,700 million re-armament programme, which practice showed impossible of fulfilment, was imposed on Britain by direct American pressure. At international conferences the British representatives are drilled beforehand under American supervision and appear only as docile echoes and puppets of their American masters. American financial penetration of Britain has been followed by American military occupation, and Britain has been turned into American Base No. 1 in Europe.

Hence the battle for the national independence of the peoples of the British Empire has taken on a new and extended significance. Previously the struggle for national independence was expressed only in the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples of the British Empire and it was the true interest and responsibility of the British working class, and the working class in the older dominions, to give support in this struggle. But now the struggle for national independence,

whatever the variations of form and stage of development, has become the common struggle of all the peoples of the British Empire, including that of the British people, and of the Canadian, Australian and New Zealand peoples. The links are drawn closer. The old declaration of Marx that a nation which enslaves other nations forges its own chains has been proved true in a new and developed fashion. At the end of the road the price of imperialism has led to the loss of national independence of the British people. These conditions are deepening the understanding among the British people of the meaning of the fight for national independence.

This new world situation has brought also a further new factor in the struggle for national independence. Previously the struggle of the peoples of the British Empire for national independence was essentially a struggle against British imperialism alone, just as the struggle of the people of French North Africa was against French imperialism, or of Puerto Rico and the Philippines against American imperialism. This situation is now changed. American imperialism has established its predominance in the imperialist world and drawn the British and French empires into its orbit. Hence the struggle of the peoples of the British Empire for independence is not only a struggle against British imperialism but simultaneously a struggle against American and British imperialism.

Failure to recognise this new stage of the struggle can lead to the destruction and defeat of the aims of the national liberation movement, if its leadership falls into the trap of regarding the American imperialists as the rivals and enemy of their own enemy and oppressors, and therefore as potential allies to be welcomed. Just as the camp of Axis fascism before and during the second world war, of German, Italian, and Japanese imperialism, used every method of corruption and demagogy, and of pretended sympathy with national aspirations, to seek to penetrate the national movement in colonial countries, and thus facilitate conquest, so today American imperialism pursues the same methods. The American imperialists are ceaselessly active to seek to insert their agents

or buy or win over a section of the reactionary leadership of the national movements in all colonial and semi-colonial countries. The example of Israel has shown how a former colony of British imperialism has become in practice a colony of American imperialism, so that the vaunted independence has turned out to be a change of masters and not yet real independence. In Pakistan a similar menace develops. The battle for national independence in the countries of the British Empire is a combined battle against the immediate domination and oppression of the British imperialists and against the penetration of the American imperialists.

A further new feature consequent on this new world situation is a deepening of the understanding of the meaning of national independence. Previously, as at our conference in 1947, we had to draw a sharp distinction between real national independence and pseudo-independence or fake "independence" which was beginning to be increasingly used as the new technique of imperialism. The essence of this new technique of imperialism was to confer formal juridical independence and sovereignty upon a state, while in practice establishing a closely linked reactionary regime of its own choosing, and maintaining a close economic and strategic hold on the new state, so that the label of "independence" covered the reality of satellite dependence. The examples of Egypt, Iraq and Jordan, and more recently Libya, have all demonstrated this method. Earlier the partition of Ireland and the establishment of the Northern Ireland Government, with British military occupation, alongside the Irish Republic had illustrated the method of thwarting the aims of national liberation while appearing to grant them. In a more advanced and complex form, corresponding moves were conducted in 1947 in relation to India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon.

Today the decisive test of real national independence requires to be measured not only in the actual relationship to the former ruling imperialist power but in relation to the whole camp of imperialism. No state that is tied to the

imperialist war camp dominated by American imperialism has any longer national independence.

This applies also in its own form to Britain, so long as the rulers of Britain maintain the present subjection to American domination and the acceptance of American military occupation.

Conversely, in proportion as the people of any state are able to compel a separation from the imperialist war camp and an alignment in support of peace, they are thereby carrying forward the advance along the path towards real independence. This is most clearly seen in the case of India, which emerged in 1947 as very much still an economic and strategic dependency of British imperialism, despite the formal independence. But since the victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949, with its far-reaching effects on the position of India and the increasing development of Indian policy to a certain measure of differentiation from the imperialist war camp, this has meant the beginning of a greater measure of independence of India's role in world politics, although the fulfilment of independence requires the ending of the still crushing domination of British capital in Indian economy, and of the still continuing close political and strategic ties with British imperialism, as well as of the increasing penetration of American financial interests.

The experience of these seven years, and especially in the Chinese People's Republic, has further deepened the understanding of the most effective form of real national independence.

Previously the conception of the aim of national independence found expression in the aim of the independent bourgeois democratic republic, having won separation from the former ruling imperialist power. But the experience of the Irish Republic, or of the Burmese Republic, nominally outside the British Empire, or of the Indian Republic, still inside, has shown how the closeness of the economic and other ties of the upper circles of the bourgeoisie in an advanced colonial country with the ruling imperialists can result in a

bourgeois democratic republic under their leadership, becoming not the fulfilment of real national independence but only a more skilfully hidden form of continued association with imperialism.

Full independence, therefore, requires the defeat of those upper sections of the bourgeoisie or feudal or other exploiting sections which are lined up with imperialism, and the breaking of the grip of imperialism on the economic resources of the former colonial country. This can only be reached not under the leadership of the reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie allied to imperialism but under the leadership of the working class, in alliance with the peasantry and with all sections, including the national bourgeoisie, prepared to resist imperialism.

The political form of this has been demonstrated during this period, especially since the experience of the Chinese People's Republic, as the form of People's Democracy. At our 1947 conference the new experience of people's democracy following the second world war was mainly confined to the countries of Eastern Europe; and its application to colonial and semi-colonial countries was still a matter under discussion. Today the experience of the Chinese People's Revolution has abundantly shown the path forward for all colonial and semi-colonial countries which have obtained a measure of economic and social development and class differentiation. The Chinese People's Revolution and the Chinese People's Republic, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, have shown the way to build the united national front of the four classes, the working class, the peasantry, the intellectuals and urban petty bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie, for the victory of the democratic, anti-feudal, anti-imperialist revolution, and for the establishment of the new type of state of People's Democracy upon this basis. They have shown how, on this foundation, to carry forward the reconstruction of the country, to begin to solve the problems of backwardness arising from feudal and semi-colonial conditions, to complete the agrarian revolution, to enter on

large-scale industrialisation, to raise living standards, to draw the entire people into democratic activity for rebuilding their country, and so to prepare the conditions for the future advance to socialism. The People's Democratic Republic is revealed as the most favourable form, equally for real national independence and for progressive internal development.

The programme of the Communist Party of India, as also the recent programmes of the Communist Parties of Indonesia, Iraq and other semi-colonial and dependent countries, have formulated this perspective of People's Democracy for the realisation of their aims of national independence, democratic advance, and economic and social reconstruction.

Important lessons flow from this for the development of the national liberation movement. These lessons point the way to the building of the broadest democratic national front, with the leadership of the working class, and the alliance of the working class and the peasantry as its core, and drawing in the widest sections for the victory of national liberation against imperialism.

Experience in a wide series of countries in the most recent period since the victory of the Chinese Revolution, notably in India, has shown the path of development of such a broad democratic national front, with the leading role of the working class. Experience has shown how in certain conditions the development of the struggle along this path of advance can open the way to the formation of People's Governments of democratic unity, based on a broad democratic front, for the furtherance of immediate aims in the struggle for democracy, peace, economic and social demands, and national liberation, as a transitional stage on the road to full national liberation and the establishment of People's Democracy.

At the heart of such development is the role of the working class and of the Communist Parties. Modern imperialist development has inevitably brought the increasing formation and extension of the working class in all colonial and semi-colonial countries. Also, in the conditions of Africa this advance has been markedly demonstrated in West Africa,

in South Africa, in the Rhodesias, in Kenya. In the face of every obstacle the colonial working class has carried forward its struggle, built up trade unions and political parties, striven for elementary economic and social demands and democratic rights, and played its active part in the national liberation struggle as the most consistent and courageous anti-imperialist fighter.

It is significant that in Kenya, where the forms of the national liberation struggle are closely linked to the traditional tribal forms of organisation, the first forms of the role of the working class have been illustrated not only in the part which the trade unions played in the earlier development of the movement, until they were proscribed, but also in the present part played by the Kenya African industrial workers, who have had experience on the railways and in military service, in providing personnel of leadership and organisation. Imperialism has shown its very sharp understanding of the significance of the role of the colonial working class by the attention paid to the problem arising from this new development. At first, they endeavoured to suppress and prohibit all trade union organisation. After this had failed they set their main aim to disrupt and break up any independent trade union organisation and substitute controlled forms of leadership approved by imperialism.

The same policy has found expression in the disruption of the World Federation of Trade Unions because it included the colonial trade unions alongside the trade unions of the imperialist countries. Under American imperialist inspiration the ICFTU was established as an agency above all concerned with the task of penetrating and disrupting the early trade union movement in colonial countries. At the same time lavish funds have been provided and the most elaborate machinery of labour officers, etc., for the same purpose.

A stage has thus been reached in a very wide series of colonial and semi-colonial countries in which the role of the working class stands out more and more clearly as that of the most consistent leader of the struggle for national liberation

and for all the interests of the majority of the people, in opposition to the compromising actions of the upper strata of the colonial bourgeoisie.

The successful fulfilment of this role requires above all the formation and development of Communist parties, of political parties of the working class, drawing in the most militant sections of the peasantry and of the national liberation movement, and based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, such as can lead the struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples to future victory.

From this follows the general conclusion at the present stage for the development of the national liberation movement. Wherever the conditions of class differentiation have reached a considerable stage, with the emergence of a colonial working class, there the most effective organisation and leadership of the struggle for national liberation requires not only the broadest unity of the national front against imperialism but also within this the fulfilment of the leading role of the working class and its political party in building up the alliance of the working class and peasantry as the core of the broadest united national front embracing the working class, the peasantry, the intellectuals and urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. Within the framework of this general principle, particular developments will need to correspond closely to the actual forms and stages of the particular development in the given territory.

But the national liberation movement in any given territory cannot conquer in isolation. The struggle against imperialism is international in its character. And in the case of the struggle against the domination of British imperialism, it is of especial importance that the closest alliance should be built up between the British working class and the national liberation movement in all the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

VI. ALLIANCE OF THE PEOPLES

The teachings of Marx, carried forward by Lenin and Stalin in the imperialist era, in dealing with the problems of British

working class have always laid the greatest emphasis on the necessity of the alliance of the British working class with the national liberation movements of the countries subject to British rule as the essential condition, equally for the liberation of these countries and for the victory of socialism in Britain.

They showed how Britain's imperialist world monopoly, so far from corresponding to the interests of the British workers, was the main basis of strength of the British capitalists against the British workers. They showed how acceptance of the imperialist world monopoly, in order to share in its fruits, was the main basis of corruption of the upper sections of the labour movement, and the main reason why the British labour movement had failed to advance to socialism and, despite its strength and numbers and organisation, had fallen behind and lost its previous vanguard role in the international working-class movement.

If this were true in the later nineteenth and early twentieth century, when British capitalism and imperialism still appeared to be prosperous, it is still more true today when the imperialist system is in deep crisis.

Twenty years ago Stalin said :

"The victory of the working class in the developed countries and the liberation of the oppressed peoples from the yoke of imperialism are impossible without the formation and the consolidation of a common revolutionary front.

"The formation of a common revolutionary front is impossible unless the proletariat of the oppressor nations renders direct and determined support to the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples against the imperialism of its 'own country'." (J. V. Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*)

It will be noticed how sharply Stalin placed this question. The victory on either side is "impossible" without the alliance.

In the present conditions of the deepening crisis of British imperialism this teaching is of greater importance than ever. The alliance is the indispensable condition for victory against our common enemy, British finance-capital, and for the future of our peoples.

It is the undying shame of the present dominant leadership of the British Labour movement that they have spurned this elementary teaching of Socialist internationalism, and have united with the Tory imperialists against the colonial peoples. there is no infamy of imperialist barbarity against colonial peoples which they have not supported under the Tory Government or practised themselves when in office.

Imperialism is the real basis of the veiled coalition of Toryism and right-wing Labour which temporarily dominates the present political situation in Britain and thwarts the aspirations of the rank and file of the Labour movement.

The Tories and right-wing Labour leaders claim that the maintenance of Empire domination is the essential economic basis for the employment, the standards and the social services of the British workers. Malaya is declared to be Britain's best dollar-earner. Therefore, the revolt of the Malayan people must be ruthlessly crushed to protect the gigantic profits of the rubber and tin monopolists. The revolt of the Kenya African people must be crushed to protect the interests of the big land robbers who have stolen their land and built up fortunes out of their labour. All this, according to the argument of the Attlees and the Griffiths, as of Bevin and J. H. Thomas before, is supposed to represent the interests of the British workers.

This shameful argument, worthy of Hitler and of the exponents of theories of the master race, is false even on the narrowest economic grounds. The profits of Empire go to the big monopolists, the exploiters of the British workers. The crumbs that may reach a section of the workers, in the shape of social concessions in order to buy off their militant struggle, are outweighed many times over by the costs which fall on the entire working class, the costs of inflated arms expenditure and worsening conditions, and of colonial wars and imperialist wars with their terrible toll of blood.

The Tories and right-wing Labour leaders claim that they are carrying out a civilising mission in the Empire to promote economic development and assist the backward and

poverty-stricken peoples in the colonial countries to advance by the aid of schemes of Colonial Development and Welfare, Point Four, Colombo Plans, and the like.

A special variety of this propaganda is conducted by the Labour imperialists, as in the recent colonial broadcast of James Griffiths, or in the mass of Transport House literature put out under such deceptive slogans as "War on Want".

Heart-rending pictures are drawn of the terrible poverty of the colonial peoples in order to call on the British workers to make sacrifices of their own living standards so as to provide money for the development plans to aid the colonial peoples. Thus the genuine sympathy of the British workers for the colonial peoples is criminally misused by these tricksters in order to assist the employers' offensive in Britain, damp down the class struggle in Britain and impose new burdens to pay for the cold war and colonial wars.

This argument also is as false as it is hypocritical. What sort of civilising mission is it which has been shown in the role of Captain Griffiths ? The colonial system is the main cause of the economic backwardness of the colonial peoples. It is the main obstacle to their economic development. It distorts and hinders any progressive economic development of their countries for the interests of the inhabitants, in order to plunder their natural resources for the benefit of foreign monopolists. The dribblets of money which are voted for so-called "development" (in practice mainly for schemes to provide cheap public services, power, transport, irrigation, and so facilitate more profit from private investment, or for strategic purposes, remote from the real needs of the people) are a tiny fraction compared with the hundreds and hundreds of millions of pounds of tribute which are drawn every year from these colonial countries for the benefit of foreign exploiters. The ending of this tribute is the first condition for tackling the poverty of the colonial peoples and beginning real economic development.

Similarly the Tories and right-wing Labour leaders claim that they are guiding the colonial peoples forward along the

path to self-government and freedom by gradual stages under the benevolent control of their imperialist rulers.

But experience has shown that no concession has ever been made to any subject people in the Empire save in the face of the revolt of the people. If peaceful constitutional development to freedom were the law of British imperialist rule, then Jamaica, the oldest British colony, which has been ruled by Britain for three centuries since 1665, would be the most advanced today on the road to freedom—which is far from being the case. The enforced evacuation of India or Burma in the face of the upsurge of the people, and cosequent elaborate compromise manoeuvres to find the best means to continue the protection of British economic and strategic interests in these countries, has been accompanied by the most ruthless colonial wars against the national liberation movement in other territories, as in Malaya and Kenya.

The hollowness of the fig-leaf colonial constitutions imposed by the Colonial Office in the subject countries to cover the reality of their dictatorship has been exposed once and for all by the example of British Guiana, where the people endeavoured in lawful, constitutional forms and by an electoral majority, to use these very limited possibilities in their own interests, and were met with the dispatch of gunboats and the suspension of the Constitution.

All these pleas and excuses presented by the right-wing Labour leaders, the Attlees, Morrisons, Griffiths and Creech-Jones, for the maintenance of Empire domination, are couched in the language of limitless philanthropy and benevolence. But the reality is seen in the hideous colonial wars and repression which have shocked the conscience of the world. All these colonial wars have still the support of the official leadership of the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress.

The Declaration on Foreign and Commonwealth Policy, adopted at the Labour Party Conference last year, which was sprung on the conference without any opportunity of discussion by the membership, and to which amendments were not allowed, directly supports the wars in Kenya and Malaya.

Every protest of the Labour movement against the bestial outrages committed by the Tory Government in the colonies is met with bland assurances to show that these practices were initiated by the Labour Government. The Labour Government began the war in Malaya. The Tory Government continues it. The Labour Government imposed the ban on Seretse. The Tory Government makes it permanent. The Labour Government began the use of bombing planes against the peoples in revolt, the wiping out of villages, the imposing of collective punishments, and the placing of prize money on the heads of patriots. The Tory Government has continued these same practices.

The Trades Union Congress Council has performed a corresponding role in the trade union field, with the use of specially levied funds drawn from the trade unions, nominally to assist colonial trade unionism, in reality to disrupt any independent militant trade union movement in the colonies and to collaborate closely with the ruling imperialist authorities for the development of controlled trade union organisation under a docile leadership.

When the Tory Government removed the democratically elected ministers in British Guiana, the Labour Party leadership, not only supported Lyttelton's denunciation of the People's Progressive Party which had won the absolute majority of votes in the elections, but even imposed a ban on representatives of the People's Progressive Party presenting their case to organisations of the Labour movement. Fortunately the majority of the Divisonal Labour Parties concerned refused to accept this ban, and the campaign of Jagan and Burnham throughout Britain had the most far-reaching effect in awakening a new understanding of the colonial people's struggle, and aroused sentiments of solidarity and comradeship.

Today there is a stirring among wide sections of the Labour Party and the trade unions against the policies of colonial repression maintained by Toryism and the right-wing Labour leadership, and demands for solidarity with the struggle of the colonial peoples. Over 20 resolutions from constituent

organisations on the agenda of the Labour Party Conference last year raised the colonial question and demanded in varying forms a policy of unity with the colonial people's struggle. This was a new feature without previous parallel in the agendas of earlier years, even though the manipulations of those controlling the conference prevented these resolutions being discussed.

This stirring is linked with the left-wing revolt in the Labour Party and the TUC which has won votes of 2 to 3 million for a progressive policy on all the key issues against the policy of the right-wing leadership. It is becoming more and more widely understood that the present policies of imperialism are leading Britain to disaster, to endless worsening of economic conditions, extension of military burdens, subjection to American domination and the prospect of a new world war. Therefore, the demand is spreading for a radical reversal of these policies and their replacement by a programme for national independence and peace, and for united action with the colonial peoples against imperialism, as the indispensable condition in order to free Britain also and prepare the way for the victory of socialism.

Nevertheless there is still the most serious lag between the level of response in the Labour movement in Britain and the height of the struggles of the colonial peoples as they are developing today. This is a problem which requires the most urgent consideration here in Britain, and we of the Communist Party in Britain recognise our special responsibility in this respect.

At the same time as we recognise how far short the present stage of achievement falls of the urgent needs and possibilities of the situation, we can claim that the Communist Party stands in the forefront in the development of this campaign for solidarity with the struggle of the colonial peoples, and in the strengthening of this fight. There is no question that it is above all the agitation of the Communist Party and the exposures in the *Daily Worker* which have played a leading role in arousing opinion throughout the Labour movement to

the crimes which are being committed by imperialism in the name of the British people.

The Communist Party in Britain takes pride in its 34 years of ceaseless anti-imperialist struggle alongside the colonial peoples, as the only political party in Britain which stands without qualification for the national independence of all the peoples subject to British imperialism. We are proud of the role of such anti-imperialist fighters as Shapurji Saklatvala, sprung from the Indian people and elected by the workers of Battersea to the British Parliament, where he voiced without compromise the fight against imperialism and for the rights and freedom of the colonial peoples; of William Gallacher and Phil Piratin in the Parliament after the last war; or of Ben Bradley and George Allison who helped in the building of the early foundations of the working-class movement in India.

The programme of the Communist Party, *The British Road to Socialism*, adopted at our Congress in 1952, shows the path forward to build in action the alliance of the British working class and of all the peoples oppressed and exploited by British imperialism, in a common struggle for the aims of national independence and peace and against the reactionary combination of American and British imperialism. The programme *The British Road to Socialism* shows how through such a fighting alliance the way can be opened to win a new and different future, to replace the Empire of domination and exploitation by co-operation of the peoples, not only in the present struggle against imperialism, but after victory to help one another in the protection of this freedom, just won, and in the rebuilding of our countries. British skill and industry can help to provide the means of rapid industrial development and mechanisation of agriculture in countries whose economies have been distorted by colonial conditions; while the supplies from these countries in exchange can help to ensure the trading needs, employment and advancing economy of a People's Britain.

In this way the programme *The British Road to Socialism*

looks forward to a future voluntary close fraternal association of all countries on the basis of national independence and equal rights as corresponding to the interests of all the countries in the period of advance to the victory of socialism throughout the world.

But if we are to make this vision of the future a reality, the immediate task before all of us is to build the alliance in action now. We are deeply conscious how much remains to be done here in Britain to arouse the British working class and the British people to consciousness of the crimes which are being committed in their name by the imperialists against other peoples; to draw the widest sections of the trade union, Labour and co-operative movement into active unity and co-ordinated action with the colonial peoples; to raise the level of our struggle to advance alongside the heroic struggle of the colonial peoples, and so to build the alliance which can alone ensure our common victory. On behalf of the British Communist Party we pledge ourselves to intensify our efforts for these aims.

The solidarity between the working class in the imperialist countries and the struggle of the colonial working class and the national liberation movement of the colonial and dependent peoples needs to find expression not only in words and resolutions but in practical action. When the Scottish Area of the National Union of Mineworkers voted money to help the Nigerian miners after the Enugu shooting, or when a progressive lawyer like D. N. Pritt goes out to Kenya, Pakistan or British Guiana to defend colonial fighters under attack by imperialism, or when Lieutenant David Larder refused to carry out atrocities against the Kenya African peoples and faced courtmartial for his refusal; these are declarations of practical solidarity the extension of which can alone make the alliance a living reality and a power capable of defeating the imperialist enemy.

We are confident that our conference will be able to make its contribution to help towards building this alliance.

VII. CO-OPERATION OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

Our conference is a conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. We are aware that the range of popular organisations not only of the working class, of trade unions and of peasant organisations but of the broad national movement engaged in the battle against imperialism, extends very much wider than the Communist and Workers' Parties here represented.

The influence of the ideas of communism, of the teachings of Marx and Lenin and Stalin, and of Mao Tse-tung, and of the examples of the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Revolution, now reaches more and more widely to every country and is engaging the attention of all progressive elements in all colonial and semi-colonial countries without exception. In many territories the conditions have not yet developed when the militant sections of the working class in association with the revolutionary elements of the national liberation movement have found their way to form a Communist Party or political party based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. But these conditions are rapidly developing in varying degrees in almost all colonial and dependent territories. The first endeavours are being made in these countries, in the face of all difficulties.

In these countries the paramount necessity is to establish unity of all those who base themselves on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, to strike roots in the heart of the working class, of the mass struggle and of the militant national movement, so as to lead to the formation of Communist or Workers' Parties, firmly based on the working class, with close links with the peasantry and with all sections of the militant national movement, and capable of fulfilling their leading role within the broad national movement.

We believe that the Communist and Workers' Parties equally in the imperialist countries, in Britain and the older dominions, and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, under the domination of British imperialism, have an indispensable vanguard role to play in carrying forward the advance

of the mass movement against imperialism and for the aims of national independence and of peace, and in building the alliance of our peoples for these aims.

We greet the Communist and Workers' Parties of other countries under British imperialist domination who for special reasons are not able to be represented by nominated delegates in our conference, though nationals from these countries as from many others are able to take part in our proceedings in a consultative capacity.

We greet the Marxist groups and supporters of Marxism who are preparing the way for Communist Parties in a wide series of countries within the range of British imperialism.

We greet the heroic struggles of the Kenyan people, of the Malayan people, of the people of British Guiana, of all the peoples who are fighting for freedom against imperialism. All the bestialities of imperialism can never crush such heroism. The battle of the peoples is rising higher every day to its approaching victory.

In the present historic situation we are more confident than ever in the advancing invincible strength of the freedom struggle of the colonial peoples, and in the joint victory which will be won by the unity of the British people and all the peoples under British imperialist domination against our common enemies for our common goal of political and social emancipation.

May our conference serve the common aims and interests of all our peoples to strengthen our alliance for the ending of imperialist slavery and exploitation and wars, and for the fraternal co-operation of our peoples in building a new future, based on national independence, peace and the advance to socialism.

Along this path we look forward with confidence to the future when the quarter of mankind who are at present held under the domination of British imperialism, and on behalf of whom our conference meets, will march forward alongside the one-third who have already won freedom from imperialism, and thereby help to hasten the final victory of peace and socialism throughout the world.

Alternative Proposal on the Draft Political Resolution of the Fourth Party Congress*

(Submitted by P. C. Joshi, Chandra Rajeswar Rao, R. N. Reddy, S. S. Yusuf, H. K. Vyas, L. R. Khandkar, Bhowani Sen, Somnath Lahiri, K. Damodaran and Ramesh Chandra.)

After the achievement of Indian independence, the historic aims of our nation have not yet been realised but the struggle of the Indian people has gone forward for changing the old colonial social order and winning a better life for the people, for defeating the forces of reaction and ensuring the victory of the forces of democracy, for defeating imperialist war plans, defending the country's independence and saving Asian and world peace.

The Communist Party of India is pledged to the successful fulfilment of the uncompleted tasks of the Indian Revolution.

I. INDIA AND THE WORLD

A significant contribution has been made by the Indian people and the Nehru Government to the cause of world peace in alliance with other peace-loving states. This has earned India the status of a great power.

This has, however, also put India in growing conflicts with the imperialist powers headed by the rulers of the USA and Britain. As Indian foreign policy has grown more and more independent of imperialist influences and India and other newly-awakened nations of Asia have thrown their weight more and more towards lessening international tension, these imperialist powers desperately stepped up their policies of building up military alliances, as part of their global strategy.

*Circulated to all delegates of the Fourth Congress of the C.P.I. held at Palghat on 19-29 April, 1956.

These imperialist military alliances have led to the encirclement of India with the Baghdad Pact on the West and SEATO on the East, with Pakistan a member of both these military groupings.

The U.S.-Pak military alliance has introduced new and great dangers. It has violently upset the military balance between India and Pakistan. It has led to the establishment of powerful military bases in our very neighbourhood. It has encouraged the reactionary rulers of Pakistan to stage new provocations. It has made a solution of the Kashmir problem more difficult. It has made the Indo-Pakistan differences a problem of chronic tension.

The U.S. imperialist rulers have encouraged the petty rulers of Portugal to defy India's rightful claim to Goa and aided them to build their military bases on what is part of Indian territory.

The danger to Indian security and sovereignty is real and great.

The imperialist powers are demonstrating their "policy of strength" leading to India's encirclement and staging repeated provocations against India, to break Indian resistance to military alliances. The truth, however, is that the imperialist powers have not improved their position in Asia by forming the Baghdad Pact as events in the Western Asian countries show, or by SEATO as events in South East Asian countries including Ceylon, show. Even developments inside Pakistan point to the growing difficulties facing the imperialists. The truth is that the imperialist policy of military encirclement of India has not panicked India but only stiffened the resistance of the Indian people.

If India's championship of peace has earned it the hostility of imperialist powers, it has also earned it the friendship and co-operation of powerful States as allies and the respect and support of peace-loving peoples the world over.

The Communist Party of India is firmly of the opinion that effective and lasting defence of Indian sovereignty and independence itself demands that India still further heighten its

contribution to the cause of world peace and boldly go forward along the path it has adopted in its foreign policy.

a) The people of Pakistan have begun to note the great difference between the developments in India and Pakistan. The Communist Party of India is convinced that the people of Pakistan will fight to save their national sovereignty and that they are as eager as our people to build good neighbourly relations and solve all problems peacefully. The Communist Party of India will campaign that India offer closest co-operation with Pakistan on the basis of the Panch Shila.

b) India in co-operation with People's China, played a great role at the historic Bandung Conference of Asian-African nations. All the browbeating and manoeuvres of the imperialist powers of their subservient agents could not break it.

Asian-African solidarity has grown after Bandung and so have imperialist aggressive plots against Asian-African nations. The situation urgently calls for another Asian-African Conference to discuss a Pact of Peace which will defeat the Baghdad, SEATO and U.S.-Pak military pacts.

c) A significant sign of the times is the massive liberation upsurge in the countries of the colonial world which imperialist terror or even military intervention is unable to quell and which heralds the doom of the colonial system itself.

India occupies a special place in the esteem of the enslaved nations of Asia and Africa struggling to be free and can make a big contribution to their speedy emancipation.

The Communist Party of India will campaign that the Indian Government tender all the moral and diplomatic support to the colonial nations struggling to be free and give up its vacillations and inconsistencies in this matter as evidenced by its attitude regarding Malaya, Kenya, etc.

The Communist Party of India will try to unite all the other patriotic forces in the country to organise popular solidarity campaigns in support of these nations.

The Communist Party of India is guided by the great tradition of the country's national movement to stand in

solidarity with and support of the struggle for liberation of other nations and especially those under British imperialism.

d) India is the one country in the entire non-socialist world that is nearest to the countries of socialism headed by the USSR and People's China; moreover it has a common policy with these countries for the reduction of international tension.

India's foreign policy is encouraging the neutralist circles in other capitalist countries; and as a result several Asian-African nations can already be seen as adopting the policy of non-involvement in military alliances.

India together with the socialist countries, determinedly and consistently pursuing a policy of reducing international tension can make a decisive contribution to saving world peace, successfully disrupt imperialist aggressive war plans and military alliances and help extend the zone of peace.

The Communist Party of India will ceaselessly campaign that India pursues such a foreign policy to weaken imperialism, defend world peace and save Indian independence.

e) The growth of the socialist world market has opened vast prospects for the development and strengthening of Indian economy. The imperialist countries have lost their monopoly of capital goods and technical know-how which they refused to supply except on their own terms and at the cost of Indian independence. Besides, India's primary produce has now a chance of getting a fair price by cultivating the socialist world market as well and India can now resist the dictation of uneconomic prices for sale of such things in the imperialist market. India can now strengthen its independence through industrialisation and get the capital goods and technical know-how from socialist countries on terms of mutual benefit and without any strings. This welcome development has already to be noted in the sphere of Indian economy. And this gives India the bargaining power to force more favourable terms from the imperialist countries as well.

The Communist Party of India will ceaselessly campaign that economic co-operation between India and the socialist

world grow, and all obstacles overcome in the interest of speedy Indian industrialisation which will strengthen India's independence and permit her to make more significant contributions to world peace.

The greatest single change in the world situation of our times has been that socialism is no more confined to one country but has become a world system; and socialist ideas have already won the hearts of the great majority of mankind. Lasting friendship and co-operation between India, China and USSR are the irresistible guarantee of world peace and progress for humanity. To this great aim the Communist Party of India shall always consistently adhere.

The strength of the socialist camp and its growing friendship and support to the colonial peoples have given an unprecedented impetus to colonial countries to fight for their liberation. India's stand against colonialism helps this widespread colonial upsurge to grow still broader, and embraces new countries.

India is playing its world role in a period of rising socialism and dying colonialism. The policy the Communist Party of India advocates is one of lasting friendship with the socialist countries and firm alliance with Asian-African peoples who share our ideals, and wage an uncompromising struggle against the imperialist rulers who threaten our independence, seek to retain colonialism and plan a world-wide holocaust.

II. CHANGES IN INDIAN SITUATION

The changes which began with the achievement of Indian independence are taking a new and definite direction in the internal developments in India as well as in her foreign policy. They are of great significance for the whole course of Indian development.

After the British imperialists had been forced to concede Indian independence, they had hoped that they would be able to keep their influence intact by indirect methods. Their hopes stand belied.

They had planned to control India's foreign policy by

involving India in their system of military alliances. They find that India is pursuing an independent policy of peace and is resisting the policy of building military alliance.

They had hoped to retain their economic domination of India. They find that though they still retain a grip on the Indian economy, their monopoly of Indian foreign trade is challenged with India developing trade relations with socialist and other countries. They find that the colonial nature of Indian economy is being changed with India's closer economic cooperation with socialist and other countries for the development of national industries.

In foreign policy Indian ruling circles in the early years of independence, began with what were, in the main, policies of support or acquiescence in imperialist world policies.

During the last few years has emerged a foreign policy which has made India a friend of the countries of socialism headed by the USSR and People's China, a powerful advocate of the principle of co-existence against the imperialist tactic of dividing the world into rival armed military blocs; a champion of the cause of peace and the principles of Panch Shila which have been widely hailed as constituting a just and practical platform for world peace.

In internal policy India's capitalist ruling circles held the hope that after independence, Britain and the USA would give them aid for the economic development of India. Their hopes have been belied through their own bitter experience. On the other hand, they now find that by pursuing a policy of co-operation with the countries of socialism, they can further the aim of industrialisation of India.

In the beginning, though princely states were abolished, the Raj Pramukhs were retained with heavy privy purses. Though the zamindari system was abolished, the landlords were allowed to retain huge lands for personal cultivation and allowed heavy compensation. Now the system of Raj Pramukhs is due to be abolished, ceilings on landholdings and more rights to the tenants are being proposed. The direction of the policy of the ruling class has begun to change

from what in the past was, on the whole, policies of compromise with imperialism and feudalism. The old policies are now being replaced by policies of firmer opposition to imperialist and feudal elements.

The factors that led to these changes arose from vital international and national experience through which the Indian Republic has passed.

First, during the course of international developments the Indian people, including the ruling class, has seen that the imperialist powers, while they formally accepted Indian independence really sought to deprive India of her sovereignty by drawing her into their system of military alliances. This compelled the Indian ruling circles to follow more and more a policy of peace to defend Indian independence itself.

Secondly, during the course of the same international developments, the Indian people have seen that the countries of socialism sincerely believed in the principle of co-existence, determinedly pursued a policy of peace and respected the independence of all nations. Thus India has been led more and more to co-operate with the camp of socialism in the common cause of world peace and it thereby has won new and powerful allies in defence of Indian independence itself.

Thirdly, after patient and repeated efforts, the Indian capitalist class found that no economic aid is possible from the imperialist countries except at their own terms. On the other hand, they found fraternal economic cooperation available from the countries of socialism for the independent economic development of India, on the basis of mutual benefit.

Fourthly, the discontent of the people against bourgeois policies which followed from the alliance with imperialist and feudal elements grew and burst in many mass movements. This opposition of the people to the policy of the Congress rulers was partly responsible for the results of the general elections when the Congress lost about half its old vote, and the Communist Party emerged as the main opposition party, despite the terror it had suffered. The pressure of the Indian people for progressive popular policies has

continued to exert itself and has been an important factor behind the progressive development of the Indian situation.

Fifthly, these developments have been possible in the way they took place, because the cause of world peace, defence of Indian sovereignty and the industrialisation of the country are objectives in which the interests of the Indian people and those of their ruling class converge and tally.

Sixthly, the Communist Party can recall with pride the positive and consistent role it has played despite slanders and repression, in advocating progressive changes in India's foreign and home policies and in mobilising the masses for these changes—factors which contributed to the progressive development of the situation.

The Indian situation has taken a progressive orientation, but it is still insecure. The extreme reactionary sections, which exert considerable pull on the Congress ruling class, continue their attempts to drag the policies back into the old position. The unstable economic basis on which these policies rest also add to the insecurity. Though new opportunities have opened up for accelerating national advance, there still remain grave dangers in the way of this advance.

The policies pursued by Indian Government for world peace, defence of Indian sovereignty and furthering Indian reconstruction bring it into conflict more and more with imperialism and feudalism. The Communist Party will mobilise the people for implementation and extension of all such policies which further weaken imperialism and feudalism in our country.

However, the Indian bourgeoisie which leads the Government, often seeks to resolve its conflicts with imperialism and feudalism on the basis of compromise with the same imperial and feudal elements by throwing new burdens on the people. The Communist Party of India will systematically expose the anti-social and anti-popular aspects of these bourgeoisie policies and go all-out to unite the people to doggedly resist them.

Because the Indian ruling bourgeoisie adopts a dual policy towards imperialism and feudalism, the Communist Party of

India has to adopt a dual policy towards the Indian bourgeoisie uniting with it where it fights imperialism and feudalism and fighting it as and when it compromises with imperialism and feudalism against the interests of the country and the people.

Steady and guaranteed improvement in the situation demands that all policies of compromise must be defeated and policies of national advance and people's welfare adopted. In other words, the situation demands that bourgeois hegemony over our nation be ended and step by step proletarian hegemony realised. Such is the direction along which the Communist Party has to take the great struggle ahead.

III. SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The main emphasis of the First Five-Year Plan was on agriculture. The Second Five Year Plan, while giving attention to agriculture lays the main stress on industrialisation. This is a welcome advance.

The strategic aims and targets of the Plan-Frame were such that they could serve as the basis of the independent economic development of India.

Heavy industries were reserved for the public sector and particular stress laid on heavy machine-building industries aiming to make India virtually self-sufficient in this respect.

For consumer goods requirements, the Plan-Frame recommended maximum utilisation of the production capacity of existing units, but restriction on their further expansion in the interest of building the basic industries.

For meeting future consumption needs and to cope with the problem of unemployment, encouragement and aid have to be given to handicraft and small industries and these were to be organised on a co-operative basis. It also recommended development of co-operatives at the base of Indian economy.

It recommended ceiling on holdings and "explicit transfer of property rights to actual tillers of the soil".

The dangers present under the Government's leadership were revealed when the Draft Outline of the Five-Year Plan was published which showed that the reactionary elements

had succeeded in achieving reactionary modifications in the Plan-Frame targets in some respects.

The ratio between the public and private sectors has been changed for the worse.

Investments in machine-making industries has been considerably reduced. That is, India's capacity to industrialise itself has been curtailed.

Nevertheless, even the Draft Plan industrial targets in the public and private sectors taken together will, if implemented, help in reducing India's economic dependence.

Financial measures which were left vague in the Plan-Frame have been specified to be a large dose of deficit financing, heavy taxation, both direct and indirect and large dependence on foreign aid. And yet there is an uncovered gap left of Rs. 400 crores.

The danger is real that with reactionary financial measures and bureaucratic methods, even targets of the Draft outline may not be implemented, inflation may get out of hand, and jam the whole Five-Year Plan.

The main struggle between the Indian people and reaction is going to be fought over moulding the shape of the Five-Year Plan.

The Communist Party of India lays the greatest importance in strengthening the Five-Year Plan in the direction of laying firm foundations for the independent economic development of India and thereby changing the colonial character of our economy. For this purpose, the Communist Party of India lays great stress upon enlarging the public sector to include all heavy industries and largest possible allocations for heavy machine-building industries, as in the Plan-Frame. The monopoly capitalist elements are fighting for the maximum restriction of the public sector and large-scale disbursement of public funds to the private sector to help them make monopoly profits. Together with the emphasis on public sector, the Communist Party will continuously fight for the elimination of corruption in the enterprises of public sector and for democratic vigilance and democratic control over them.

The Communist Party of India considers most thoroughgoing agrarian reforms as the only solid social and economic foundation for the industrialisation of India. The feudal interests are, however, out to delay and sabotage any agrarian reforms.

The Communist Party of India considers that the rapid increase in agricultural and industrial development demands bold application of the land-reform proposals of the Planning Commission's Land Reform Panel so as to lead to peasant welfare.

The Communist Party of India is of the opinion that the financial resources for the Plan must come from the large profits of British monopoly houses, Indian feudal fortunes and the rich Indian capitalists. The call for sacrifice on the part of the people for national reconstruction can be real only when the Government is compelled to pursue the policy of making-the-rich-pay.

The Congress Government talks of people's cooperation for the success of the Plan, but makes the bureaucracy the main agency for carrying out the Plan. The Communist Party fights for full recognition of the active and leading role of the people in the Plan which implies struggle for the democratisation of the administration, particularly the branches responsible for development projects.

Along above lines, the decisive struggle of the Indian people has to be fought.

IV. MAIN TASKS OF THE PARTY

1. The main tasks of the Party in the condition of today are:
 - i) Save and consolidate Asian and world peace;
 - ii) Defend and consolidate Indian independence;
 - iii) National reconstruction based on speedy industrialisation and agrarian reforms;
 - iv) Improvement of peoples livelihood;
 - v) Defence and enlargement of the democratic rights of the people.

The above are truly national tasks, and demand for their successful fulfilment unity of all the national forces.

For carrying out the tasks to save and consolidate world peace and to defend and consolidate Indian independence unity of the whole people including unity with the national bourgeoisie, the Congress and even the Congress Government is possible, even now.

For national reconstruction based on speedy industrialisation and agrarian reform, certain basis of unity exists insofar as the aims are concerned, but the Party will have to initiate and develop strong mass movements to enforce the implementation of the same without imposing burdens on the people.

For carrying out the last two items, a sharp struggle will have to be waged against the policies of the Government. The Congress Government gives scope for profiteering to the capitalists in the name of incentive to private enterprise, while the same Government calls upon the common people to bear more burdens in the name of national reconstruction.

The Party of the proletariat must lay particular stress on improvement of people's livelihood, for on them depends the successful carrying out of plans of industrialisation and agrarian reforms. And without them Indian independence would not be safe nor Indian foreign policy of peace stable, because the people whose interests are ignored and who are kept impoverished cannot be enthused to actively participate in the affairs of the nation and the world.

The Congress Government though conceding some democratic rights, often denies them in practice. When the people fight for their rights, it lets the police loose on them and uses penal measures, besides.

The Congress Government relies upon the bureaucracy which it has inherited from the British days for all administrative purposes. Instead of the enlargement of the democratic rights for the people there has been a great enlargement and strengthening of the bureaucratic apparatus under the Congress regime.

In such circumstances, democratic development is being thwarted and suppressed.

The struggle for the democratisation of our national life is not only necessary for enabling the Indian people to come into their own but directly aids the struggle for Indian independence and world peace, and also helps create a stable democratic foundation for national reconstruction.

The Communist Party will do all it can to strengthen the struggle for Indian democracy.

2. In the present-day situation, for the speedy fulfilment of the above tasks, a wide measure of support is growing in the ranks of the people and inside the main patriotic organisations of our country.

Indian national sentiment expresses itself today on a mass scale in great national pride over India's foreign policy and in a universal urge for speedy national reconstruction to improve the material conditions of our people and make our country strong and economically independent.

The demand for policies of national and democratic advance is not only an urge. The Indian people are getting into stride.

The working class has fought united, long and bitter strike struggles, won some concessions and often successfully halted the boss-government offensive.

The peasantry has also widely resisted the policy of tax burdens, and the ejectment drive of the landlords.

The latest state-wide hartal of the UP merchants against the sales tax shows the temper even of the middle strata.

The mobilisation of the people on a national scale during the Goa struggle, over the SRC proposals, underlined the unity and fighting spirit of the people. And, during India's welcome to Bulganin and Khrushchov, it could be seen how great and all-embracing could be India's unity for the cause of international peace and friendship among nations.

Such developments covering all the democratic classes of the Indian people show that an unprecedented national upsurge is welling below the surface.

The inclusion of the aim of socialism in the creed of the Congress is, in spite of the desire on the part of some Congress

leaders to create illusions through this, in itself an expression of the growth of radical forces in the Congress and it creates scope for further popularisation of the ideas of socialism among the Congress masses. Despite the attempts to bureaucratised the Congress Constitution and to bring a larger number of landlord elements in it, welcome developments are taking place within the Congress. Leading Congressmen have opposed reactionary measures or modification of the Second Five-Year Plan. A section of MLAs in every State Legislature supported by greater numbers below have been pressing for land reforms. Congressmen have been intervening against the bureaucratisation of the development projects. Congressmen have fought for Goa and Linguistic States. When the home and police budget is discussed democratic criticism is boldly made.

Common action on several issues has grown between Congressmen including even Congress organisations and the other elements and organisations including the C.P.I. Anti-Communist prejudices are decreasing.

The socialists have become weaker through their split. However, unlike their earlier attitude, both the socialist organisations have been uniting with other democratic organisations including the C.P.I. on economic as well as political issues. The anti-Communist note has become less strident. After the policy of friendship with the socialist countries became the national policy of India, their old anti-Soviet and anti-Chinese stand is not publicly stressed by the socialist spokesmen as much as before. In the socialist ranks the urge for frank discussions and closer fraternisation with the Communists has grown. All these are welcome developments.

There is a large body of independent non-Party democratic elements who are outside all political organisations, but who wield considerable influence and they are consistently pressing the progressive elements inside the main political organisations and above all the C.P.I. that unity is the greatest need of the hour to move the Indian situation forward and successfully fulfil the tasks of the hour.

3. The C.P.I. must develop its leading role in such a favourable objective situation.

The Party is faced with the fulfilment of the national tasks of saving Asian and world peace, defending Indian sovereignty, organising national reconstruction, improving people's livelihood and extending democratic rights.

The main hindrance is the political disunity among the people.

The first task obviously is to forge national unity for policies of national and democratic advance.

This implies that the tactic of building an anti-Congress democratic front must be given up as outmoded, because such a tactics leads to perpetuating the division among the people and preventing the Party from playing its unifying role.

The main tactic of the Party for the fulfilment of the tasks of today is to build broad-based national unity and for this purpose it will strive to unite all sections of the masses and the patriotic and democratic elements inside all the main national organisations of the Indian people including the Congress.

The Congress leadership claims that the Congress represents the nation and it alone can fulfil the tasks of the nation and the other political parties can make their constructive contributions by supporting the Congress over major national issues.

In this way, the ruling bourgeoisie seeks to retain a position of political monopoly over the life of the nation which, instead of uniting the people, perpetuates division among them. The tactic of national unity based on the fraternal co-operation of all patriotic parties, groups and individuals having influence over the democratic classes will be a big blow against bourgeois hegemony over our national movement.

A bold call for national unity in a phase of political disunity above and welling upsurge below, can only come from the party of the proletariat and is the first practical step in the struggle for proletarian hegemony over the great Indian national movement.

V. INTO UNITED NATIONAL MASS CAMPAIGNS

To achieve a break-through in the present situation of disunity and to take a decisive step forward in the direction of building national unity, the Communist Party will organise national mass campaign over the major issues facing our nation and the people, in co-operation with all patriotic, democratic elements.

These national campaigns will constitute the building of national unity in action and enable the Party and other fraternal democratic elements to educate and activise the masses on an unprecedented scale.

The C.P.I. will in fraternal spirit appeal to all the patriotic organisations of the Indian people including the National Congress for participation and co-operation in these national campaigns. These campaigns are the following :

i) United mass peace campaign

India's peace policy is universally acclaimed as national policy but it can be given firmness, strength and consistency only by further mobilising the masses behind the policy.

The interest of the Indian people in the affairs of the world have immensely grown and they would greatly welcome such a campaign.

In a situation where defence of Indian sovereignty depends upon India's capacity to strengthen its bonds with its true allies and Indian industrialisation largely depends upon our capacity to strengthen our relations with the countries of socialism, the popularisation of the issues of world struggle and India's interest and duty therein would greatly help improve the Indian situation.

The Party will adopt elastic tactics to achieve broadest possible national unity to strengthen India's role in defence of Asian and world peace, in organising colonial solidarity, in developing friendly relations with the countries of socialism.

ii) For Total Trade Union Unity

In a period of industrialisation to leave the working class

divided is to leave it paralysed and hand the initiative to the bourgeoisie.

Trade union unity today is not only a dire necessity but a practical possibility.

A significant feature of the recent strike struggles has been unity in action of the workers under various trade unions including those under the INTUC.

Trade union unity has made big advances in several industries and industrial centres.

The urge in the working class for trade union unity is being widely, repeatedly and powerfully expressed.

All this is also reflected in the recent policy resolutions of the INTUC national and state conferences where, instead of the usual defence of government policies, working class demands were voiced more powerfully.

Pro-unity trends inside the HMS unions have grown, and express itself in united actions.

The C.P.I. fervently appeals to the leaders of the INTUC, HMS, AITUC, UTUC and the All-India Federations of the various trades and industries to meet immediately, and

a) formulate in fraternal spirit democratic terms for the consolidation of all existing national TU centres into a united national centre of the entire Indian TU movement;

b) appeal for the merger below of all rival TUs into single industrial units on the basis of trade union democracy;

c) evolve an agreed platform of labour demands to be placed before the Planning Commission for immediate acceptance to enable the Indian working class to play its role in national reconstruction; and

d) united campaigns to defeat the capitalist offensive.

Such a campaign for trade union unity from above will greatly help to broaden and intensify unity in action below.

In a period of national reconstruction, the achievement of trade union unity is not only the most effective method of defending working class interests and winning working class demands, but the Indian people need the unity of their working class for it represents that social political force in our

national life which can decisively give a democratic direction to the struggle for national reconstruction.

The Communist Party as the Party of the Indian working class dedicates itself to the task of building TU unity as an integral and vital part of national unity, as its foremost task.

iii) For Rapid Implementation of Agrarian Proposals of the Five-Year Plan

The proposals of the Land Reform Panel of the Planning Commission and the agrarian proposals already outlined in the Draft outline of the Second Five-Year Plan are such as would greatly weaken the feudal elements in our agriculture and give relief to the peasantry.

These proposals contain :

a) the fixation of a ceiling on landholdings and the distribution of the surplus land to the poor tenants;

b) stringent restrictions on the owner's right of resumption, retaining a minimum holding to the tenant; anti- eviction measures; definition of self-cultivation, making physical labour an essential feature of the same, for the purpose of resumption;

c) occupancy rights to tenants, safeguarding tenants' rights and fixation of rent at one-sixth to one-fifth of the gross produce;

d) encouragement to co-operatives in agricultural production;

e) extension of co-operative credit and settlement of peasant indebtedness according to the recommendation of Rural Credit Survey;

f) facilities for co-operative marketing and warehousing;

g) wider technical aid through large scale extension of community projects and National Extension Services; and

h) priority claim over government uncultivated lands and the enforcement of the minimum wages act for agricultural workers.

The feudal elements everywhere are mobilising all their strength and influence to delay and disrupt the carrying out

of the above progressive measures. Some major reactionary State Ministries have already expressed their inability to carry out the agrarian reforms recommended in the Second Five-Year Plan.

The C.P.I. fervently appeals to all patriotic popular organisations of the Indian people to realise the great danger inherent in the above feudal reactionary sabotage of the Five-Year Plan and cheating the Indian peasantry of the long overdue agrarian reforms.

At the same time, the C.P.I. draws the attention of the people to the fact that even the proposals of the Planning Commission's Land Reform Panel contain measures which must be opposed and defeated. They consist in provision for heavy compensation to the landlords (in lieu of the grant of tenancy rights to the tillers), payment of a price for the surplus land to be distributed to the poor and landless peasants. Priority has not been given for distribution of surplus land to the landless peasants and agricultural workers.

The Communist Party will mobilise the people for the following in addition to the implementation of the land reforms proposals of the Planning Commission's Land Reform Panel :

1. Distribution of surplus land to the poor peasants and agricultural labourers (priority being given to the landless), without any payment;

2. Grant of occupancy rights to tenants without any compensation to the landlords;

3. The co-operatives must be entirely voluntary and no compulsion imposed for its development, because bureaucratic enforcement will only defeat its purpose. They must be developed in stages beginning with mutual aid teams and the voluntary urge of the peasants must be roused by all possible means;

4. Cancellation of the debts of the landless peasants and agricultural workers. Cheap and long-term credit to the peasants, particularly the poor peasants and agricultural workers. In respect of rural credit facilities, the extreme inadequacies of official measures are striking, particularly, there is no

credit facility for the poor and landless peasants and agricultural workers for whom credit is the most needed. Even the Rural Credit Survey contains no provision for the cancellation of the debts of the landless peasants and agricultural workers;

5. Extension and speedy implementation of the proposals of Rural Credit Survey for rural godowns; and

6. Guarantee fair price to the peasants for agricultural products.

The most serious failing of the land reform proposals of the Second Five-Year Plan consists in the absence of any measure for democratically elected peasant committees, vested with adequate powers for the implementation of land reform. One of the main task of the Communist Party shall be to organise a powerful mass movement for the realisation of this demand.

The Communist Party appeals to all the national organisations with influence over the peasantry for fraternal co-operation to initiate and launch a united national mass campaign to mobilise the Indian peasantry to ensure that the Government rapidly and boldly implement the agrarian proposals of the Five-Year Plan and determinately break the selfish resistance of the feudal interests and the recalcitrance of the reactionary State Ministries.

The Indian peasantry like the working class is politically divided, primarily between the Congress, Socialist and Communists. The national campaign with the simple object of implementing the recommendations and proposals of the Five-Year Plan of the Congress Government can end the phase of political disunity of the peasantry which intensified after the achievement of independence, and usher the new phase of national and class unity of the Indian peasantry through its own experience and struggle.

The C.P.I. will conduct this nation-wide campaign among the peasantry in a manner that as soon as possible it gives birth to a united national mass organisation of the Indian peasantry. This is the practical prospect today and the C.P.I.

is confident that it will enjoy the support and co-operation of progressive Congressmen and Socialists and that all together will build Kisan unity as a part of our broad struggle to build national unity.

iv) Strengthen and Remould the Five-Year Plan

The greatest need of India is the strengthening of its national economy and the biggest need of the Indian people is for improvement in their livelihood.

The Congress Government claims that the Second Five-Year Plan is an effective and practical answer to the needs of the country and the demands of the people.

The reactionary vested interests are mobilising all their resources and contacts to weaken the progressive and strengthen the reactionary aspects of the Plan.

India's progressive elements have welcomed the progressive aims of the Plan and directed their criticism against the reactionary financial measures and the bureaucratic methods.

The demands and criticism that the C.P.I. and other progressive elements have made are along the following lines :

a) Back to the targets of the Plan-Frame in respect of machine-building industries and the weightage to the public sector.

b) Rapidly implement the agrarian proposals of the Plan as national policy and break the resistance of the reactionary ministries and the feudal interests.

c) Stop the implementation of the financial measures that impose fresh burdens on the people, and seek the advice and co-operation of all national elements to work out such financial measures that weaken the imperialist, feudal and monopoly interests, viz., ceiling on profits, restriction on export of profits, surpluses thus available being used as compulsory loans to the Government, postponing compensation payments to zamindars, etc., stopping privy purses, progressive nationalisation of foreign and key concerns, eliminating waste and corruption, etc. etc.

d) Win people's co-operation for national reconstruction

on the basis of policies that immediately lead to improvement of their livelihood.

e) Give up the self-defeating method of implementing the development plans through the bureaucracy. Recognise the active role of the people in national reconstruction on the basis of respecting and guaranteeing people's rights. Recognise the democratic organisations of the people as proper organs for carrying out the development plans.

The C.P.I. will strive to unite the democratic elements of all political parties and the progressive elements from all walks of our national life to run a national campaign to ensure that the reactionary changes in the Five-Year Plan is decisively checked and progressive policies adopted which lead to strengthening the national economy of India and increasing the welfare of our people. The main struggle in India is going to be whether the reactionary vested interests succeed in moulding and using the Five-Year Plan to serve their own selfish sectional interests or the patriotic and progressive elements are able to unite together and exert their full weight to remould the Plan to raise the standard of living of our people and help make our country economically independent.

The successful carrying out of these national mass campaigns will electrify the political situation in the country. This will also help unite together the patriotic and democratic elements inside various political organisations and isolate the reactionaries. Thus the basis will be laid, through experience itself, to go forward to building the united national front based on the unity of the four democratic classes, the working class, the peasantry, the national bourgeoisie and the middle-class.

VI. ROLE OF STRUGGLES

The experience of the mass movement and the recent struggles clearly show the following :

a) That the main single factor that hinders a national popular upsurge to realise the national aims of today is political disunity of the people.

b) In cases where a true national approach was adopted, support and solidarity of other democratic elements secured and unity of the class achieved before or during the course of a struggle, its tempo has increased and chances of success improved.

c) That they weakened where the ruling class succeeded in disrupting the democratic support and in preventing the development of popular unity.

Therefore, *first*, the tactic of national and popular unity emerges from the living experience of the Indian people themselves.

Secondly, the tactic of national unity is of decisive importance in successfully unifying the working class and the peasantry themselves in defence of their daily demands and in securing greater and wider support for their struggles, and for enabling them to make their own contributions towards national and international issues.

Thirdly, the adoption of correct unity tactics by the Party will enable it to successfully remove the obstacle of political disunity of the working class and the peasantry and thus unleash a new wave of mass struggles.

The perspective before the Party is of organising mass struggles of the Indian people, lead them correctly on the basis of united front tactics and relate them to major national aims of the day. The deep all-round impact of these mass struggles will be to change, step by step, the political co-relationship of forces within our country, weaken the influence of the reactionary elements and strengthen the progressive forces inside all political and mass organisations of the Indian people. All the weaknesses of a compromising bourgeois leadership will stand revealed as also the strength and vitality that comes from the proletarian leadership playing its proper role. Struggles of the people conducted in the above manner can play that galvanising, unifying and revolutionising role that will strengthen the progressive forces within the country and step by step, mature the conditions for achieving proletarian hegemony.

VII. PROBLEM OF GOVERNMENT

The C.P.I. believes that as a result of the development of national unity and on the basis of the changed co-relation of forces in favour of the progressive forces, an alternative government of national unity can be brought into being. The present objective situation, however, is not yet ripe to advance this slogan as a practical slogan on all India plane.

In some states, however, where the progressive and unity movement advances, it may be possible and necessary to give it as a practical slogan specially during the coming general elections. The C.P.I. believes that this should be a government comprising of all forces, parties, organisations and individuals who stand for such a programme and agree to carry it out.

In states where such a situation does not obtain, the Party will fight the election on the basis of the above programme to strengthen its own position in the legislature and strengthen the position of all those who stand for and support such a policy.

VIII. THE PARTY

The Communist Party is a revolutionary Party of the working class based on Marxism-Leninism. Its immediate task is to end national disunity which bourgeois hegemony has cost the Indian movement and to rebuild national unity on democratic foundation under proletarian hegemony. The Party will struggle to fulfil this aim by uniting the four democratic classes of Indian people—the national bourgeoisie, the middle-class, the peasantry and the working class.

This is the only way to lead the struggles of the people of India for a better life, for defence and consolidation of Indian independence, for safeguarding India and world peace and pave the road to people's democracy and Socialism.

On Overcoming the Cult of the Individual and its Consequences*

**Resolution of the Central Committee
of the CPSU, June 30, 1956**

I

The Central Committee of the CPSU is satisfied to note that the decisions of the historic 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have been welcomed entirely and supported wholeheartedly by our Party as a whole, by the entire Soviet people, by the fraternal communist and workers parties, by the working people of the great community of socialist nations, and by millions of people in capitalist and colonial countries. And this is understandable for the 20th Party Congress, marking as it did a new stage in the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, gave a thorough analysis of the present situation both at home and in the world, equipped the Communist Party and the Soviet people as a whole with a magnificent plan for building communism, and opened up new prospects for united action of all working class parties in averting the danger of war, and on behalf of the interests of labour.

The Soviet people, carrying through the decisions of the 20th Congress, are gaining more and more outstanding achievements in every aspect of the country's political, economic and cultural life under the leadership of the Communist Party. The Soviet people have rallied still more closely behind the Communist Party and are manifesting a wealth of constructive initiative in their efforts to accomplish the tasks laid before them by the 20th Congress.

*This is on the role of J. V. Stalin in continuation of the denegation of J. V. Stalin in 20th Congress of CPSU held in Moscow in 1956.

The period which has elapsed since the Congress has demonstrated also the great vital importance of its decisions for the international communist and labour movement, for the struggle of all progressive forces to strengthen world peace. The important theoretical theses the Congress laid down on the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, on the possibility of preventing wars in modern times, on the multiplicity of forms of transition of countries to socialism are having a favourable effect on the international situation, promoting the relaxation of tension, and greater unity of action of all the forces working for peace and democracy, and helping to strengthen the positions of the world socialist system.

While the Soviet people and the working people of the People's Democracies and of the world as a whole have met the historic decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress with great enthusiasm and with a new upsurge of constructive initiative and revolutionary energy, they have caused alarm and irritation in the camp of the enemies of the working class. The reactionary circles of the United States and of some other capitalist powers obviously feel uneasy over the great programme to strengthen peace which the 20th CPSU Congress has charted. Their uneasiness increases as this programme is being put into operation vigorously and consistently.

Why are the enemies of communism and socialism making most of their attacks on the shortcomings about which the Central Committee of our Party told the 20th CPSU Congress? They are doing this to divert the attention of the working class and its parties from the main issues which were raised at the 20th Party Congress and which were meant to clear the way to further successes for the cause of peace, socialism and working class unity.

The decisions of the 20th Party Congress and the home and foreign policy of the Soviet Government have caused disarray in the imperialistic quarters of the United States and some other countries.

The bold and consistent foreign policy of the USSR

directed towards ensuring peace and co-operation between nations, whatever their social system, is winning support from the great masses of the people in all countries of the world, extending the front of peace-loving nations and causing a deep crisis of the policy of "cold war", of the policy of building up military blocs and carrying on the arms race. It is no accident that it is the imperialist elements in the United States that have been making the greatest fuss over the efforts announced in the USSR to combat the cult of the individual. The existence of negative factors arising from the individuality cult was suitable to them as they could use these facts to fight socialism. Now that our Party is boldly overcoming the consequences of the cult of the individual, the imperialists see in it a factor making for our country's faster advance towards communism and weakening the positions of capitalism.

The ideologists of capitalism, bent as they are on undermining the great power of attraction of the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress and their influence on the great masses of the people, are resorting to all manner of tricks and ruses to distract the attention of the working people from the progressive and inspiring ideas the socialist world puts forward before humanity.

The bourgeois Press has launched a large scale campaign of anti-Soviet slander lately, for which the reactionary circles are trying to use some of the facts connected with the cult of the person of J. V. Stalin denounced by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The masterminds of this campaign are straining every nerve to cloud the issue and to bypass the fact that what is meant is a stage that the Soviet Union has lived through; they are out to suppress and misrepresent the fact that in the years which passed since the death of Stalin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government have been acting with exceptional perseverance and resolution to remove the after-effects of the cult of the individual, and have been making steady progress in solving new problems for the sake of

strengthening peace, building communism, in the interest of the people at large.

Bourgeois ideologists, in launching their campaign of slander, are trying to cast a slur once again and to no avail on the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to shake the trust the working people have in the world's first socialist country—the USSR, and to throw the ranks of the international communist and labour movement into confusion.

Historical experience shows that the opponents of international proletarian unity have in the past attempted more than once to take advantage of what they believed to be opportune moments, for undermining the international unity of communist and workers parties, for dividing the international labour movement, for weakening the forces of the socialist camp. But each time Communist and Workers Parties have discerned the intrigues of the foes of socialism, they have rallied their ranks still more closely, demonstrating their unshakable political unity, and their unshatterable loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The brother Communist and Workers Parties have detected this manoeuvre of the enemies of socialism in good time, too, and are giving it a fitting rebuff. It would be incorrect, on the other hand, to shut one's eyes to the fact that some of our friends abroad are still not quite clear on the cult of the individual and its consequences and are sometimes giving incorrect interpretations to some of the points connected with the cult of the individual.

The Party bases its criticism of the cult of the individual on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. For over three years our Party has been waging a consistent fight against the cult of the person of J. V. Stalin, and persistently overcoming its harmful consequences. It is only natural that this question should have held an important place in the work of the 20th CPSU Congress and its decisions. The Congress recognised that the Central Committee had taken perfectly correct and timely action against the cult of the individual which, as long as it was widespread, belittled the role of the Party and

the masses, whittled down the role of collective leadership in the Party and often led to serious neglects in its work, and to crass violations of socialist law. The Congress instructed the Central Committee to carry out consistently the measures for removing wholly and entirely the cult of the individual, foreign to Marxism-Leninism, for removing its after-effects in every aspect of Party, governmental and ideological activity, and for strict observance of the standards of party life and of the principles of collective party leadership elaborated by the great Lenin.

In combatting the cult of the individual the Party guides itself by the well known theses of Marxism-Leninism on the role of the masses, of parties and individuals in history, and on the impermissibility of building up a cult of the person of a political leader, however great his merits may be. Karl Marx, the founder of scientific communism, emphasizing his revulsion for "any cult of the individual" declared that he and Friedrich Engels joined the association of communists "on condition that everything making for superstitious worshipping of authorities would be thrown out of it" (*K. Marx and F. Engels, Works*, Volume 26, First Russian Edition, pp. 487-488.)

In building up our Communist Party V. I. Lenin was irreconcilable in fighting the anti-Marxian conception of the "hero" and the "mob", emphatically denouncing the counterposing of individual hero to the masses of the people. "The intellect of scores of millions", said V. I. Lenin, "creates something immeasurably higher than a forecast of the greatest genius." (*Works*, Volume 26, p. 431).

In raising the question of combatting the cult of the person of J. V. Stalin, the Central Committee of the CPSU acted on the assumption that the cult of the individual contradicted the essence of the socialist system and was a brake on the progress of Soviet democracy and on the advance of Soviet society towards communism.

The twentieth Congress of the Party, on the Central Committee's initiative, found it necessary to speak openly

and boldly about the grave consequences of the cult of the individual, of the serious mistakes made in the last period of Stalin's life, and to appeal to the Party as a whole to put an end through combined efforts to everything that the cult of the individual had brought in its train. In doing so the Central Committee realised that the frank admission of the errors made would cause certain damage which the enemies could use. The bold and ruthless self-criticism in matters connected with the cult of the individual has been fresh ample evidence of the strength and vitality of our Party and of the Soviet socialist system. It can be said with confidence that none of the ruling parties in capitalist countries would ever have ventured to do anything like this. Quite the reverse, they would have tried to pass over in silence the facts as unpleasant as these and to hide them from the people. But the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, reared as it is on the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, has spoken the whole truth, however bitter it may have been. The Party took this step entirely on its own initiative, guiding itself by considerations of principle. It believed that even if its action against the Stalin cult caused some momentary difficulties, it would have an enormous positive result in the long run from the point of view of the basic interests and the ultimate goals of the working class. Sure guarantees are thereby created against things like the cult of the individual reappearing in our Party or in our country ever again, and also for the leadership of the Party and the State being effected collectively, through enforcing the Marxist-Leninist policy, in the full-scale Party democracy, with the full constructive participation of millions of working people and with the utmost development of Soviet democracy.

By taking a determined stand against the cult of the individual and its consequences, and by openly criticising the errors it caused, the Party has once more demonstrated its loyalty to the imperishable principles of Marxism-Leninism, its loyalty to the interests of the people, its concern in providing the best possible conditions for the development of

Party and Soviet democracy in the interests of the successful building of communism in our country.

The Central Committee of the CPSU places it on record that the debates on the cult of the individual and its consequences by Party organisations and general meetings of working people have been marked by a great measure of activity manifested both by the Party membership and by non-Party people, and that the CPSU Central Committee's line has been welcomed and supported wholly and entirely both by the Party and by the people.

The facts of the violations of socialist law and other errors, connected with the cult of the person of J. V. Stalin, which the Party has made public, naturally, cause a feeling of bitterness and deep regret. But the Soviet people realise that the condemnation of the cult of the individual was indispensable for the building of communism in which they take an active part. The Soviet people see that the Party has been taking persistent practical steps for the past few years to remove the after-effects of the cult of the individual in every field of Party, governmental, economic and cultural development. Thanks to this effort, the Party, whose internal forces are no longer bound by anything, has drawn still closer to the people and has developed its creative activity more than ever before.

II

How, indeed, could it happen that the cult of the person of Stalin with all the attending adverse consequences could have appeared and gained currency in conditions of the Soviet socialist system ?

This question should be examined against the background of objective concrete historical conditions under which socialism was built in the USSR, and of some subjective factors arising from Stalin's personal qualities.

The October Socialist Revolution has gone down into the annals of history as a classical example of a revolutionary transformation of capitalist society under the guidance of the working class. The example of the heroic struggle of the

Bolshevik Party, of the world's first socialist state, the USSR, is something from which the Communist parties of other lands, indeed all progressive and democratic forces, are learning how to solve the fundamental social problems generated by modern social development. The working people of this country have accumulated a wealth of experience, throughout the nearly forty years of building socialist society, which is being studied and assimilated by the working people of other socialist countries creatively and in keeping with their specific conditions.

That was the first experience history has ever known of building a socialist society which was taking shape in the process of quests and practical check-up of many truths which were known to socialists until then only in broad outline, theoretically. For over a quarter of a century the Soviet Union was the only country blazing for mankind the path to socialism. It was like a besieged fortress in capitalist encirclement. The enemies of the Soviet Union both in the West and in the East continued plotting new "crusades" against the USSR after the failure of the fourteen-power intervention of 1918-1920. The enemies sent large numbers of spies and wreckers into the USSR, trying by every means at their disposal to undermine the world's first socialist state. The threat of renewed imperialist aggression against the USSR increased particularly after the advent of fascism to power in Germany in 1933 which proclaimed destruction of communism, destruction of the Soviet Union, the world's first state of working people, to be their aim. Everyone remembers the establishment of what was called the "anti-Comintern Pact" and the "Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis" which were actively supported by the forces of international reaction as a whole. With the danger of a new war growing more imminent, and with the Western Powers rejecting the measures the Soviet Union proposed more than once to straitjacket fascism and organise collective security, the Soviet Union had to bend every effort for strengthening its defences and countering the intrigues of the hostile capitalist encirclement. The Party had

to teach the people to be always vigilant and prepared to face enemies from without.

The intrigues of international reaction were all the more dangerous since there was a bitter class struggle going on within the country for a long time to see "who beats whom?" After Lenin's death hostile trends began gaining currency in the Party—Trotskyites, Right-wing opportunists and bourgeois nationalists whose stand was one of opposition to Lenin's theory about the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country, which would in fact have led to the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. The Party launched ruthless struggle against those enemies of Leninism.

In carrying out Lenin's behests, the Communist Party steered the country towards socialist industrialisation, collectivising agriculture and making a cultural revolution. The Soviet people and the Communist Party have had to overcome unimaginable difficulties and obstacles in solving these supreme problems of building a socialist society in a single country. Our country had to overcome its age-long backwardness and reshape the whole of its country along new, socialist lines, within the historically shortest period of time, and without any economic assistance whatever from outside.

This complicated international and internal situation called for iron discipline, tireless enhancement of vigilance, strictest centralisation of leadership, which could not but have affected adversely the development of some democratic forms. In the bitter struggle against the whole world of imperialism our country had to accept some limitations to democracy which were justified logically by our people's struggle for socialism in conditions of capitalist encirclement. But even at that time the Party and the people regarded these limitations as temporary and due to be removed as the strength of the Soviet State grew and the forces of democracy and peace developed throughout the world. The people made these temporary sacrifices conscientiously, witnessing the day-to-day successes of the Soviet social system.

All these difficulties on the way to socialism have been

overcome by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party and its Central Committee which consistently pursued Lenin's general line.

The victory of socialism in this country, faced as it was with hostile encirclement and the ever-present threat of attack from without, was a historic exploit of the Soviet people. Through carrying out its first five-year plans, the economically backward country made a giant leap ahead in its economic and cultural development thanks to the strenuous and heroic efforts of the people and the Party. With the progress achieved in socialist construction the living standards of the working people were raised and unemployment abolished once and for all. A deep-going cultural revolution took place. Within a short space of time the Soviet people produced great numbers of technicians who rose to the level of world technological progress and brought Soviet science and technology to one of the leading places in the world. It is the great Party of Communists that was the inspiring and organising force behind these victories. By the example of the USSR the working people of the whole world have seen for themselves that workers and peasants, once they have taken power into their own hands, can build and develop successfully, without any capitalists and landowners, their own socialist state representing and defending the interests of the people at large. All this has played a great inspiring role in increasing the influence of the Communist and Workers Parties in all the countries of the world.

J. V. Stalin, who held the post of General Secretary of the Party's General Committee for a long period of time, worked actively in common with other leading officials of the Party to carry Lenin's behests into life. He was faithful to Marxism-Leninism, and led, as a theorist and an organiser of large calibre, the Party's fight against the Trotskyites, Right-wing opportunist, bourgeois nationalists, against the intrigues by capitalists from without. In this political and ideological fight Stalin earned great authority and popularity. But there appeared a mistaken practice of associating all our great

victories with his name. The achievements gained by the Communist Party and by the Soviet Union, and eulogies of Stalin, made him dizzy. That being the situation, the cult of the person of Stalin was being gradually built up.

Some of J. V. Stalin's qualities as an individual, which were regarded as negative yet by V. I. Lenin, contributed in great measure to building up the cult of the individual. Towards the end of 1922 Lenin said in a letter to the coming Party Congress: "Comrade Stalin, after taking over the position of General Secretary, accumulated in his hands immeasurable power, and I am not certain whether he will be always able to use this power with the required care". In an addition to this letter written early in January, 1923, V. I. Lenin reverted to some of Stalin's individual qualities intolerable in a leader. "Stalin is excessively rude", Lenin wrote, "and this defect, which can be freely tolerated in our midst and in contacts among us, communists, becomes a defect which cannot be tolerated in one holding the position of the General Secretary. I, therefore, propose to the comrades to consider the method by which to remove Stalin from this position and to select another man for it who, above all, would differ from Stalin, in only one quality, namely, greater tolerance, greater loyalty, greater kindness and more considerate attitude towards the comrades, a less capricious temper, etc."

These letters of Lenin were brought to the knowledge of the delegations to the 13th Party Congress which met soon after Lenin died. After discussing these documents it was recognised expedient to leave Stalin in the position of the General Secretary on the understanding, however, that he would heed the critical remarks of V. I. Lenin and draw all the proper conclusions from them.

Having retained the post of the General Secretary of the Central Committee, Stalin did reckon with the critical remarks of Vladimir Ilyich for the period immediately following his death. Later on, however, Stalin, having overestimated his own merits beyond all measure, came to believe in his own infallibility. He began transposing some of the

limitations of Party and Soviet democracy, unavoidable in conditions of a bitter struggle against the class enemy and its agents, and subsequently during the war against the Nazi invaders, into the standards of Party and governmental life, riding roughshod over the Leninist principles of leadership.

Central Committee plenary sessions and Party Congresses were held irregularly, and later not at all for years on end. Stalin found himself virtually beyond criticism.

Stalin's erroneous view that the class struggle would be growing sharper and sharper as the Soviet Union forged ahead towards socialism, did a lot of harm to the cause of socialist construction and to the development of democracy in the Party and in the State. This view, which held good only for a certain stage of the transitional period when the question of "who beats whom" was being decided, and when there was a stubborn class struggle for building the foundations of socialism, was put into the foreground in 1937, that is at the time when socialism had already won in our country, and when the exploiting classes had been removed and their economic basis destroyed. In practical experience this fallacious theory served as an excuse for the most flagrant violations of socialist law and mass repressions.

It was under those conditions that a particular situation arose, incidentally, for the state security organs which had enormous trust reposed in them since they had unchallengeable credit in the eyes of the people and the country for defending the gains of the revolution. For a long time the state security organs justified this trust, and their special position did not present any danger. Things took a different turn after control over them by the Party and the Government had been gradually superseded by Stalin's personal control, and the customary discharge of justice began to be replaced more often than not by decisions of his own. The situation became even more complicated when the criminal gang of Beria, the agent of international imperialism, put themselves at the head of the state security organs. Grave violations of Soviet law were committed and mass repressions were allowed to take

place. A great many honest communists and other Soviet people outside the Party were traduced and suffered innocently owing to the intrigues of the enemies.

The 20th Congress of the Party and the Central Committee's policy as a whole after Stalin's death provide ample evidence that the Party's Central Committee had a solidly-built Leninist core of leaders inside who properly understood the urgent requirements in the conduct of home as well as foreign affairs. It cannot be said that there was no opposition to negative developments which arose from the cult of the individual and held up the advance of socialism. Moreover, there were certain periods, at the time of war, for instance, when Stalin's one-man actions were drastically restricted, when the adverse effects of lawlessness, arbitrary rule, etc., were lessened considerably.

It is a matter of record that it was at the time of war that the members of the Central Committee, as well as the outstanding Soviet Army leaders, took matters into their own hands in certain fields of activity both in the rear and at the front, took decisions on their own and, ensured the Soviet peoples war victories by their organisational, political, economic and military activities in conjunction with local party and governmental organisations. After the victory was won the negative consequences of the cult of the individual began to manifest themselves very strongly again.

Right after Stalin's death the Leninist core of the Central Committee took up a stand of determined fight against the cult of the individual and its grave consequences.

The question may arise as to why did these men not act openly against Stalin and why did they not remove him from leadership? In the conditions which prevailed that could not have been done. Undoubtedly, the facts indicate that Stalin was to blame for many acts of lawlessness committed especially in the last period of his life. But one should not forget, however, that the Soviet people knew Stalin as a man who was always up in arms in defence of the USSR against the intrigues of the enemies and for the cause of socialism.

In that struggle he used unworthy methods sometimes, violated Leninist principles and Party standards. That was Stalin's tragedy. But all that handicapped at the same time the struggle against the acts of lawlessness committed at that time, because the successes won in building socialism and strengthening the USSR were ascribed to Stalin as long as the cult of the individual prevailed.

Any action against him under those conditions would not have been understood by the people and the crux of the matter was by no means the lack of individual courage. It is clear that no one who might have come out against Stalin in those circumstances would have won support of the people. Moreover, an action like that would have been taken in those circumstances as one of opposition to the building of socialism, as one of undermining the unity of the Party and the nation, and therefore exceedingly dangerous in conditions of capitalist encirclement. To this should be added—that the achievements, which the working people of the Soviet Union were gaining under the leadership of their Communist Party, made every Soviet man and woman legitimately proud and brought about a situation where individual mistakes and shortcomings seemed less significant when viewed against the background of enormous successes, and the negative effects of these mistakes were rapidly made up for by the swiftly growing vital strength of the Party and Soviet society.

Another circumstance to bear in mind is that many facts and Stalin's wrong actions, above all in violating Soviet law, remained unknown until quite recently, that is until after Stalin's death, and were revealed mostly when the Beria gang was exposed and Party control over State security organs established.

These are the principal conditions and causes which led to the appearance and spreading of the cult of Stalin. Naturally, all the foregoing explains, but by no means justifies the cult of Stalin and its consequences, which have been denounced by our Party so sharply and rightly.

III

It is beyond doubt that the cult of the individual did grave damage to the cause of the Communist Party, to Soviet society. But it would be a gross mistake to conclude from the existence of the cult of the individual in the past that there have been some sort of changes in the social system in the USSR or to look into the nature of the Soviet social system for the source of this cult. Either approach is utterly wrong as it does not correspond to the realities and contradict the facts.

Despite the harm which the cult of the person of Stalin did to the Party and the people, it could not have changed, nor did it change the essence of our social system. No cult of the individual could have altered the essence of the socialist state, based as it is on social ownership of the means of production, on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and on friendship of the peoples, although this cult did hamper in great measure the development of socialist democracy and the expansion of the constructive initiative of the millions.

To believe that an individual, even one of so large a calibre as Stalin was, could have changed our social and political system, is to get completely at variance with the facts, with Marxism, with the truth, to slide into idealism. It would mean ascribing to an individual such enormous, supernatural abilities, as the ability to change a social system, and especially the one in which the working millions are the decisive force.

It is known that the essence of a social and political system is determined by the mode of production, by those who own means of production, and the class who holds political power in its hands. The whole world knows that a socialist mode of production was established in our country as a result of the October Revolution and the victory of socialism, and that power has been in the hands of the working class and the peasantry for nearly forty years now. It is thanks to this that the Soviet social system is growing stronger and stronger

from year to year and its productive forces are expanding. Not even our ill-wishers can fail to recognise this fact.

The consequences of the cult of the individual are known to have been some grave mistakes in the guidance of individual branches of Party and Government activity both in the conduct of home and foreign affairs. Mention can be made, for instance, of the serious mistakes of Stalin in directing agriculture, organising the country's preparations for repulsing the Nazi invaders, of the rude arbitrary action which resulted in the conflict in our relations with Yugoslavia in the post-war period. These mistakes were detrimental to the development of the Soviet State in some aspects, and held up, particularly in the last years of J. V. Stalin's life, the development of Soviet society but have not, quite naturally, led it astray from the right road to communism.

Our enemies contend that the cult of Stalin was brought into being not by certain historical conditions which have gone never to return, but by the Soviet system as such, with its lack of democracy, as they see it, etc. Such slanderous assertions are refuted by the whole history of the Soviet State. The Soviets, as a new democratic form of government, arose as a result of the revolutionary activity of the great masses of the people who rose to fight for freedom. They have been and are the true organs of people's government. It is the Soviet system which has created opportunities for the people to develop their enormous creative energies. It has set in motion the inexhaustible forces latent in the masses, and has drawn millions of people into the conscientious job of running the country into active and constructive participation in building socialism. Within a historically short period of time the Soviet State has come through the hardest ordeals with flying colours, has stood the test in the crucible of the Second World War.

When the remaining exploiting classes had been abolished in our country, when socialism had become the predominant system throughout the national economy, and when the country's international position had radically changed,

the scope of Soviet democracy expanded immeasurably and continues to expand. Unlike any bourgeois democracy, Soviet democracy does not merely proclaim, but provides material requisites for all members of society without exception to exercise the right to work, education and leisure, to participate in government affairs, to enjoy freedom of speech, the Press, freedom of conscience, and the practical possibility of freely developing individual abilities and all other democratic rights and freedoms. The essence of democracy is not defined by formal signs, it is defined by whether political power serves and represents in actual practice the will and basic interests of the majority of the people, the interests of the working people. All the home and foreign policy of the Soviet Government shows that our system is a truly democratic, a truly people's system. The supreme purpose and daily concern of the Soviet Government is to ensure the utmost advancement of the living standards of the population and peaceful life for its people.

The measures the Party and the Government are carrying through to extend the rights and the scope of competence of the constituent republics, to ensure the strict observance of law, to alter the system of planning with a view to encouraging initiative on the spot, greater activity of local Soviets, increased criticism and self-criticism are indications of the further development of Soviet democracy.

In spite of and contrary to the cult of the individual the mighty initiative of the popular masses, led by the Communist Party, which was brought into being by our system, has been doing its great work of historic importance by overcoming all obstacles lying in the way to building socialism. Therein the democracy of the Soviet Socialist system finds its supreme expression. The outstanding victories of socialism in this country have not come of their own accord. They have been won thanks to the enormous organisational and educational work of the Party and of its local organisations, owing to the fact that the Party has always taught its leading core and the membership as a whole to be true to Marxism-

Leninism and loyal to the cause of communism. The Soviet society is strong by virtue of the political consciousness of the masses. Its historical destinies have been and are being shaped by the constructive efforts of our heroic working class, of our glorious collective farmers and our intellectuals who had come from the people.

In doing away with the after-effects of the cult of the individual, in restoring the Bolshevik standards of party life and expanding socialist democracy, our Party has succeeded in cementing its bonds with the masses and in rallying them still closer around the great banner of Leninism.

The fact that the Party has itself raised boldly and openly the question of eliminating the cult of the individual, and of the impermissible mistakes made by Stalin, is convincing proof that the Party stands firm as the guardian of Leninism, of the cause of socialism and communism, of socialist law, and the interests of the people, and of the rights of Soviet citizens. This is the best proof of the strength and vitality of the Soviet socialist system. It is likewise an indication of the determination to overcome the consequences of the cult of the individual to the full and to prevent mistakes like this from being repeated ever again.

The condemnation of the cult of Stalin and its consequences by our Party has been welcomed by, and brought much comment from, all the fraternal communist and workers parties. While noting the tremendous significance of the 20th CPSU Congress for the entire international communist and labour movements, the communists of foreign lands are regarding the fight against the cult of the individual and its consequences as a struggle for the purity of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, for the creative approach to the present-day problems of the international labour movement, for the reaffirmation and enrichment of the principle of proletarian internationalism.

A number of brother communist parties have made statements welcoming and supporting the measures our Party has been carrying out against the cult of the individual and its consequences. "Jenminjihpao" the organ of the Central Com-

mittee of the Communist Party of China, setting out the conclusions made at the Political Bureau of the Party after discussing the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress, wrote in an editorial "On historical experience of proletarian dictatorship", "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, true to Lenin's behests, treats seriously certain grave mistakes made by Stalin in his work of directing socialist construction, and the consequences these entailed. The gravity of these consequences has brought the Communist Party of the Soviet Union face to face with the necessity of revealing with utmost sharpness the essence of the mistakes made by Stalin, while recognising his great services, and of cautioning the Party as a whole against repeating these mistakes, and calling upon it to remove the harmful consequences they have caused. We, the Communists of China, firmly believe that, after the sharp criticism at the 20th CPSU Congress, all those active factors which were firmly contained because of certain political mistakes in the past, will certainly come into operation everywhere, and that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people will be more united and monolithic than ever before in their effort to build the great Communist Society without precedent in human history, and to ensure a durable peace throughout the world."

"It goes to the credit of the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union", says the statement of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party, "that they have set about rectifying the mistakes and shortcomings, arising from the cult of the individual, which attests to the strength and unity of the great Party of Lenin, to the confidence the Soviet people repose in it, as well as to its prestige in the international labour movement."

Comrade Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the National Committee, the Communist Party of the United States, pointing to the tremendous significance of the 20th CPSU Congress, said in a recent article that "the 20th Congress strengthened world peace and social progress. It marked a new stage in the advancement of socialism and in the struggle

for peaceful co-existence that began in Lenin's days and continued in the following years and is becoming ever more effective and successful."

Another point that has to be made is that interpretations given in considering the cult of the individual to the causes behind it and to its consequences for our social system have not always been correct. Comrade Togliatti, for instance, in a comprehensive and interesting interview with the "Nuovi Argomenti" magazine, made wrong points along with many most important and right conclusions. One cannot agree, for instance, with the question Comrade Togliatti has raised of whether Soviet society has come "to some sort of reformation?" There is no ground for raising a question like this. Still less is this understandable since in another passage of his interview Comrade Togliatti says quite correctly: "The conclusion must be made that the essence of the socialist system has not been shed, because none of the previous achievements and, above all, the support of the system by the masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals making up the Soviet society, have been lost. This support proves of itself that, whatever may have happened, this community has retained its fundamental democratic character."

Indeed, our country would have been unable to build up a powerful socialist industry and to carry through the collectivisation of agriculture within an incredibly short space of time, nor could she have won victory in the Second World War, on whose outcome depended the future of all mankind, had it not been for the support of Soviet rule and of the Communist Party's policy by the people at large. As a result of the complete rout of Nazism, Italian fascism and Japanese militarism the strength of the Communist movement developed increasingly, the Communist parties of Italy, France and of other capitalist countries grew to become mass organisations, a system of people's democracy has been established in a number of European and Asian countries, the world system of socialism has come into being and entrenched itself, and the national liberation movement made unpre-

cedented headway leading to the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism.

IV

The Communists and all the Soviet people, unanimously welcoming as they do the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress denouncing the cult of the individual, regard these decisions as an indication of the increased strength of our Party, of its Leninist principledness, its unity and cohesion. "The Party of the revolutionary proletariat", V. I. Lenin pointed out, "is strong enough to criticise itself openly, to call a mistake a mistake and a weakness a weakness without mincing matters." (*Works*, Volume 21, p. 150). Guiding itself by this Leninist principle, our Party will continue to discover boldly, criticise openly and rectify ruthlessly any mistakes and flaws in its work.

The Central Committee of the CPSU considers that the work so far accomplished by the Party in overcoming the cult of individual and its consequences has borne positive results.

Proceeding from the decisions of the 20th Party Congress the Central Committee of the CPSU calls upon all Party organisations: to adhere consistently in all our work to the cardinal theses of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the people as the architects of history, the creators of all material and spiritual values of humanity, on the decisive role of the Marxist Party in the revolutionary struggle for social transformation, for the achievement of Communism; to continue persistently the efforts conducted by the Central Committee for the past few years to ensure the strictest observance of the Leninist principles of Party leadership, and, above all, of the supreme principle of collective leadership, in all Party organisations from top to bottom, the observance of the standards of Party life laid down in the rules of our Party, and the development of criticism and self-criticism.

To restore in full the principles of Soviet socialist democracy, laid down in the Constitution of the Soviet Union, to fully rectify the breaches of revolutionary socialist law.

To mobilise our cadres, all our communists and the working masses at large for the practical accomplishment of the tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, giving the utmost encouragement to this end to the creative initiative and energy of the masses, the true architects of history.

The 20th CPSU Congress pointed out that the transformation of socialism into a world system is the most important feature of our times. The most difficult stage in the development and consolidation of socialism has been passed. Our socialist country has ceased to be a solitary island in the ocean of capitalist states. Over a third of mankind are shaping a new way of life under the banner of socialism today. The ideas of socialism are gripping the minds of millions upon millions of people in the capitalist countries. The influence of the ideas of socialism is enormous on the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are opposed to colonialism in every shape or form.

All the proponents of peace and socialism, all democratic and progressive circles received the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress as an inspiring programme of struggle for the strengthening of world peace, for working class interests, for the triumph of socialism.

In the present conditions broad and encouraging prospects are opening up before the Communist parties and the international labour movement as a whole, prospects of averting, together with all the peaceable forces, a new world war, curbing the monopolies and ensuring a lasting peace and the security of the peoples, ending the arms race and lifting from the people the heavy taxation burden it imposes, and upholding the democratic rights and freedoms enabling the working people to fight for a better life, for a bright future. This is what millions of ordinary people throughout the world are interested in. The policy of peace and the ever new achievements of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and all the other countries following the path of socialism are contributing greatly to a successful solution of these problems

In the new historic conditions, such international working class organisations as the Comintern and the Cominform have ceased to function. This does not mean, however, that international solidarity and the necessity of contacts between the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties have lost their importance. Now that the forces of socialism have grown immeasurably and the influence of socialist ideas spread throughout the world, now that it is becoming clear that different countries are going to socialism by their own different ways, the Marxist parties of the working class should, naturally, preserve and strengthen their ideological unity and international fraternal solidarity in the struggle against the menace of a new war, against the anti-national forces of monopoly capital seeking to put down all revolutionary and progressive movements. The Communist parties are brought together by the great goal of freeing the working class of the yoke of capital, they are bound up into a single whole by their loyalty to the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism, the spirit of proletarian internationalism, by their boundless loyalty to the interests of the popular masses.

In the present conditions, all Communist parties proceed in their work from the national peculiarities and conditions of each country, expressing most fully the national interests of their peoples. Realising at the same time that the struggle for the interests of the working class, for peace and the national independence of their countries, is at the same time a matter for international proletariat as a whole, they rally together and strengthen links and co-operation among themselves. This ideological cohesion and fraternal solidarity of the Marxist parties of the working class of different countries are all the more necessary since capitalist monopolies are building their own international aggressive alliances and blocs such as NATO, SEATO and the Baghdad Pact, spear-headed against the peace-loving peoples, against the movement of national liberation, against the working class and the vital interests of the people.

While the Soviet Union has done much and is doing much

to ease international tensions—this has now been admitted by all—American monopoly capital continues to allocate large sums for intensifying subversive operations in the socialist countries. It is known that at the height of the cold war, the American Congress officially allocated one hundred million dollars (in addition to its unofficial allocations) for subversive operations in the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union. Now that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are doing their best to relax international tension, the cold war champions are seeking to revive the cold war condemned by all the peoples of the world. This is attested to by the American Senate's decision to set aside another twenty five million dollars for subversive operations which they cynically call "encouraging freedom" behind "the iron curtain".

We must give this fact a sober appraisal and draw the necessary conclusions from it. It is clear, for instance, that the anti-popular disturbances in Poznan were financed from this source. However, the agents, provocateurs and saboteurs paid from abroad could hold out for only a few hours. The people of Poznan repulsed the intrigues and provocations of their enemies. The plans of the cloak and dagger plotters and their vile provocation against the people's power in Poland have fallen through. It will be the same with all future subversive activities in the People's Democracies, however generously they may be financed by American monopolies. This, one may say, is money thrown away.

All this shows that we must not show any carelessness with regard to the new intrigues of imperialist intelligence services seeking to penetrate the socialist countries to harm and subvert the achievements of the people.

The forces of imperialist reaction are seeking to get the working people away from the correct path of struggle for their interests, to poison their souls with unbelief in the victory of the cause of peace and socialism.

In spite of these efforts of the ideologists of capitalist monopolies, the working class, headed by the tried and tested communist vanguard, will go its way, which has already led

to the historic achievements of socialism and will lead to new victories for the cause of peace, democracy and socialism. One may be confident that the communist and workers parties of all countries will raise even higher the glorious Marxist banner of proletarian internationalism.

The Soviet people are legitimately proud of our Homeland being the first to blaze the path to socialism. Now that socialism has become a world system, now that relations of brotherhood and mutual assistance have been established among the socialist countries, new favourable opportunities have appeared for the flourishing of socialist democracy, for the further strengthening of the material and industrial basis of communism, for the steady improvement of the living standards of the working people, for the all-round development of the new man—the builder of a communist society. Let bourgeois ideologists invent their fables about the “crisis” of communism, about “confusion” in the ranks of the Communist parties. We are accustomed to such incantations of our enemies. Their prognostications have invariably exploded like soap bubbles. These hapless soothsayers have come and gone, but the communist movement, the immortal and life-giving ideas of Marxism-Leninism have conquered and continue to conquer. And so it shall be in the future. No vicious, slanderous attacks of our enemies can arrest mankind’s irresistible march to communism.

*The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union.*

Appendix IV

On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union summed up the fresh experience gained both in international relations and domestic construction. It took a series of momentous decisions on the steadfast implementation of Lenin's policy in regard to the possibility of peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems, on the development of Soviet democracy, on the thorough observance of the Party's principle of collective leadership, on the criticism of shortcomings within the Party, and on the Sixth Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy.

The question of combatting the cult of the individual occupied an important place in the discussions of the 20th Congress. The Congress very sharply exposed the prevalence of the cult of the individual which, for a long time in Soviet life, had given rise to many errors in work and had led to ill consequences. This courageous self-criticism of its past errors by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union demonstrated the high level of principle in inner-Party life and the great vitality of Marxism-Leninism.

In history and in all the capitalist countries of today, no governing political party or bloc in the service of the ex-

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exploiting classes has ever dared to expose its serious errors conscientiously before the mass of its own members and the people. With the parties of the working class things are entirely different. The parties of the working class serve the broad masses of the people; by self-criticism such parties lose nothing except their errors, they gain the support of the broad masses of the people.

For more than a month now, reactionaries throughout the world have been crowing happily over self-criticism by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with regard to this cult of the individual. They say : Fine! The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the first to establish a socialist order, made appalling mistakes, and, what is more, it was Stalin himself, that widely renowned and honoured leader, who made them! The reactionaries think they have got hold of something with which to discredit the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and other countries. But they will get nothing for all their pains. Has any leading Marxist ever written that we could never commit mistakes or that it is absolutely impossible for a given Communist to commit mistakes? Isn't it precisely because we Marxist-Leninists deny the existence of a 'demigod' who never makes big or small mistakes that we Communists use criticism and self-criticism in our inner-Party life? Moreover, how could it be conceivable that a socialist state which was the first in the world to put the dictatorship of the proletariat into practice, which did not have the benefit of any precedent, should make no mistakes of one kind or another? Lenin said in October 1921:

"Let the curs and swines of the moribund bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois democrats who trail behind it, heap imprecations, abuse and derision upon our heads for our reverses and mistakes in the work of building up our Soviet system. We do not forget for a moment that we have committed and are committing numerous mistakes and are suffering numerous reverses. How can reverses and mistakes be avoided in a matter so new in the history of the world as the erection of a state edifice of an unprecedented type! We

shall struggle unremittingly to set our reverses and mistakes right and to improve our practical application of Soviet principles, which is still very, very far from perfect.”*

It is also inconceivable that certain mistakes made earlier should for ever preclude the possibility of making other mistakes later or of repeating past mistakes to a greater or lesser degree. Since its division into classes with conflicting interests, human society has passed through several thousand years of dictatorships—of slave-owners, of feudal lords and of the bourgeoisie; but it was not until the victory of the October Revolution that mankind began to see the dictatorship of the proletariat in action. The first three kinds of dictatorship are all dictatorships of the exploiting classes, though the dictatorship of feudal lords was more progressive than that of slave-owners, and that of the bourgeoisie more progressive than that of feudal lords. These exploiting classes, which once played a certain progressive role in the history of social development, invariably accumulated experience in their role, through making innumerable mistakes of historic import over long periods of time and through repeating these mistakes again and again. Nevertheless, with the sharpening of the contradiction between the relations of production which they represented, and the productive forces of society, still they inevitably committed mistakes, bigger and more, precipitating a massive revolt of the oppressed classes and disintegration within their own ranks, and thus eventually bringing about their destruction. The dictatorship of the proletariat is fundamentally different in its nature from any of the previous kinds of dictatorship, which were dictatorships by the exploiting classes. It is a dictatorship of the exploited classes, a dictatorship of the majority over the minority, a dictatorship for the purpose of creating a socialist society in which there is no exploitation and poverty, and it is the most progressive and the last dictatorship in the history of mankind. But, since this dictatorship undertakes the greatest and the most difficult tasks and is confronted with a struggle which

*V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Part 2, Moscow, 1952, p 597.

is the most complicated and tortuous in history, therefore, many mistakes, as Lenin has said, are bound to be made in its operation. If some communists indulge in self-exaltation and self-complacency and develop a rigid way of thinking, they may even repeat their own mistakes or those of others. We communists must take full account of this. To defeat powerful enemies, the dictatorship of the proletariat requires a high degree of centralisation of power. This highly centralised power must be combined with a high level of democracy. When there is an undue emphasis on centralisation, many mistakes are bound to occur. This is quite understandable. But whatever the mistakes, the dictatorship of the proletariat is, for the popular masses, always far superior to all dictatorships of the exploiting classes, to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Lenin was right when he said :

"If our enemies reproach us and say that Lenin himself admits that the Bolsheviks have done a host of foolish things, I want to reply by saying : yes but do you know that the foolish things we have done are entirely different from those you have done?"

The exploiting classes, out for plunder, have all hoped to perpetuate their dictatorship generation after generation, and have therefore resorted to every possible means to grind down the people. Their mistakes are irremediable. On the other hand, the proletariat, which strives for the material and spiritual emancipation of the people, uses its dictatorship to bring about communism, to bring about harmony and equality among mankind, and lets its dictatorship gradually wither away. That is why it does its utmost to bring into full play the initiative and the positive role of the masses. The fact that, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is possible to bring into play without limit the initiative and the positive role of the masses also makes it possible to correct any mistakes committed during the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Leaders of Communist Parties and socialist states in various fields are duty bound to do their utmost to reduce mistakes, avoid serious ones, endeavour to learn lessons from

isolated, local and temporary mistakes and make every effort to prevent them from developing into mistakes of a nation-wide or prolonged nature. To do this, every leader must be most prudent and modest, keep close to the masses, consult them on all matters, investigate and study the actual situation again and again, and constantly engage in criticism and self-criticism appropriate to the situation and well measured. It was precisely because of his failure to do this that Stalin, as the chief leader of the Party and the state, made certain serious mistakes in the later years of his work. He became conceited and imprudent, subjectivism and one-sidedness developed in his thinking and he made erroneous decisions on certain important questions, which led to serious consequences.

With the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Lenin, established the first socialist state on one-sixth of the earth. The Soviet Union speedily carried out socialist industrialisation and collectivisation of agriculture, developed socialist science and culture, established a solid union of many nationalities in the form of a union of the Soviets, and the formerly backward nationalities in the Soviet Union became socialist nationalities. During the Second World War, the Soviet Union was the main force in defeating fascism and saving European civilisation. It also helped the peoples in the East to defeat Japanese militarism. All these glorious achievements pointed out to all mankind its bright future—socialism and communism, seriously shook the rule of imperialism and made the Soviet Union the first and strong bulwark in the world struggle for lasting peace. The Soviet Union has encouraged and supported all other socialist countries in their construction, and it has been an inspiration to the world socialist movement, the anti-colonialist movement and every other movement for the progress of mankind. These are the great achievements made by the people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the history of mankind. The man who showed the

Soviet people and the Communist Party the way to these great achievements was Lenin. In the struggle to carry out Lenin's principles, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for its vigorous leadership, earned its credit, in which Stalin had an ineffaceable share.

After Lenin's death Stalin, as the chief leader of the Party and the state, creatively applied and developed Marxism-Leninism. In the struggle to defend the legacy of Leninism and against its enemies—the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and other bourgeois agents—Stalin expressed the will and wishes of the people and proved himself to be an outstanding Marxist-Leninist fighter. The reason why Stalin won the support of the Soviet people and played an important role in history was primarily because he, together with the other leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, defended Lenin's line on the industrialisation of the Soviet state and the collectivisation of agriculture. By pursuing this line, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union brought about the triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union and created the conditions for the victory of the Soviet Union in the war against Hitler; these victories of the Soviet people conformed to the interests of the working class of the world and all progressive mankind. It was therefore quite natural for the name of Stalin to be greatly honoured throughout the world. But, having won such high honour among the people, both at home and abroad, by his correct application of the Leninist line, Stalin erroneously exaggerated his own role and counterposed his individual authority to the collective leadership, and as a result certain of his actions were opposed to certain fundamental Marxist-Leninist concepts which he himself had propagated. On the one hand, he recognised that the masses were the makers of history, that the Party must keep in constant touch with the people and that inner-Party democracy and self-criticism and criticism from below must be developed. On the other hand, he accepted and fostered the cult of the individual, and indulged in arbitrary individual actions. Thus Stalin found himself in a contradiction

on this question during the later part of his life, with a discrepancy between his theory and practice.

Marxist-Leninists hold that leaders play a big role in history. The people and their parties need forerunners who are able to represent the interests and will of the people, stand in the forefront of their historic struggles and serve as their leaders. It is utterly wrong to deny the role of the individual, the role of forerunners and leaders. But when any leader of the Party or the state places himself over and above the Party and the masses instead of in their midst, when he alienates himself from the masses, he ceases to have an all-round, penetrating insight into the affairs of the state. As long as this was the case, even so outstanding a personality as Stalin could not avoid making unrealistic and erroneous decisions on certain important matters. Stalin failed to draw lessons from isolated, local and temporary mistakes on certain issues and so failed to prevent them from becoming serious mistakes of a nation-wide or prolonged nature. During the later part of his life, Stalin took more and more pleasure in this cult of the individual, and violated the Party's system of democratic centralism and the principle of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility. As a result he made some serious mistakes such as the following : he broadened the scope of the suppression of counter-revolution; he lacked the necessary vigilance on the eve of the anti-fascist war; he failed to pay proper attention to the further development of agriculture and the material welfare of the peasantry; he gave certain wrong advice on the international communist movement, and, in particular, made a wrong decision on the question of Yugoslavia. On these issues, Stalin fell victim to subjectivism and one-sidedness, and divorced himself from objective reality and from the masses.

The cult of the individual is a foul carry-over from the long history of mankind. The cult of the individual is rooted not only in the exploiting classes but also in the small producer. As is well known, patriarchy is a product of small-producer economy. After the establishment of the dictatorship

of the proletariat, even when the exploiting classes are eliminated, when small-producer economy has been replaced by a collective economy and a socialist society has been founded, certain rotten, poisonous ideological survivals of the old society may still remain in people's minds for a very long time. "The force of habit of millions and tens of millions is a most terrible force" (Lenin). The cult of the individual is just one such force of habit of millions and tens of millions. Since this force of habit still exists in society, it can influence many government functionaries, and even such a leader as Stalin was also affected by it. The cult of the individual is a reflection in man's mind of a social phenomenon, and when leaders of the Party and state, such as Stalin, succumb to the influence of this backward ideology, they will in turn influence society, bringing losses to the cause and hampering the initiative and creativeness of the masses of the people.

The socialist productive forces, the economic and political system of socialism and the Party life, as they develop, are increasingly coming into contradiction and conflict with such a state of mind as the cult of the individual. The struggle against the cult of the individual which was launched by the 20th Congress is a great and courageous fight by the communists and the people of the Soviet Union to clear away the ideological obstacles in the way of their advance.

Some naive ideas seem to suggest that contradictions no longer exist in a socialist society. To deny the existence of contradictions is to deny dialectics. The contradictions in various societies differ in character as do the forms of their solution, but society at all times develops through continual contradictions. Socialist society also develops through contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production. In a socialist or communist society, technical innovations and improvement in the social system inevitably continue to take place : otherwise the development of society would come to a standstill and society could no longer advance. Humanity is still in its youth. The road it has yet to traverse will be no one knows how many times longer than

the road it has already travelled. Contradictions, as between progress and conservatism, between the advanced and the backward, between the positive and the negative, will constantly occur under varying conditions and different circumstances. Things will keep on like this : one contradiction will lead to another; and when old contradictions are solved new ones will arise. It is obviously incorrect to maintain, as some people do, that the contradiction between idealism and materialism can be eliminated in a socialist or communist society. As long as contradictions exist between the subjective and the objective, between the advanced and the backward, and between the productive forces and the relations of production, the contradiction between materialism and idealism will continue in a socialist or communist society, and will manifest itself in various forms. Since man lives in society, he reflects, in different circumstances and to varying degrees, the contradictions existing in each form of society. Therefore, not everybody will be perfect, even when a communist society is established. By then there will still be contradictions among people, and there will still be good people and bad people whose thinking is relatively correct and others whose thinking is relatively incorrect. Hence there will still be struggle between people, though its nature and form will be different from those in class societies. Viewed in this light, the existence of contradictions between the individual and the collective in the socialist society is nothing strange. And if any leader of the party or state isolates himself from collective leadership, from the masses of the people and from real life, he will inevitably fall into rigid ways of thinking and consequently make grave mistakes. What we must guard against is that some people, because the Party and the state have achieved many successes in work and won the great trust of the masses, may take advantage of the trust to abuse their authority and so commit some mistakes.

The Chinese Communist Party congratulates the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on its great achievements in this historic struggle against the cult of the individual. The

experience of the Chinese revolution, too, testifies that it is only by relying on the wisdom of the masses of the people, on democratic centralism and on the system of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility that our Party can score great victories and do great things in times of revolution and in times of national construction. The Chinese Communist Party, in its revolutionary ranks has incessantly fought against elevation of oneself and against individualist heroism, both of which mean isolation from the masses. Undoubtedly, such things will exist for a long time to come. Even when overcome, they re-emerge. They are found sometimes in one person, sometimes in another. When attention is paid to the role of the individual, the role of the masses and the collective is often ignored. That is why some people easily fall into the mistake of self-conceit or blind faith in themselves or blind worship of others. We must therefore give unremitting attention to opposing elevation of oneself, individualist heroism and the cult of the individual.

To counter subjectivist methods of leadership, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China adopted a resolution in June 1943 on methods of leadership. In discussing now the question of collective leadership in the Party, it is still worthwhile for all members of the Chinese Communist Party and all its leading personnel to refer to this resolution, which declared:

“In all practical work of our Party, correct leadership can only be developed on the principle of ‘from the masses, to the masses’. This means summing up (i.e., coordinating and systematising after careful study) the views of the masses (i.e., views scattered and unsystematic), then taking the resulting ideas back to the masses, explaining and popularising them until the masses embrace the ideas as their own, stand up for them and translate them into action by way of testing their correctness. Then it is necessary once more to sum up the views of the masses, and once again take the resulting ideas back to the masses so that the masses give them their whole-hearted support . . . and so on, over and over again,

so that each time these ideas emerge with greater correctness and become more vital and meaningful. This is what the Marxist theory of knowledge teaches us."

For a long time, this method of leadership has been described in our Party by the popular term "the mass line". The whole history of our work teaches us that whenever this line is followed, the work is always good, or relatively good, and even if there are mistakes they are easy to rectify; but whenever this line is departed from, the work is always marred by setbacks. This is the Marxist-Leninist method of leadership, the Marxist-Leninist line of work. After the victory of the revolution, when the working class and the Communist Party have become the leading class and Party in the state, the leading personnel of the Party and state, beset by bureaucratism from many sides, face the great danger of using the machinery of state to take arbitrary action, alienating themselves from the masses and collective leadership, resorting to commandism, and violating Party and state democracy. Therefore, if we want to avoid falling into such a quagmire, we must pay fuller attention to the use of the mass line method of leadership, not permitting the slightest negligence. To this end, it is necessary for us to establish certain systems, so as to ensure the thorough implementation of the mass line and collective leadership, to avoid elevation of oneself and individualist heroism, both of which mean divorce from the masses, and to reduce to a minimum subjectivism and one-sidedness in our work which represent a departure from objective reality.

We must also learn from the struggle of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union against the cult of the individual and continue our fight against doctrinairism.

The working class and the masses of the people, guided by Marxism-Leninism, won the revolution and took state power into their hands, while the victory of the revolution and the establishment of the revolutionary regime opened up boundless vistas for the development of Marxism-Leninism. Yet because Marxism, since the victory of the revolution, has

been generally recognised as the guiding ideology in the whole country, it often happens that not a few of our propagandists rely only on administrative power and the prestige of the Party to instil into the minds of the masses Marxism-Leninism in the form of dogma, instead of working hard, marshalling a wealth of data, employing Marxist-Leninist methods of analysis and using the people's own language to explain convincingly the integration of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the actual situation in China. We have, over the years, made some advances in research in philosophy, economics, history and literary criticism, but, on the whole, many unhealthy elements still exist. Not a few of our research workers still retain their doctrinaire habit, put their minds in a noose, lack the ability to think independently, lack the creative spirit, and in certain respects are influenced by the cult of Stalin. In this connection it must be pointed out that Stalin's works should, as before, still be seriously studied and that we should accept, as an important historical legacy, all that is of value in them, especially those many works in which he defended Leninism and correctly summarised the experience of building up the Soviet Union. Not to do so would be a mistake. But there are two ways of studying them—the Marxist way and the doctrinaire way. Some people treat Stalin's writings in a doctrinaire manner, with the result that they cannot analyse and see what is correct and what is not correct—and even what is correct they treat as a panacea and apply indiscriminately; inevitably they make mistakes. For instance, Stalin put forward a formula that in different revolutionary periods, the main blow should be so directed as to isolate the middle-of-the-road social and political forces of the time. This formula of Stalin's should be treated according to circumstances and form a critical, Marxist point of view. In certain circumstances it may be correct to isolate the middle forces, but it is not correct to isolate them under all circumstances. Our experience teaches us that the main blow of the revolution should be directed at the chief enemy to isolate him, while as for

the middle forces, a policy of both uniting with them and struggling against them should be adopted, so that they are at least neutralised; and, as circumstances permit, efforts should be made to shift them from their position of neutrality to one of alliance with us, for the purpose of facilitating the development of the revolution. But there was a time—the ten years of civil war from 1927 to 1936—when some of our comrades crudely applied this formula of Stalin's to China's revolution by turning their main attack on the middle forces, singling them out as the most dangerous enemy; the result was that, instead of isolating the real enemy, we isolated ourselves, and suffered losses to the advantage of the real enemy. In the light of this doctrinaire error, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, during the period of the anti-Japanese war, formulated a policy of “developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle-of-the-roaders, and isolating the die-hards” for the purpose of defeating the Japanese aggressors. The progressive forces in question consisted of the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals led by, or open to the influence of the Communist Party. The middle forces in question consisted of the national bourgeoisie, the democratic parties and groups, and democrats without party affiliation. The die-hards referred to were the comprador-feudal forces headed by Chiang-Kai-shek, who were passive in resisting the Japanese and active in fighting the communists. Experience, gained through practice proved that this policy of Communist Party suited the circumstances of China's revolution and was correct.

The invariable fact is: doctrinairism is appreciated only by the mentally lazy; it brings nothing but harm to the revolution, and to the people, and to Marxism-Leninism. To enhance the initiative of the masses, to stimulate their dynamic creative spirit, and to promote rapid development of practical and theoretical work, it is still necessary, right now, to destroy blind faith in dogma.

The dictatorship of the proletariat (in China it is a people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class) has won

great victories in countries inhabited by nine hundred million people. Each of them, whether it is the Soviet Union, or China or any other People's Democracy, has its own experience of success as well as its own experience of mistakes. We must keep on summing up such experience. We must be alive to the possibility that we may still commit mistakes in the future. The important lesson to learn is that the leading organs of our Party should limit errors to those of an isolated, local, temporary nature, and permit no isolated, local, initial mistakes to develop into mistakes of a nation-wide or prolonged nature.

The history of the Communist Party of China records the making of serious mistakes on several occasions. In the revolutionary period from 1924 to 1927, there appeared in our Party the wrong line represented by Chen Tu-hsiu, a line of Right opportunism. Then during the revolutionary period from 1927 to 1936, the erroneous line of "Left" opportunism appeared on our Party on three occasions. The lines pursued by Li-Li-san in 1930 and by Wang Ming in 1931-1934, were particularly serious, while the Wang Ming line was the most damaging to the revolution. In this same period the erroneous, anti-Party Chang Kuo-tao line of Right opportunism in opposition to the Party's Central Committee, appeared in a key revolutionary base, doing serious damage to a vital section of the revolutionary forces. The errors committed in these two periods were nation-wide, except for that caused by Chang-Kuo-tao's line which was confined to one important revolutionary base. Once again there emerged in our Party during the war of resistance to Japanese aggression a wrong line, represented by Comrade Wang Ming, which was of Right opportunist nature. However, since our Party had drawn lessons from what had happened during the previous two periods of the revolution, this wrong line was not allowed to develop, but was corrected by the Central Committee of our Party in a comparatively short time. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, there appeared in our Party in 1953, the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih. This anti-Party bloc represented the forces of reaction at home and

abroad, and its aim was to undermine the revolution. Had the Central Committee not discovered it quickly and smashed it in time, incalculable damage would have been done to the Party and to the revolution.

From this it will be seen that the historical experience of our Party testifies that our Party too has been tempered through struggles against various wrong lines of policy, thus winning great victories in the revolution and in construction. As to local and isolated mistakes, they often occurred in our work, and it was only by relying on the collective wisdom of the Party and the wisdom of the masses of the people, and by exposing and correcting these mistakes in time, that they were nipped in the bud before they became mistakes of a nation-wide or prolonged nature, doing harm to the people.

Communists must adopt an analytical attitude to errors made in the communist movement. Some people consider that Stalin was wrong in everything; this is a grave misconception. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist, yet at the same time a Marxist-Leninist who committed several gross errors without realising that they were errors. We should view Stalin from an historical standpoint, make a proper and all-round analysis to see where he was right and where he was wrong, and draw useful lessons therefrom. Both the things he did right and the things he did wrong were phenomena of the international communist movement and bore the imprint of the times. Taken as a whole, the international communist movement is only a little over a hundred years old and it is only 39 years since the victory of the October Revolution; experience in many fields of revolutionary work is still inadequate. Great achievements have been made, but there are still shortcomings and mistakes. Just as one achievement is followed by another, so one defect or mistake, once overcome, may be followed by another which in turn must be overcome. However, the achievements always exceed the defects, the things which are right always outnumber those which are wrong, and the defects and mistakes are always overcome in the end.

The mark of a good leader is not so much that he makes

no mistakes, but that he takes his mistakes seriously. There has never been a man in the world completely free from mistakes.

Lenin said :

“Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analysing the conditions which led to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it—that is the earmark of a serious party : that is the way it should perform its duties, that is the way it should educate and train the *class*, and then the *masses*.”

True to the behest of Lenin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is dealing in a serious way both with certain mistakes of a grave nature committed by Stalin in directing the work of building socialism and with the surviving effects of such mistakes. Because of the seriousness of the effects, it is necessary for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, while affirming the great contributions of Stalin, to sharply expose the essence of his mistakes, to call upon the whole Party to take them as a warning, and to work resolutely to remove their ill consequences.

We Chinese communists are firmly convinced that as a result of the sharp criticisms made at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, all those positive factors which were seriously suppressed in the past as a result of certain mistaken policies will inevitably spring everywhere into life, and the Party and the people of the Soviet Union will become still more firmly united in the struggle to build a great communist society, such as mankind has never yet seen, and win a lasting world peace.

Reactionary forces the world over are pouring ridicule on this event; they jeer at the fact that we are overcoming mistakes in our camp. But what will come of all this ridicule? There is not the slightest doubt that these scoffers will find themselves facing a still more powerful, forever invincible, great camp of peace and socialism, headed by the Soviet Union, while the murderous, blood-sucking enterprises of these scoffers will be in a pretty fix.

Appendix V

More on the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*

In April 1956, we discussed the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in connection with the question of Stalin. Since then, a further train of events in the international communist movement has caused concern to the people of our country. The publication in Chinese newspapers of Comrade Tito's speech of November 11, and the comments on that speech by various Communist Parties, have led people again to raise many questions which call for an answer. In the present article we shall centre our discussion on the following questions : first, an appraisal of the fundamental course taken by the Soviet Union in its revolution and construction : second, an appraisal of Stalin's merits and faults; third, the struggle against doctrinairism and revisionism; and fourth, the international solidarity of the proletariat of all countries.

In examining modern international questions, we must proceed first of all from the most fundamental fact, the antagonism between the imperialist bloc of aggression and the popular forces in the world. The Chinese people, who have suffered enough from imperialist aggression, can never forget that imperialism has always opposed the liberation of all peoples and the independence of all oppressed nations, that it has always regarded the communist movement, which stands

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most resolutely for the people's interests, as a thorn in its flesh. Since the birth of the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, imperialism has tried by every means to wreck it. Following the establishment of a whole group of socialist states, the hostility of the imperialist camp to the socialist camp, and its flagrant acts of sabotage against the latter, have become a still more pronounced feature of world politics. The leader of the imperialist camp, the United States, has been especially vicious and shameless in its interference in the domestic affairs of socialist countries; for many years it has been obstructing China's liberation of its own territory, Taiwan, and for many years it has openly adopted as its official policy the subversion of the East European countries.

The activities of the imperialists in the Hungarian affair of October 1956, marked the gravest attack launched by them against the socialist camp since the war of aggression they had carried on in Korea. Just as the resolution adopted by the meeting of the Provisional Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party pointed out, the Hungarian affair was the result of various causes, both internal and external; and while any one-sided explanation is incorrect, among the causes international imperialism "played the main and decisive part". Following the defeat of their plot for a counter-revolutionary come-back in Hungary, the imperialist powers headed by the United States have manoeuvred the United Nations into adopting resolutions directed against the Soviet Union and interfering in Hungary's internal affairs. At the same time, they stirred up a hysterical anti-communist wave throughout the Western world. Although U.S. imperialism is taking advantage of the fiasco of the Anglo-French war of aggression against Egypt to grab British and French interests in the Middle East and North Africa in every way possible, it has pledged itself to eliminate its "misunderstanding" with Britain and France and to seek "closer and more intimate understanding" with them to repair their united front against communism, against the Asian and African peoples and against the peace-loving people of the

world. To oppose communism, the people and peace, the imperialist countries should unite—this is the gist of Dulles' statement at the NATO council meeting on the so-called "need for a philosophy for living and acting at this critical point in world history". Somewhat intoxicated by his own illusions, Dulles asserted: "The Soviet communist structure is in a deteriorating condition (?), with the power of the rulers disintegrating (?)...Facing this situation, the free nations must maintain moral pressures which are helping to undermine the Soviet-Chinese communist system and maintain military strength and resolution." He called on the NATO countries "to disrupt the powerful Soviet despotism (?) based upon militaristic (?) and atheistic concepts". He also expressed the view that "a change of character of that [communist] world now seems to be within the realm of possibility (!)".

We have always considered our enemies our best teachers, and now Dulles is letting us have another lesson. He may slander us a thousand times and curse us ten thousand times, there is nothing new in this at all. But when Dulles, putting the matter on a "philosophic" plane, urges the imperialist countries to place their contradiction with communism above all other contradictions, to bend all their efforts towards bringing about "a change of character of that [communist] world," and towards "undermining" and "disrupting" the socialist system headed by the Soviet Union, this is a lesson that is extremely helpful to us, though such efforts will certainly come to naught. Although we have consistently held and still hold that the socialist and capitalist countries should co-exist in peace and carry out peaceful competition, the imperialists are always bent on destroying us. We must therefore never forget the stern struggle with the enemy, i.e., the class struggle on a world scale.

There are before us two types of contradictions which are different in nature. The first type consists of contradictions between our enemy and ourselves (contradiction between the camp of imperialism and that of socialism, contradictions between imperialism and the people and oppressed nations

of the whole world, contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the imperialist countries, etc). This is the fundamental type of contradiction, based on the clash of interests between antagonistic classes. The second type consists of contradictions within the ranks of the people (contradictions between different sections of the people, between comrades within the Communist Party, contradictions between the government and the people in socialist countries, contradictions between socialist countries, contradictions between Communist Parties, etc.). This type of contradiction is not basic; it is not the result of a fundamental clash of interests between classes, but of conflicts between right and wrong opinions or of a partial contradiction of interests. It is a type of contradiction whose solution must, first and foremost, be subordinated to the overall interests of the struggle against the enemy. Contradictions, among the people themselves can and ought to be resolved, proceeding from the desire for solidarity, through criticism or struggle, thus achieving a new solidarity under new conditions. Of course, real life is complicated. Sometimes, it is possible that classes whose interests are in fundamental conflict unite to cope with their main common enemy. On the other hand, under specific conditions, a certain contradiction among the people may be gradually transformed into an antagonistic contradiction when one side of it gradually goes over to the enemy. Finally, the nature of such a contradiction may change completely so that it no longer belongs to the category of contradictions among the people themselves but becomes a component part of the contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. Such a phenomenon did come about in the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Communist Party of China. In a word, anyone who adopts the standpoint of the people should not equate the contradictions among the people with contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, or confuse these two types of contradiction, let alone place the contradictions among the people above the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. Those

who deny the class struggle and do not distinguish between the enemy and ourselves are definitely not communists or Marxist-Leninists.

We think it necessary to settle this question of fundamental standpoint first, before proceeding to the questions to be discussed. Otherwise, we are bound to lose our bearings, and will be unable to explain correctly international events.

I

The attacks by the imperialists on the international communist movement have long been concentrated mainly on the Soviet Union. Recent controversies in the international communist movement, for the most part, have also involved the question of one's understanding of the Soviet Union. Therefore, the problem of correctly assessing the fundamental course taken by the Soviet Union in its revolution and construction is an important one which Marxist-Leninists must solve.

The Marxist theory of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat is a scientific summing-up of the experience of the working-class movement. However, with the exception of the Paris Commune which lasted only 72 days, Marx and Engels did not live to see for themselves the realisation of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat for which they had striven throughout their lives. In 1917, led by Lenin and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Russian proletariat carried the proletarian revolution to victory and established the dictatorship of the proletariat; it then successfully built up a socialist society. From this time on, scientific socialism was transformed from a theory and ideal into a living reality. And so, the Russian October Revolution of 1917 ushered in a new era, not only in the history of the communist movement but also in the history of mankind.

The Soviet Union has achieved tremendous successes in the 39 years since the revolution. Having eliminated the system of exploitation, the Soviet Union put an end to anarchy, crisis and unemployment in its economic life. Soviet economy

and culture have advanced at a pace beyond the reach of capitalist countries. Soviet industrial output in 1956 is 30 times what it was in 1913, the peak year before the revolution. A country which before the revolution was industrially backward and had a high rate of illiteracy has now become the world's second greatest industrial power, possessing scientific and technical forces which are advanced by any standards, and a highly developed socialist culture. The working people of the Soviet Union, who were oppressed before the revolution, have become masters of their own country and society; they have displayed great enthusiasm and creativeness in revolutionary struggle and in construction, and a fundamental change has taken place in their material and cultural life. While before the October Revolution Russia was a prison of nations, after the October Revolution these nations achieved equality in the Soviet Union and developed rapidly into advanced socialist nations.

The development of the Soviet Union has not been plain sailing. During 1918–1920, the country was attacked by 14 capitalist powers. In its early years, the Soviet Union went through severe ordeals such as civil war, famine, economic difficulties, and factional splitting activities within the Party. In a decisive period of the Second World War, before the Western countries opened the second front, the Soviet Union, singlehanded, met and defeated the attacks of millions of troops of Hitler and his partners. These stern trials failed to crush the Soviet Union or stop its progress.

The existence of the Soviet Union has shaken imperialist rule to its very foundations and brought unbounded hope, confidence and courage to all revolutionary movements of the workers, liberation movements of the oppressed nations. The working people of all countries have helped the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union has also helped them. It has carried on a foreign policy that guards world peace, recognizes the equality of all nations, and opposes imperialist aggression. The Soviet Union was the main force in defeating fascist aggression throughout the world. The heroic armies of

the Soviet Union liberated the East European countries, part of Central Europe, north-east China and the northern part of Korea in cooperation with the popular forces of these countries. The Soviet Union has established friendly relations with the People's Democracies, aided them in economic construction and, together with them, formed a mighty bulwark of world peace—the camp of socialism. The Soviet Union has also given powerful support to the independence movements of the oppressed nations, to the peace movement of the people of the world and to the many peaceable new States in Asia and Africa established since the Second World War.

These are incontrovertible facts that people have known for a long time. Why is it necessary then to bring them up again? It is because, while the enemies of communism have naturally always denied all this, certain Communists at the present time, in examining Soviet experience, often focus their attention on the secondary aspects of the matter and neglect the main aspects.

There are different aspects to Soviet experience in revolution and construction as far as its international significance is concerned. Of the successful experience of the Soviet Union, one part is fundamental and of universal significance at the present stage of human history. This is the most important and fundamental phase of Soviet experience. The other part is not of universal significance. In addition, the Soviet Union has also had its mistakes and failures. No country can ever avoid these entirely, though they may vary in form and degree. And it was even more difficult for the Soviet Union to avoid them, because it was the first socialist country and had no successful experience of others to go by. Such mistakes and failures, however, provide extremely useful lessons for all communists. That is why all Soviet experience, including certain mistakes and failures, deserves careful study while the fundamental part of the successful Soviet experience is of particular importance. The very fact of the advance of the Soviet Union is proof that the fundamental experience of the Soviet Union in revolution and construction is a great

accomplishment, the first paean of victory of Marxism-Leninism in the history of mankind.

What is the fundamental experience of the Soviet Union in revolution and construction? In our opinion, the following, at the very least, should be considered fundamental:

1. The advanced members of the proletariat organise themselves into a Communist Party which takes Marxism-Leninism as its guide to action, builds itself up along the lines of democratic centralism, establishes close links with the masses, strives to become the core of the labouring masses and educates its Party members and the masses of people in Marxism-Leninism.

2. The proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party, rallying all the labouring people, takes state power from the bourgeoisie by means of revolutionary struggle.

3. After the victory of the revolution, the proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party, rallying the broad mass of the people on the basis of a worker-peasant alliance, establishes a dictatorship of the proletariat over the landlord and capitalist classes, crushes the resistance of the counter-revolutionaries, and carries out the nationalisation of industry and the step-by-step collectivisation of agriculture, thereby eliminating the system of exploitation, private ownership of the means of production and classes.

4. The state, led by the proletariat and the Communist Party, leads the people in the planned development of socialist economy and culture, and on this basis gradually raises the people's living standards and actively prepares and works for the transition to communist society.

5. The state, led by the proletariat and the Communist Party, resolutely opposes imperialist aggression, recognises the equality of all nations and defends world peace; firmly adheres to the principles of proletarian internationalism, strives to win the help of the labouring people of all countries, and at the same time strives to help them and all oppressed nations.

What we commonly refer to as the path of the October Revolution means precisely these basic things, leaving aside the specific form it took at that particular time and place.

These basic things are all universally applicable truths of Marxism-Leninism.

In the course of revolution and construction in different countries there are, besides, aspects common to all aspects which are different. In this sense, each country has its own specific path of development. We shall discuss this question further on. But as far as basic theory is concerned, the road of the October Revolution reflects the general laws of revolution and construction at a particular stage in the long course of the development of human society. It is not only the broad road for the proletariat of the Soviet Union, but also the broad road which the proletariat of all countries must travel to gain victory. Precisely for this reason the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China stated in its Political Report to the Party's Eighth National Congress: "Despite the fact that the revolution in our country has many characteristics of its own, Chinese communists regard the cause for which they work as a continuation of the Great October Revolution."

In the present international situation, it is of particularly great significance to defend this Marxist-Leninist path opened by the October Revolution. When the imperialists proclaim that they want to bring about "a change of character of the communist world", it is precisely this revolutionary path which they want to change. For decades, the views put forward by all the revisionists to revise Marxism-Leninism, and the Right-opportunist ideas which they spread, have been aimed precisely at evading this road, the road which the proletariat must take for its liberation. It is the task of all Communists to unite the proletariat and the masses of the people to beat back resolutely the savage onslaught of the imperialists against the socialist world, and to march forward resolutely along the path blazed by the October Revolution.

II

People ask : Since the basic path of the Soviet Union in revolution and construction was correct, how did Stalin's mistakes happen?

We discussed this question in our article published in April this year. But as a result of recent events in Eastern Europe and other related developments, the question of correctly understanding and dealing with Stalin's mistakes has become a matter of importance affecting developments within the Communist Parties of many countries, unity between Communist Parties, and the common struggle of the communist forces of the world against imperialism. So it is necessary to further expound our views on this question.

Stalin made a great contribution to the progress of the Soviet Union and to the development of the international communist movement. In *'On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat'* we wrote:

"After Lenin's death Stalin, as the chief leader of the Party and the state, creatively applied and developed Marxism-Leninism. In the struggle to defend the legacy of Leninism against its enemies—the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and other bourgeois agents—Stalin expressed the will and wishes of the people and proved himself to be an outstanding Marxist-Leninist fighter. The reason why Stalin won the support of the Soviet people and played an important role in history was primarily because he, together with the other leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, defended Lenin's line on the industrialisation of the Soviet state and the collectivisation of agriculture. By pursuing this line, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union brought about the triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union and created the conditions for the victory of the Soviet Union in the war against Hitler; these victories of the Soviet people conformed to the interests of the working class of the world and all progressive mankind. It was therefore quite natural for the name of Stalin to be greatly honoured throughout the world."

But Stalin made some serious mistakes in regard to the domestic and foreign policies of the Soviet Union. His arbitrary method of work impaired to a certain extent the principle of democratic centralism both in the life of the Party and in the state system of the Soviet Union, and led to a partial

disruption of socialist legality. Because in many fields of work Stalin estranged himself from the masses to a serious extent, and made personal, arbitrary decisions concerning many important policies, it was inevitable that he should have made grave mistakes. These mistakes stood out most conspicuously in the suppression of counter-revolution and in relations with certain foreign countries. In suppressing counter-revolutionaries, Stalin, on the one hand, punished many counter-revolutionaries whom it was necessary to punish and, in the main, accomplished the tasks on this front; but on the other hand, he wronged many loyal communists and honest citizens, and this caused serious losses. On the whole, in relations with brother countries and parties, Stalin took an internationalist stand and helped the struggles of other peoples and the growth of the socialist camp; but in tackling certain concrete questions, he showed a tendency towards great-nation chauvinism and himself lacked a spirit of equality, let alone educating the mass of cadres to be modest. Sometimes he even intervened mistakenly, with many grave consequences, in the internal affairs of certain brother countries and parties.

How are these serious mistakes of Stalin's to be explained? What is the connection between these mistakes and the socialist system of the Soviet Union?

The science of Marxist-Leninist dialectics teaches us that all types of relations of production, as well as the superstructures built up on their basis, have their own course of emergence, development, and extinction. When the old relations of production on the whole no longer correspond to the productive forces the latter having reached a certain stage of development, and when the old superstructure on the whole no longer corresponds to the economic basis, the latter having reached a certain stage of development, then changes of a fundamental nature must inevitably occur; whoever tries to resist such changes is discarded by history. This law is applicable through different forms to all types of society. That is to say, it also applies to socialist society of today and communist society of tomorrow.

Were Stalin's mistakes due to the fact that the socialist economic and political system of the Soviet Union had become outmoded and no longer suited the needs of the development of the Soviet Union? Certainly not. Soviet socialist society is still young; it is not even 40 years old. The fact that the Soviet Union has made rapid progress economically proves that its economic system is, in the main, suited to the development of its productive forces; and that its political system is also, in the main, suited to the needs of its economic basis. Stalin's mistakes did not originate in the socialist system; it therefore follows that it is not necessary to "correct" the socialist system in order to correct these mistakes. The bourgeoisie of the West has not a leg to stand on when it tries to use Stalin's errors to prove that the socialist system is a "mistake". Unconvincing too are the arguments of others who trace Stalin's mistakes to the administration of economic affairs by the socialist state power, and assert that once the government takes charge of economic affairs it is bound to become a "bureaucratic machine" hindering the development of the socialist forces. No one can deny that the tremendous upsurge of Soviet economy is the result precisely of the planned administration of economic affairs by the state of the working people, while the main mistakes committed by Stalin had very little to do with shortcomings of the state organs administering economic affairs.

But even where the basic system corresponds to the need, there are still certain contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces, between the superstructure and the economic basis. These contradictions find expression in defects in certain links of the economic and political systems. Though it is not necessary to effect fundamental changes in order to solve these contradictions, re adjustments must be made in good time.

Can we guarantee that mistakes will not happen once we have a basic system which corresponds to the need and have adjusted ordinary contradictions in the system (to use the language of dialectics, contradictions at the stage of

"quantitative change")? The matter is not that simple. Systems are of decisive importance, but systems themselves are not all-powerful. No system, however excellent, is in itself a guarantee against serious mistakes in our work. Once we have the right system, the main question is whether we can make the right use of it; whether we have the right policies, and right methods and style of work. Without all this, even under a good system it is still possible for people to commit serious mistakes and to use a good state apparatus to do evil things.

To solve the problems mentioned above, we must rely on the accumulation of experience and the test of parties: we cannot expect results overnight. What is more, with conditions constantly changing, new problems arise as old ones are solved, and there is no solution which holds good for all times. Viewed from this angle, it is not surprising to find that even in socialist countries which have been established on a firm basis there are still defects in certain links of their relations of production and superstructure, and deviations of one kind or another in the policies and methods and style of work of the Party and the state.

In the socialist countries, the task of the Party and the state is, by relying on the strength of the masses and the collective, to make timely readjustments in the various links of the economic and political systems, and to discover and correct mistakes in their work in good time. Naturally, it is not possible for the subjective views of the leading personnel of the Party and the state to conform completely to objective reality. Isolated, local and temporary mistakes in their work are therefore unavoidable. But so long as the principles of the dialectical materialist science of Marxism-Leninism are strictly observed and efforts are made to develop them, so long as the principle of democratic centralism of the Party and the state is thoroughly observed, and so long as we really rely on the masses, persistent and serious mistakes affecting the whole country can be avoided.

The reason why some of the mistakes made by Stalin during the later years of his life became serious, nationwide

and persistent, and were not corrected in time, was precisely that in certain fields and to a certain degree, he became isolated from the masses and the collective and violated the principle of democratic centralism of the Party and the state. The reason for certain infractions of democratic centralism lay in certain social and historical conditions: the Party lacked experience in leading the state; the new system was not sufficiently consolidated to be able to resist every encroachment of the influence of the old era (the consolidation of a new system and the dying away of the old influences do not operate in a straight forward fashion but often assume the form of an undulating movement at turning points in history); there was the constricting effect which acute internal and external struggles had on certain aspects of the development of democracy, etc. Nevertheless, these objective conditions alone would not have been enough to transform the possibility of making mistakes into their actual commission. Lenin, working under conditions which were much more complicated and difficult than those encountered by Stalin, did not make the mistakes that Stalin made. Here, the decisive factor is man's ideological condition. A series of victories and the eulogies which Stalin received in the later part of his life turned his head. He deviated partly, but grossly, from the dialectical materialist way of thinking and fell into subjectivism. He began to put blind faith in personal wisdom and authority; he would not investigate and study complicated conditions seriously or listen carefully to the opinions of his comrades and the voice of the masses. As a result, some of the policies and measures he adopted were often at variance with objective reality. He often stubbornly persisted in carrying out these mistaken measures over long periods and was unable to correct his mistakes in time.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has already taken measures to correct Stalin's mistakes and eliminate their consequences. These measures are beginning to bear fruit. The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union showed great determination and courage in doing away

with blind faith in Stalin, in exposing the gravity of Stalin's mistakes and in eliminating their effects. Marxist-Leninists throughout the world, and all those who sympathise with the communist cause, support the efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to correct mistakes, and hope that the efforts of the Soviet comrades will meet with complete success. It is obvious that since Stalin's mistakes were not of short duration, their thorough correction cannot be achieved overnight, but demands fairly protracted efforts and thoroughgoing ideological education. We believe that the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which has already overcome countless difficulties, will triumph over these difficulties and achieve its purpose.

It was not to be expected, of course, that this effort of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to correct mistakes would get any support from the bourgeoisie and the Right-wing Social-Democrats of the West. Eager to take advantage of the opportunity to erase what was correct in Stalin's work as well as the past immense achievements of the Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp, and to create confusion and division in the communist ranks, the Western bourgeoisie and Right-wing Social-Democrats have deliberately labelled the correction of Stalin's mistakes "de-Stalinization" and described it as a struggle waged by "anti-Stalinist elements" against "Stalinist elements". Their vicious intent is evident enough. Unfortunately similar views of this kind have also gained ground among some communists. We consider it extremely harmful for communists to hold such views!

As is well known, although Stalin committed some grave mistakes in his later years, he was nevertheless the life of a great Marxist-Leninist revolutionary. In his youth, Stalin fought against the tsarist system and for the spread of Marxism-Leninism. After he joined the central leading organ of the Party, he took part in the struggle to pave the way for the revolution of 1917. After the October Revolution, he fought to defend its fruits. In the nearly 30 years after Lenin's death, he worked to build socialism, defend the socialist fatherland

and advance the world communist movement. All in all, Stalin always stood at the head of historical developments and guided the struggle; he was an implacable foe of imperialism. His tragedy was that even when he made the mistakes, he believed that what he did was necessary for the defence of the interests of the working people against encroachments by the enemy. Stalin's mistakes did harm to the Soviet Union, which could have been avoided. Nonetheless, the Socialist Soviet Union made tremendous progress during the period of Stalin's leadership. This undeniable fact not only testifies to the strength of the socialist system but also shows that Stalin was after all a staunch communist. Therefore, in summing up Stalin's thoughts and activities, we must consider both his positive and negative sides, both his achievements and his mistakes. As long as we examine the matter in an all-round way, then, even if people must speak of "Stalinism", this can only mean, in the first place, communism and Marxism-Leninism, which is the main aspect; and secondarily it contains certain extremely serious mistakes which go against Marxism-Leninism and must be thoroughly corrected. Even though at times it is necessary to stress these mistakes in order to correct them, it is also necessary to set them in their proper place so as to make a correct appraisal and avoid misleading people. In our opinion Stalin's mistakes take second place to his achievements.

Only by adopting an objective and analytical attitude can we correctly appraise Stalin and all those comrades who made similar mistakes under his influence, and only so can we correctly deal with their mistakes. Since these mistakes were made by communists in the course of their work, what is involved is a question of right versus wrong within communist ranks, not an issue of ourselves versus the enemy in the class struggle. We should therefore adopt a comradely attitude towards these people and not treat them as enemies. We should defend what is correct in their work while criticising their mistakes, and not blankly denounce everything they did. Their mistakes have a social and historical background

and can be attributed especially to their ideology and understanding. In just the same way, such mistakes may also occur in the work of other comrades. That is why, having recognized the mistakes and undertaken their correction, it is necessary that we regard them as a grave lesson, as an asset that can be used for heightening the political consciousness of all communists, thus preventing the recurrence of such mistakes and advancing the cause of communism. If, on the contrary, one takes a completely negative attitude towards those who made mistakes, treat them with hostility and discriminates against them by labelling them this or that kind of element, it will not help our comrades learn the lesson they should learn. Moreover, since this means confusing the two entirely different types of contradiction—that of right versus wrong within our own ranks and that of ourselves versus the enemy—it will only help the enemy in his attacks on the communist ranks and in his attempts at disintegrating the communist position.

The attitude taken by Comrade Tito and other leading comrades of the Yugoslav League of Communists towards Stalin's mistakes and other related questions, as their recently stated views indicate, cannot be regarded by us as well-balanced or objective. It is understandable that the Yugoslav comrades bear a particular resentment against Stalin's mistakes. In the past, they made worthy efforts to stick to socialism under difficult conditions. Their experiments in the democratic management of economic enterprises and other social organisations have also attracted attention. The Chinese people welcome the reconciliation between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on the one hand, and Yugoslavia on the other, as well as the establishment and development of friendly relations between China and Yugoslavia. Like the Yugoslav people, the Chinese people hope that Yugoslavia will become ever more prosperous and powerful on the way to socialism. We also agree with some of the points in Comrade Tito's speech, for instance, his condemnation of the Hungarian counter-revolutionaries, his support for the

Worker-Peasant Revolutionary Government of Hungary, his condemnation of Britain, France and Israel for their aggression against Egypt, and his condemnation of the French Socialist Party for adopting a policy of aggression. But we are amazed that, in his speech, he attacked almost all the socialist countries and many of the Communist Parties. Comrade Tito made assertions about "those hard-bitten Stalinist elements who in various Parties have managed still to maintain themselves in their posts and who would again wish to consolidate their rule and impose those Stalinist tendencies upon their people, and even others". Therefore, he declared: "Together with the Polish comrades we shall have to fight such tendencies which crop up in various other parties, whether in the Eastern countries or in the West." We have not come across any statement put forward by leading comrades of the Polish United Workers' Party saying that it was necessary to adopt such a hostile attitude towards brother parties. We feel it necessary to say in connection with these views of Comrade Tito's that he took up a wrong attitude when he set up the so-called "Stalinism", "Stalinist elements," etc., as objects of attack and maintained that the question now was whether the course "begun in Yugoslavia" or the so-called "Stalinist course" would win out. This can only lead to a split in the communist movement.

Comrade Tito correctly pointed out that "viewing the current development in Hungary from the perspective—socialism or counter-revolution—we must defend Kadar's present goevernment, we must help it." But help to and defence of the Hungarian Government can hardly be said to be the sense of the long speech on the Hungarian question made before the National Assembly of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia by Comrade Kardelj, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia. In the interpretation of the Hungarian incident he gave in his speech, Comrade Kardelj not only made no distinction whatsoever between ourselves and the enemy, but also told the Hungarian comrades, that "a thorough change is necessary in the (Hungarian—*Ed.*)

political system". He also called on them to turn over state power wholly to the Budapest and other regional workers' councils, "no matter what the workers' councils have become," and declared that they "need not waste their efforts on trying to restore the Communist Party." "The reason," he said, "was because to the masses the Party was the personification of bureaucratic despotism." Such is the blue-print of the "anti-Stalinist course" which Comrade Kardelj has designed for brother countries. The comrades in Hungary rejected this proposal of Comrade Kardelj's. They dissolved the Budapest and other regional workers' councils which were controlled by counter-revolutionaries and persisted in building up the Socialist Workers' Party. We consider that it was entirely right for the Hungarian comrades to act in this way, because otherwise Hungary's future would belong not to socialism but to counter-revolution.

Clearly the Yugoslav comrades are going too far. Even if some part of their criticism of brother parties is reasonable, the basic stand and the method they have adopted infringed the principles of comradely discussion. We have no wish to interfere in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, but the matters mentioned above are by no means internal. For the sake of consolidating the unity of the internal communist ranks and avoiding the creation of conditions which the enemy can use to cause confusion and division in our own ranks, we cannot but offer our brotherly advice to the Yugoslav comrades.

III

One of the grave consequences of Stalin's mistakes was the growth of doctrinairism. While criticizing Stalin's mistakes, the Communist Parties of various countries have been waging a struggle against doctrinairism among their ranks. This struggle is entirely necessary. But by adopting a negative attitude towards everything connected with Stalin, and by putting up the erroneous slogan of "de-Stalinisation," some communists have helped to foster a revisionist trend against Marxism-Leninism. This revisionist trend is undoubtedly of

help to the imperialist attack against the communist movement, and the imperialists are in fact making active use of it. While resolutely opposing doctrinairism, we must at the same time resolutely oppose revisionism.

Marxism-Leninism holds that there are common, fundamental laws in the development of human society, but that in various nations there are strongly differentiated features. Thus all nations pass through the class struggle, and will eventually arrive at communism, by roads that are the same in essence but different in specific form. The cause of the proletariat in a given country will triumph only if the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism is properly applied in the light of its special national features. And so long as this is done, the proletariat will accumulate new experience, thus making its contribution to the cause of other nations and to the general treasury of Marxism-Leninism. Doctrinaires do not understand that the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism manifests itself concretely and become operative in real life only through the medium of specific national characteristics. They are not willing to make a careful study of the social and historical features of their own countries and nations or to apply in a practical way the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism in the light of these features. Consequently they cannot lead the proletarian cause to victory.

Since Marxism-Leninism is the scientific summing-up of the experience of the working-class movement of various countries, it follows that it must attach importance to the question of applying the experience of advanced countries. Lenin wrote in his book *What Is To Be Done?* :

The Social-Democratic movement is in its very essence an international movement. This means not only that we must combat national chauvinism, but also that a movement that is starting in a young country can be successful only if it implements the experience of other countries.*

What Lenin meant here was that it was necessary for the

*V.I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Part I, Moscow, 1952, p. 227

Russian working-class movement, which was just beginning, to utilise the experience of the working-class movement in Western Europe. His view applies, likewise, to the use of Soviet experience by younger socialist countries.

But there must be a proper method of learning. All the experience of the Soviet Union, including its fundamental experience, is bound up with definite national characteristics, and no other country should copy it mechanically. Moreover, as has been pointed out above, part of Soviet experience is that derived from mistakes and failures. For those who know how best to learn from others this whole body of experience, both of success and failure, is an invaluable asset, because it can help them avoid roundabout ways in their progress and reduce their losses. On the other hand, indiscriminate and mechanical copying of experience that has been successful in the Soviet Union—let alone that which was unsuccessful there—may lead to failures in another country. Lenin wrote in the passage immediately following the one quoted above:

And in order to implement this experience, it is not enough merely to be acquainted with it, or simply to transcribe the latest resolutions. What it requires is the ability to treat this experience critically and to test it independently. Anybody who realises how enormously the modern working class movement has grown and branched out will understand what a reserve of theoretical forces and political (as well as revolutionary) experience is required to fulfil this task.*

Obviously, in countries where the proletariat has gained power, the problem is many times more complex than that referred to by Lenin here.

In the history of the Communist Party of China between 1931 and 1934, there were doctrinaires who refused to recognise China's specific characteristics, mechanically copied certain experiences of the Soviet Union, and caused serious reverses to the revolutionary forces of our country. These

*V.I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 227-28

reverses were a profound lesson to our Party. In the period between the Tsunyi Conference of 1935 and the Party's Seventh National Congress held in 1945, our Party thoroughly examined and repudiated this extremely harmful doctrinaire line, united all its members, including those who had made mistakes, developed the people's forces and thus won victory for the revolution. If this had not been done, victory would have been impossible. It is only because we discarded the doctrinaire line that it has become possible for our Party to make fewer mistake in learning from the experience of the Soviet Union and other brother countries. It is because of this too that we are able to understand fully how necessary and arduous it is for our Polish and Hungarian comrades to correct today the doctrinaire errors of the past.

Errors of doctrinairism, whenever and wherever they occur, must be set right. We shall continue our efforts to correct and prevent such errors in our work. But opposition to doctrinairism has nothing in common with tolerance of revisionism. Marxism-Leninism recognises that the communist movements of various countries necessarily have their own national characteristics. But this does not mean that they do not share certain basic features in common, or that they can depart from the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism. In the present anti-doctrinaire tide, there are people both in our country and abroad who, on the pretext of opposing the mechanical copying of Soviet experience, try to deny the international significance of the fundamental experience of the Soviet Union and, on the plea of creatively developing Marxism-Leninism, try to deny the significance of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism.

Because Stalin and the former leaders in some other socialist countries committed the serious mistake of violating socialist democracy, some unstable people in the communist ranks, on the pretext of developing socialist democracy, attempt to weaken or renounce the dictatorship of the proletariat, the principles of democratic centralism of the socialist state, and the leading role of the Party.

There can be no doubt that in a proletarian dictatorship the dictatorship over the counter-revolutionary forces must be closely combined with the broadest scope of people's, that is socialist, democracy. The dictatorship of the proletariat is mighty and can defeat powerful enemies within the country and outside it and undertake the majestic historic task of building socialism precisely because it is a dictatorship of the working masses over the exploiters, a dictatorship of the majority over the minority, because it gives the broad working masses a democracy which is unattainable under any bourgeois democracy. Failure to forge close links with the mass of the working people and to gain their enthusiastic support makes it impossible to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, or at any rate impossible to consolidate it. The more acute the class struggle becomes, the more necessary it is for the proletariat to rely, most resolutely and completely, on the broad masses of the people and to bring into full play their revolutionary enthusiasm to defeat the counter-revolutionary forces. The experience of the stirring and seething mass-struggles in the Soviet Union during the October Revolution and the ensuing civil war proved this truth to the full. It is from Soviet experience in that period that the "mass line" our Party so often talks about was derived. The acute struggles in the Soviet Union then depended mainly on direct action by the mass of the people, and naturally there was little possibility for perfect democratic procedures to develop. After the elimination of the exploiting classes and the wiping out in the main of the counter-revolutionary forces, it was still necessary for the dictatorship of the proletariat to deal with counter-revolutionary remnants—these could not be wiped out completely so long as imperialism existed—but by then its edge should have been mainly directed against the aggressive forces of foreign imperialism. In these circumstances, democratic procedures in the political life of the country should have been gradually developed and perfected; the socialist legal system perfected; supervision by the people over the state organs strengthened; democratic methods of adminis-

tering the state and managing enterprises developed; links between the state organs and the bodies administering various enterprises on the one hand, and the broad masses on the other, made closer; hindrances impairing any of these links done away with and a firmer check put on bureaucratic tendencies. After the elimination of classes, the class struggle should not continue to be stressed as though it was being intensified, as was done by Stalin, with the result that the healthy development of socialist democracy was hampered. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is completely right in firmly correcting Stalin's mistakes in this respect.

Socialist democracy should in no way be pitted against the dictatorship of the proletariat; nor should it be confused with bourgeois democracy. The sole aim of socialist democracy, in the political, economic and cultural fields alike, is to strengthen the socialist cause of the proletariat and all the working people, to give scope to their energy in the building of socialism and in the fight against all anti-socialist forces. If there is a kind of democracy that can be used for anti-socialist purposes and for weakening the cause of socialism it certainly cannot be called socialist democracy.

Some people, however, do not see things that way. Their reaction to events in Hungary has revealed this most clearly. In the past the democratic rights and revolutionary enthusiasm of the Hungarian working people were impaired, while the counter-revolutionaries were not dealt the blow they deserved, with the result that it was fairly easy for the counter-revolutionaries, in October 1956, to take advantage of the discontent of the masses to organise an armed revolt. This shows that Hungary had not yet made a serious enough effort to build up its dictatorship of the proletariat. Nevertheless, when Hungary was facing its crisis, when it lay between revolution and counter-revolution, between socialism and fascism, between peace and war, how did communist intellectuals in some countries see the problem? They not only did not raise the question of realising a dictatorship of the proletariat but came out against the righteous action taken by the Soviet

Union in aiding the socialist forces in Hungary. They came out with declarations that the counter-revolution in Hungary was a "revolution" and with demands that the Worker-Peasant Revolutionary Government extend "democracy" to the counter-revolutionaries! In certain socialist countries some newspapers, even to this day, are wantonly discrediting the revolutionary measures taken by the Hungarian communists who are fighting heroically under difficult conditions, while they have said hardly a word about the campaign launched by reactionaries all over the world against communism, against the people and against peace. What is the meaning of these strange facts? They mean that those "Socialists" who depart from the dictatorship of the proletariat to prate about "democracy", actually stand with the bourgeoisie in opposition to the proletariat; that they are in effect, asking for capitalism and opposing socialism, though many among them may themselves be unaware of that fact. Lenin pointed out time and again that the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the most essential part of Marxism; that acceptance or rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat is "what constitutes the most profound difference between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (as well as big) bourgeois".¹ Lenin asked the Hungarian proletarian regime of 1919 to use "mercilessly rigorous, swift and resolute force" to suppress the counter-revolutionaries. "Whoever does not understand this", he said, "is not a revolutionary, and must be removed from the post of leader or advisor of the proletariat".² So if people reject the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles regarding the dictatorship of the proletariat, if they slanderously dub these principles "Stalinism" and "doctrinairism" simply because they have perceived the mistakes committed by Stalin in the later part of his life and those made by the former Hungarian leaders, they will be taking the path that leads to betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and away from the cause of proletarian revolution.

1. V.I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 233.

2. *Ibid.* Vol. II, part 2, p. 209

Those who reject the dictatorship of the proletariat also deny the need for centralism in socialist democracy and the leading role played by the proletarian party in socialist countries. To Marxist-Leninists, of course, such ideas are nothing new. Engels pointed out long ago, when struggling against the anarchists, that as long as there is concerted action in any social organisation, there must be a certain degree of authority and subordination. The relation between authority and autonomy is relative and the scope of their application changes with different stages of the development of society. Engels said that "it is absurd to speak of the principle of authority as being absolutely evil, and of the principle of autonomy as being absolutely good",¹ and that for anyone to insist on such an absurdity was in fact to "serve the reaction".² In the struggle against the Mensheviks, Lenin brought out most clearly the decisive significance of the organised leadership of the Party for the proletarian cause. When criticizing "Left-wing" communism in Germany in 1920, Lenin stressed that to deny the leading role of the Party, to deny the part played by leaders and to reject discipline, "is tantamount to completely disarming the proletariat *in the interest of the bourgeoisie*. It is tantamount to that petty-bourgeois diffuseness, instability, incapacity for sustained effort, unity and organised action, which, if indulged in, must inevitably destroy every proletarian revolutionary movement".³ Have these principles become obsolete? Are they inapplicable to the specific conditions in certain countries? Will their application lead to the repetition of Stalin's mistakes? The answer is obviously "no". These principles of Marxism-Leninism have stood the test of history in the development of the international communist movement and of the socialist countries, and not a single case that can be called an exception to them has been found so far. Stalin's mistakes did not lie in the practice of democratic centralism in state affairs, nor

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1955, p. 637.

2. *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 638.

3. V.I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 366.

in putting leadership by the Party into effect; it lay precisely in the fact that, in certain fields and to a certain degree, he undermined democratic centralism and leadership by the Party. The correct practice of democratic centralism in state affairs and the proper strengthening of leadership by the Party in the socialist cause are the basic guarantees that the countries in the socialist camp will be able to unite their people, defeat their enemies, overcome their difficulties and grow vigorously. It is precisely for this reason that the imperialists and all counter-revolutionaries, bent on attacking our cause, have always demanded that we "liberalise", that they have always concentrated their forces on wrecking the leading bodies of our cause, and on destroying the Communist Party, the core of the proletariat. They have expressed great satisfaction at the current "instability" in certain socialist countries, which has resulted from the impairment of discipline in the Party and the state organs, and are taking advantage of this to intensify their acts of sabotage. These facts show of what great importance it is, in the basic interests of the masses of the people, to uphold the authority of democratic centralism and the leading role of the Party. There is no doubt that the centralism in the system of democratic centralism must rest on a broad basis of democracy, and that the Party leadership must maintain close ties with the masses. Any shortcomings in this respect must be firmly criticised and overcome. But such criticism should be made only for the purpose of consolidating democratic centralism and of strengthening the leadership of the Party. It should in no circumstances bring about disorganisation and confusion in the ranks of the proletariat, as our enemies desire.

Among those who are trying to revise Marxism-Leninism on the pretext of combating doctrinairism, some simply deny that there is a demarcation line between the proletarian and the bourgeois dictatorships, between the socialist and the capitalist systems and between the socialist and the imperialist camps. According to them, it is possible for certain bourgeois countries to build socialism without going through

a proletarian revolution led by the party of the proletariat and without setting up a state led by the party; they think that the state capitalism in those countries is in fact socialism, and that even human society as a whole is "growing" into socialism. But while these people are publicising such ideas, the imperialists are mobilising all available military, economic, diplomatic, espionage and "moral" forces, actively preparing to "undermine" and "disrupt" socialist countries which have been established for many years. The bourgeois counter-revolutionaries of these countries, whether hiding at home or living in exile, are still making every effort to stage a come-back. While the revisionist trend serves the interest of the imperialists, the actions of the imperialists do not benefit revisionism but point to its bankruptcy.

IV

It is one of the most urgent tasks of the proletariat of all countries in its fight against imperialist onslaughts to strengthen its international solidarity. The imperialists and reactionaries in various countries are trying in a thousand and one ways to make use of narrow nationalist sentiments and of certain national estrangement among the peoples to wreck this solidarity, thereby destroying the communist cause. Staunch proletarian revolutionaries firmly uphold this solidarity, which they regard as being in the common interest of the working class of all countries. Wavering elements have taken no firm, clear-cut stand on this question.

The communist movement has been an international movement from its very inception, because the workers of various countries can throw off joint oppression by the bourgeoisie of various countries and attain their common aim only by joint effort. This international solidarity of the communist movement has been of great help to the proletariat of various countries in developing their revolutionary cause.

The triumph of the Russian October Revolution gave enormous impetus to the fresh advances of the international proletarian revolutionary movement. In the 39 years since

the October Revolution, the achievements of the international communist movement have been immense, and it has become a powerful, world-wide political force. The world proletariat and all who long for emancipation place all their hopes for a bright future for mankind on the victory of this movement.

During the past 39 years the Soviet Union has been the centre of the international communist movement, owing to the fact that it is the first country where socialism triumphed, while after the appearance of the camp of socialism—the most powerful country in the camp, having the richest experience and the means to render the greatest assistance to other socialist countries and to the peoples of various countries in the capitalist world. This is not the result of anyone's arbitrary decision, but the natural outcome of historical conditions. In the interests of the common cause of the proletariat of different countries, of joint resistance to the attack on the socialist cause by the imperialist camp headed by the United States, and of the economic and cultural upsurge common to all socialist countries, we must continue to strengthen international proletarian solidarity with the Soviet Union as its centre.

The international solidarity of the Communist Parties is a type of relationship entirely new to human history. It is natural that its development cannot be free from difficulties. The Communist Parties of all countries must seek unity with each other as well as maintain their respective independence. Historical experience proves that mistakes are bound to occur if there is no proper integration of these two aspects, and one or the other is neglected. If the Communist Parties maintain relations of equality among themselves and reach common understanding and take concerted action through genuine, and not nominal, exchange of views, their unity will be strengthened. Conversely, if, in their mutual relations, one Party imposes its views upon others, or if the Parties use the method of interference in each other's internal affairs instead of comradely suggestions and criticism, their unity will be impaired.

In the socialist countries, the Communist Parties have assumed the responsibility of leadership in the affairs of the state, and relations between them often involve directly the relations between their respective countries and peoples, so the proper handling of such relations has become a problem demanding even greater care.

Marxism-Leninism has always insisted upon combining proletarian internationalism with the patriotism of the people of each country. Each Communist Party must educate its members and the people in a spirit of internationalism, because the true national interests of all peoples call for friendly cooperation among nations. On the other hand, each Communist Party must represent the legitimate national interests and sentiments of its own people. Communists have always been true patriots, and they understand that it is only when they correctly represent the interests and sentiments of their nation can they really enjoy the trust and love of the broad mass of their own people, effectively educate them in internationalism and harmonise the national sentiments and interests of the peoples of different countries.

To strengthen the international solidarity of the socialist countries, the Communist Parties of these countries must respect the national interests and sentiments of other countries. This is of special importance for the Communist Party of a larger country in its relations with that of a smaller one. To avoid any resentment on the part of the smaller country, the Party of a larger country must constantly take care to maintain an attitude of equality. As Lenin rightly said, "It is ...the duty of the class-conscious communist proletariat of all countries to treat with particular caution and attention the survivals of national sentiments among countries and nationalities which have been longest oppressed."*

As we have already said, Stalin displayed certain great-nation chauvinist tendencies in relations with brother parties and countries. The essence of such tendencies lies in being unmindful of the independent and equal status of the

*V.I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. II. Part 2, pp. 469-470.

Communist Parties of various lands and that of the socialist countries within the framework of the international bond of union. There are certain historical reasons for such tendencies. The time-worn habits of big countries in their relations with small countries continue to make their influence felt in certain ways, while a series of victories achieved by a Party or a country in its revolutionary cause is apt to give rise to a sense of superiority.

For these reasons, systematic efforts are needed to overcome great-nation chauvinist tendencies. Great-nation chauvinism is not peculiar to any one country. For instance, country B may be small and backward compared to country A, but big and advanced compared to country C. Thus country B, while complaining of great-nation chauvinism on the part of country A, may often assume the airs of a great nation in relation to country C. What we Chinese especially must bear in mind is that China too was a big empire during the Han, Tang, Ming, and Ching dynasties. Although it is true that in the hundred years after the middle of the 19th century, China became a victim of aggression and a semi-colony and although she is still economically and culturally backward today, nevertheless, under changed conditions, great-nation chauvinist tendencies will certainly become a serious danger if we do not take every precaution to guard against them. It should, furthermore, be pointed out that some signs of this danger have already begun to appear among some of our personnel. That was why emphasis on fighting the tendency towards great-nation chauvinism was laid both in the resolution of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China and the Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China issued on November 1, 1956.

But it is not great-nation chauvinism alone that hinders international proletarian unity. In the course of history, big countries have shown disrespect for small countries and even oppressed them; and small countries have distrusted big ones and even become hostile to them. Both tendencies still exist to a greater or lesser extent among the people and even in

the ranks of the proletariat of various countries. That is why, in order to strengthen the international solidarity of the proletariat apart from the primary task of overcoming great-nation chauvinist tendencies in bigger countries, it is also necessary to overcome nationalist tendencies in smaller countries. No matter whether their country is big or small, if communists counterpose the interests of their own country and nation to the general interest of the international proletarian movement, and if they make national interests a pretext for opposing the general interest, and not really upholding international proletarian solidarity in actual practice but on the contrary damaging it, they will be committing a serious mistake of violating the principles of internationalism and Marxism-Leninism.

Stalin's mistakes aroused grave dissatisfaction among people in certain East European countries. But then neither is the attitude of some people in these countries towards the Soviet Union justified. Bourgeois nationalists try their best to exaggerate shortcomings of the Soviet Union and overlook the contributions it has made. They attempt to prevent the people from thinking how the imperialists would treat their countries and their peoples if the Soviet Union did not exist. We Chinese Communists are very glad to see that the Communist Parties of Poland and Hungary are already putting a firm check on the activities of evil elements that fabricate anti-Soviet rumours and stir up national antagonisms in relations with brother countries, and also that these Parties have set to work to dispel nationalist prejudices existing among some sections of the masses and even among some Party members. This is clearly one of the steps urgently needed to consolidate friendly relations among the socialist countries.

As we pointed out above, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union has, in the main, conformed to the interests of the international proletariat, the oppressed nations and the peoples of the world. In the past 39 years, the Soviet people have made tremendous efforts and heroic sacrifices in aiding the cause of the peoples of the various countries. Mistakes

committed by Stalin certainly cannot detract from these historic achievements of the great Soviet people.

The Soviet Government's efforts to improve relations with Yugoslavia, its declaration of October 30, 1956, and its talks with Poland in November 1956 all manifest the determination of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government to thoroughly eliminate past mistakes in foreign relations. These steps by the Soviet Union are an important contribution to the strengthening of the international solidarity of the proletariat.

Obviously, at the present moment, when the imperialists are launching frenzied attacks on the communist ranks in the various countries, it is necessary for the proletariat of all nations to strive to strengthen its solidarity. Faced as we are with powerful enemies, no word or deed which harms the solidarity of the international communist ranks, no matter what name it goes by, can hope to receive any sympathy from the communists and working people of the various countries.

The strengthening of the international solidarity of the proletariat, with the Soviet Union as its core, is not only in the interests of the world proletariat but also in the interests of the independence movement of all oppressed nations and of world peace. Through their own experience, the broad masses of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America find it easy to understand who are their enemies and who their friends. That is why the imperialist-instigated campaign against communism, against the people and against peace has evoked such a faint response, and that from only a handful among the more than one thousand million people who inhabit these continents. Facts prove that the Soviet Union, China, the other socialist countries and the revolutionary proletariat in the imperialist countries are all staunch supporters of Egypt's struggle against aggression, and of the independence movement in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The socialist countries, the proletariat in the imperialist countries, and the countries striving for national indepen-

dence—these three forces have bonds of common interest in their struggle against imperialism and their mutual support and assistance is of the greatest significance to the future of mankind and world peace. Recently the imperialist forces of aggression have again created a certain degree of tension in the international situation. But by the joint struggle of the three forces we have mentioned, plus the concerted efforts of all other peace-loving forces in the world, a new lessening of such tension can be achieved. The imperialist forces of aggression failed to gain anything from their invasion of Egypt; Instead, they were dealt a telling blow. Furthermore, thanks to the help given by the Soviet troops to the Hungarian people, the imperialists were frustrated in their plan to build an outpost of war in Eastern Europe and to disrupt the solidarity of socialist camp. The socialist countries are persisting in their efforts for peaceful co-existence with the capitalist countries, to develop diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with them, to settle international disputes through peaceful negotiations, to oppose preparations for a new world war, to expand the peace area in the world, and to broaden the scope of application of the five principles of peaceful co-existence. All these efforts will certainly win over more sympathy from the oppressed nations and the peace-loving people throughout the world. The strengthening of the international solidarity of the proletariat will make the warlike imperialists think twice before embarking upon new adventures. Therefore, despite the fact that the imperialists are still trying to resist the efforts described above, the forces for peace will eventually triumph over the forces for war.

The international communist movement has a history of only 92 years, reckoning from the establishment of the First International in 1864. Despite many ups and downs, the progress of the movement as a whole has been very rapid. During the First World War, there appeared the Soviet Union, covering one-sixth of the earth. After the Second World War, there appeared the camp of socialism, which now has a third of the world's population. When the socialist states commit errors

of one kind or another, our enemies are elated while some of our comrades and friends become dejected; a number of them even waver in their confidence as to the future of the communist cause. However, there is little ground for our enemies to rejoice or for our comrades and friends to feel dejected or to waver. The proletariat has begun to rule the state for the first time in history : in some countries this occurred only a few years ago, and in the oldest only a few decades ago. So how could anyone expect that no failures would be encountered? Temporary and partial failures have occurred, are still occurring, and may also occur in the future. But a person with foresight will not feel dejected and pessimistic because of them. Failure is the mother of success. It is precisely the recent temporary, partial failures that have enriched the political experience of the international proletariat and will help to pave the way for great successes in the years to come. Compared with the history of the bourgeois revolutions in Britain and France, the failures in our cause are virtually of no account. The bourgeois revolution in Britain started in 1640. The defeat of the king was followed by Cromwell's dictatorship. Then came the restoration of the old royal house in 1660. It was not until 1688 when the bourgeois party staged a coup d'etat inviting to England a king who brought along with him troops and naval forces from the Netherlands that the British bourgeois dictatorship was consolidated. During the 86 years from the outbreak of the French revolution in 1789 to 1875 when the Third Republic was established, the bourgeois revolution in France went through a particularly stormy period, swinging in rapid succession between progress and reaction, republicanism and monarchy, revolutionary terror and counter-revolutionary terror, civil war and foreign war, the conquest of foreign lands and capitulation to foreign states. Although the socialist revolution faces the concerted opposition of the reactionaries throughout the world, its course as a whole is smooth and remarkably steady. This is a true reflection of the unparalleled vitality of the socialist system. Though the international communist movement met with some

setbacks recently, we have learned many useful lessons from them. We have corrected, or are correcting, the mistakes in our own ranks which need to be rectified. When these errors are righted, we shall be stronger and more firmly united than even before. Contrary to the expectation of our enemies, the cause of the proletariat will not be thrown back but will make ever more progress.

But the fate of imperialism is quite different. There, in the imperialist world, fundamental clashes of interest exist between imperialism and the oppressed nations, among the imperialist countries themselves, and between the government and the people of these imperialist countries. These clashes will grow more and more acute and there is no cure for them.

Of course, in many respects, the new-born system of proletarian dictatorship still faces many difficulties, and has many weaknesses. But, compared with the time when the Soviet Union was struggling alone, the situation is a good deal better. And what new birth is not attended with difficulties and weaknesses? The issue is the future. However many twists and turns may await us on our forward journey, humanity will eventually reach its bright destiny—communism. There is no force that can stop it.

EXTRACT FROM "A SHORT HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION" MOSCOW, 1970

The CPSU sees two aspects in Stalin's work : a positive aspect, which the Party values, and a negative aspect, which it criticises and denounces.

During the years Stalin was General secretary of the CC (he was elected to this post in 1922), the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party and its Central Committee, carried out a task that was colossal for its importance and for the difficulties it involved—they built the world's first socialist society, turned an economically backward country into a leading industrial power. During the Great Patriotic War, under the leadership of the Party, the Soviet people accomplished an

immortal feat—they defeated nazi Germany and her allies, upheld the great gains of socialism and saved mankind from the threat of enslavement by fascism. After the war, led by the Party, they quickly restored the country's economy and started the building of communism.

Along with other leaders of the Party and Government, Stalin, as a prominent organiser and theoretician, worked to carry through socialist reforms in the USSR, headed the struggle against the enemies of Leninism (Trotskyites, Right opportunists and bourgeois nationalists), exposed the intrigues of the capitalist encirclement and did much to enhance the Soviet Union's defence capability. Moreover, he did much to promote the world communist and the entire liberation movement. All this earned him considerable prestige and popularity.

But with time all the achievements of the Soviet people, led by the Party, began to be ascribed to him. The personality cult gradually took shape. Stalin overestimated his own contribution to the successes of the Party and the whole Soviet people believed he was infallible and began to abuse the power placed in his hand. This was furthered by some negative features of his character. He began to depart from the Leninist principles of collective leadership and the norms of Party life. He committed particularly grave errors in the last years of his life. There were unjustified limitations on democracy, flagrant violations of socialist legality and unfounded repressions.

The errors and distortions linked up with the personality cult damaged the cause of communist construction. But they neither changed nor could change the nature of socialist society, the genuinely people's nature of the Soviet system, and they could not shake or weaken the theoretical, political and organisational foundations of the CPSU's activity. The policy pursued by the Party expressed the basic interests of the Soviet people, always enjoyed their support and ensured the successful building of socialism and communism in the USSR.

Communique on Discontinuation of the Activities of the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties*

The establishment in 1947 of the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties has played a positive part in the elimination of the dissociation between the Communist Parties which arose after the dissolution of the Comintern, has become an important factor in strengthening proletarian internationalism in the ranks of the world communist movement and the further rallying of the working class and all labouring people to the struggle for a lasting peace, democracy and socialism. The Information Bureau and its printed organ, the newspaper "For A Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!", have played a positive role in developing and consolidating the fraternal ties and mutual exchange of experience between Communist and Workers' Parties, in elucidating problems of Marxist-Leninist theory, as applied to concrete conditions in each country, and the experience of the international Communist and workers' movement. This has facilitated the ideological, organisational and political consolidation of the fraternal parties and the spread of the influence of the Communist Parties among the masses.

At the same time the changes that have occurred in the international situation in recent years: the emergence of socialism from within the bounds of a single country and its transformation into a world system; the formation of a vast

*This document was circulated as an Information Document to the Delegates to the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of India held at Palghat on 19-29 April, 1956.

peace zone which includes both socialist and non-socialist peaceable States of Europe and Asia; the growth and consolidation of many Communist Parties in capitalist, dependent and colonial countries and the stepping up of their activities against the war danger and reaction, for peace, for the vital interests of the working people and the national independence of their countries and lastly, the tasks, which arise at the present time with especial force, of overcoming the split in the ranks of the labour movement and strengthening the unity of the working class in the interest of a successful struggle for peace, for socialism—have created new conditions for the activities of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties both as regards its composition and the content of its work no longer conform to these new conditions.

The Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties affiliated with the Information Bureau, having exchanged opinions regarding its activities, have found that the Information Bureau they set up in 1947 has exhausted its functions, in view of which they by general agreement have decided to discontinue the activities of the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties and the publication of its organ, the newspaper "For A Lasting Peace, For A People's Democracy!".

The Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties which participated in the Information Bureau hold that each party or a group of parties in the struggle for the interests of the working class, for peace, democracy and socialism, developing its activities consonant with the general aims and tasks of Marxist-Leninist parties and the national peculiarities and conditions of their countries, will find new useful forms for the establishment of ties and contacts among themselves. The Communist and Workers' Parties will undoubtedly continue, at their own discretion and by taking into account concrete conditions of their activity, to exchange opinions on common problems of the struggle

for peace, democracy and socialism, the defence of the interests of the working class and all labouring people, the mobilisation of the popular masses to fight against the war danger, and at the same time will consider questions of cooperation with parties and trends which orient towards socialism, and also with other organisations which strive to strengthen peace and democracy. All this will still more strengthen the spirit of co-operation between Communist and Workers' Parties on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism, will strengthen the fraternal ties between them in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism.

(Signed)

Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party

Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party

Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party

Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party

Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers Party
Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

Central Committee of the French Communist Party

Appendix VII

A Non-capitalist Path for Underdeveloped Countries*

Modeste Rubinstein

I

What will be the path of economic and social development of the economically backward, and now independent, countries of Asia and Africa? The question is being debated by economists, sociologists, politicians and journalists. An abundant literature on the subject has appeared in the west.

There are two points of view among the ruling elements of the United States. Some monopoly spokesmen maintain that political independence should not essentially change the economic and social pattern of these countries. That opinion is perhaps most saliently put in the study *The Political Economy of American Foreign Policy*, which follows the state department line. The underdeveloped countries, the study intimates, should remain underdeveloped for all time, or at any rate should not advance beyond the status of purveyors of cheap raw material and food for the industrial nations and markets for their manufactures. This is an attempt to perpetuate colonialism in slightly refurbished form and prevent Asia and Africa from breaking out of economic backwardness and dependence.

The other point of view is that the Asian and African countries will develop rapidly along capitalist lines and will thus help to rejuvenate the senile capitalist system.

*Text of two articles by Modeste Rubinstein published in *The New Times*. Nos. 28 & 32 of 1956. These two articles are published here in connection with article of Ajoy Ghosh entitled 'On India's Path Of Development', published under item No. 27 of this volume.

The fallacy of both predictions lies in the fact that they take no account of the aspirations of the people of the underdeveloped countries, who are determined to solve this all-important question independently. Another thing these predictions leave out of account is the conversion of socialism into a world system embracing European and Asian countries with over a third of the world's population. This is a fact of epochal importance : the ideas of socialism, first given practical embodiment in the Soviet Union and now being applied in several other countries, have a powerful appeal for all nations, particularly for those of Asia and Africa which, having broken out of colonial dependence, stand at the historical crossroads.

The socialist achievements of People's China are exerting an especially powerful influence in the two continents. It was established at the third session of the national people's assembly last month that the original plan of socialist economic reconstruction had been completed ahead of schedule. The socialist sector is now the dominant force in the Chinese economy, and this is a sure guarantee of successful transition to socialism. It has been demonstrated in practice that the people's democratic system in China makes it possible to carry out socialist reconstruction by peaceful methods.

This is how the international implications of China's socialist achievements are assessed by an American expert, Hans J. Morgenthau, director of the centre for the study of American foreign policy at the University of Chicago, in an article in the *New Republic* of 16 April :

"Nobody who has recently travelled through Asia with his eyes open can fail to be impressed by the impact which the emancipation of China from western dependence and the restoration of its power as a nation and as a civilisation is making upon all of Asia from Japan to Pakistan. What Asians admire and respect in China is what seems to them the fulfilment of the aspirations of all of Asia : to be masters in their own house and to prove themselves to be equal, if not the superior, of the west."

Those who believe that the alternative before the Asian and African countries is either to remain virtual colonies or choose the path of capitalist development, are taking a very narrow view to say the least. For in both continents there is a clear understanding that economic backwardness is due to the long years of colonial domination. That is why India, Burma, Indonesia, Egypt, Ceylon and many other nations are so vigorous in their opposition to colonialism and to all other forms of imperialist oppression or foreign monopoly dictation.

Freed of colonial tutelage, the Asian and African countries are confronted with many complex economic, social and political problems. These involve governmental structure, economic (particularly industrial) development, cultural advancement, liquidation of feudal survivals, the nationalities question, and many more. Properly speaking, these are the same problems that had to be faced in one or another degree by the countries now classed as highly developed. Some found capitalist solutions, others followed socialist patterns. Which of these two will Asia and Africa choose?

This article will deal principally with the economic aspect of the problem, and more specifically with the forms of economic development in one of the major Asian countries, India.

India's Development

Foreign capital is still strongly entrenched in the Indian economy, holding commanding positions in such branches as coal, jute, oil and tea, and controlling a substantial portion of the engineering and electrical engineering industries. Native monopoly capital controls the relatively highly-developed cotton industry, also iron and steel, cement and several branches of engineering. Many Indian monopolies are closely linked with foreign financial interests.

It would, of course, be naive to expect monopoly capital to strive for socialist reconstruction. Nevertheless, in India, which is advancing along the road of independent political

and economic development, the objective possibilities exist for obviating the continued growth of monopoly capital and, by peaceful methods, in conformity with the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, taking the socialist path.

The path has been advocated for many years by Jawaharlal Nehru. In his *Discovery of India*, Nehru describes the activities of the national planning committee initiated by the Indian National Congress in 1938. Under his chairmanship, the committee laid the groundwork for planning economic development after independence and the formation of an independent national government. The first target was industrialisation, without which India would stand no chance of wiping out poverty and unemployment, building up a proper national defence and tackling the job of economic reconstruction. Members of the committee could not agree on the principles of India's future social system, but as Nehru remarks, "it became clear to me that our plan, as it developed, was inevitably leading us towards establishing some of the fundamentals of the socialist structure."

Further consideration of social problems led Nehru to the following very significant conclusion, which he made in the thirties : "Inevitably we are led to the only possible solution—the establishment of a socialist order, first within national boundaries, and eventually in the world as a whole, with a controlled production and distribution of wealth for the public good."

After independence and proclamation of the republic, all these questions reappeared in much more acute form. India's millions were giving thought to what course their country should follow, and the realisation was steadily gaining ground that continued development of capitalism would not solve any of the economic and social problems. From this followed that socialism offered the only way of overcoming economic backwardness, unemployment and poverty. There were, naturally, various interpretations of socialism.

The growing appeal of socialism found expression in the resolution which the house of the people adopted in Decem-

ber 1954. It reads in part : "The objective of our economic policy should be a socialistic pattern of society and towards this end the tempo of economic activity in general, and industrial development in particular, should be stepped up to the maximum possible extent."

The Indian National Congress, when it met at Avadi in January 1955, adopted a resolution declaring its basic aim to be the "establishment of a socialistic pattern of society" where : (a) the principal means of production are under social ownership or control, (b) production is progressively speeded up, (c) there is equitable distribution of the national wealth, (d) there is progressively fuller employment so as to lead to full employment within a period of ten years.

The fact that the Avadi resolution called for a "socialistic pattern of society" and not for "socialism" gave rise to a heated discussion of what the economic basis of that society would be.

The predominating view was that such a society could be based only on social ownership of the principal means of production. But the opinion was also expressed that it should be based on the handloom. Others affirmed that Indian socialism must be based on the 'big Indian family' and complete decentralisation of production. Still another opinion was put forward by G. D. Birla, prominent spokesman of Indian monopoly capital. Addressing the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in 1955, he said that a socialistic pattern of society had nothing in common with socialism as such, and that the supreme embodiment of this pattern, should be sought in Britain and the United States. These statements are not fortuitous; they are evidence of differing viewpoints, determined by definite class interests, on the future development of India.

But however differently interpreted, the Avadi resolution is expressive of the attitude of the Congress leadership and of the government on a number of key economic reforms. The government's policy is primarily to accelerate industrialisation and build up a state-owned heavy industry

producing means of production. It is set forth (with certain essential reservations) in the second five-year plan and in the resolution on government industrial policy submitted to the house of the people on 30th April.

The resolution stresses the need to expand the state sector and establish a growing cooperative sector. The state sector, it says, should embrace all basic branches of industry, including those of strategic importance, and public utilities, and other major industries requiring capital investment, which under present conditions can be supplied only by the state.

The state sector does not yet play a decisive part in the economy. The minister for planning, Nanda, states in his report to the Congress committee that output by state industry is less than three per cent of the national total. If agriculture and certain other branches are excluded, it accounts for about 11 per cent in manufacturing, mining and transport. "It is obvious", Nanda says in the report, "that the public sector will have to be enlarged greatly in order that it may occupy a significant place in the economy of the nation."

The state sector now extends to the following : (1) railway transport; (2) air transport, nationalised in 1953; (3) integrated hydro-engineering projects, of which the biggest, are the Bhakra-Nangal in the Punjab, the Damodar Valley development in West Bengal and Bihar, and the Hirakud project in Orissa; (4) more than ten big and medium-size industrial enterprises built in recent years. Of these the most important are: the Chittaranjan locomotive plant, the Sindri nitrate fertiliser plant, the Visakhapatnam shipyards; the Perambur carriage works near Madras, the Bangalore engineering works, the Rupnarayanpur cable factory, the Delhi DDT plant, the penicillin plant at Pimpri near Poona, and the thorium and uranium processing plant on Trombay island, near Bombay.

All these enterprises, equipped with the latest machinery are already in operation and are successfully nearing their rated capacities. State-owned factories are still few but, as N. S. Khrushchov remarked, in them one sees "the contours

of India's future powerful industry, bulwark of its independence, of its national might".

The state sector in heavy industry is being considerably enlarged under the second five-year plan, chiefly by the erection of three iron and steel mills to produce one million tons of steel a year each. The biggest, the Bhilai mill in Madhya Pradesh, is being built in cooperation with the Soviet Union. The plan calls also for the construction of three-state-owned nitrate fertiliser mills, a large plant producing heavy electrical machinery and a number of units in the industries manufacturing means of production. The underlying purpose is rapid industrialisation, with emphasis on the development of heavy industry mainly—but not entirely—in the state sector.

These steps to develop state industry are not, in themselves, of a socialist character. State-owned enterprises—railways, for example—exist in several capitalist countries. They are state-capitalist enterprises. However in India as in other economically backward countries that have recently embarked on the path of independent development, state-capitalist enterprises assume a special character. It would be a mistake to equate them with state-monopoly capitalism in the United States or western Europe. American state-monopoly capitalism is an outgrowth of the private monopolies, which are eager to exploit not only their own people, but the people of other countries as well. It is therefore a servant of the expansionist policy of the colonialists, and its role is entirely reactionary.

On the other hand, the purpose of state-capitalist enterprises in India is to facilitate industrialisation and general economic development. They help to strengthen India's independence, and to weaken the positions of imperialism. Consequently state-capitalist enterprises in India, under present conditions, play a progressive part. At the same time Indian state capitalism differs from its counterpart in China, where it is being consistently employed by the people's government to expedite the building of socialism.

Lenin repeatedly emphasised that state capitalism is a

step towards socialism. But further steps are required too—steps that will substantially change the ownership of the means of production, ensure a considerable increase in output, fuller employment, a larger national income, higher living standards for, and higher political and public activity by, the working people.

The Indian leaders believe that the building of a “socialistic pattern of society” will require much time. In opening the debate on the five-year plan in the council of states in May, premier Nehru declared that India’s development would be a process of absolute and relative growth of the state sector which would thus come to control an ever larger share of the nation’s economy.

The present international situation and the fact that India has such friendly neighbours as the USSR and the People’s Republic of China, on whose experience and economic co-operation it can draw, lead one to believe that, given close cooperation by all the progressive forces of the country, there is the possibility for India to develop along socialist lines.

But, of course, between possibility and reality lies a complicated path which will require much effort and the overcoming of considerable resistance from the reactionary forces, particularly the forces of international reaction. India’s advance along the socialist path will evidently be slower than that of, say, China, and, as is obvious from what has been said above, will differ in many respects. But only dogmatists can fail to understand these peculiarities and try to squeeze realities into their own artificial schemes. Socialist development is bound to differ in accordance with the conditions prevailing in different countries. The multiplicity of forms of the socialist development is but a reflection of the multiplicity of the historic, economic and social conditions in various countries.

II

The achievement of political independence squarely faces every underdeveloped country with the all-important

problem of determining the direction and pace of social and economic development. The People's Republic of China, the Korean Democratic People's Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are firmly embarked on the socialist path. In other former colonies in Asia and Africa the problem is being searchingly discussed in government councils, parliaments, universities, labour and other organisations, and by scientists, writers and businessmen. Of course their views vary widely, but the significant thing is that there is almost no open advocacy of capitalist development. Even organisations that speak for the national bourgeoisie—chambers of commerce, business conferences, etc.—avoid advocating such development. The only ones who favour it are publications controlled by foreign monopoly interests. The capitalist path is not popular in undeveloped countries. This is partially attributable to the fact that Asians and Africans quite rightly associate capitalism with colonialism, and colonialism in whatever shape or form is abhorred and detested. But there are also other considerations.

The underdeveloped nations are anxious to overcome their economic backwardness in the shortest possible space of time. Hence the all-out effort to build an integrated national economy, industrialise the country, extend its transport facilities, raise agricultural levels, improve living standards, wipe out mass unemployment, and so on.

The very independence of these new Asian and African states depends upon the quick accomplishment of these tasks. For they have no desire to remain agrarian and raw-material appendages of the imperialist powers or, to use an expression current in Asia, to be the wood-choppers and water-carriers of the industrial capitalist nations.

Can capitalism accelerate their advancement? Can it help them to achieve their chief goal—integrated development of the national productive forces ?

Most of the underdeveloped countries possess enormous natural resources—water-power, a wide range of minerals, fertile land, valuable tropical woods, etc. But utilisation of

these potentialities on any appreciable scale requires, as a rule, substantial initial outlays and planned effort over a period of many years.

Will foreign capital supply the necessary funds? Obviously not. Western financiers have no interest in promoting the economic advancement of Asia and Africa. By its very nature, capital seeks quick returns, and under present day conditions its motto is often "after us, the deluge." In most Asian and African countries the national bourgeoisie is economically weak and unable to compete with the western monopolies. For all these reasons, it is only the governments—and more over governments that aim not at ensuring the capitalists' profits, but at economic development and higher living standards—that are in a position to make these big investments and initiate long-term construction efforts. Let us examine some of the concrete aspects of the problem.

Many of the underdeveloped countries are richly endowed with hydro-power resources. The total hydro-power potential of Asia (without the USSR) is estimated at 1000 million kw; the figure for Africa is 700 million kw, and 600 million for South America. But only a tiny fraction of this reserve has been tapped. Even in India, which is ahead of other underdeveloped areas in this respect, only about 1 per cent of available water-power has been developed.

Effective and rational application of water power is possible only in integrated projects supplying electricity, irrigation, flood-control and water-transport. This requires not only very costly installations, but planned and coordinated development of the various branches of the economy. In short, it calls for a well-thought-out long-range economic strategy. Properly speaking, the advanced capitalist countries have nothing comparable to such combined development plans based on large scale hydro-power projects. For the big trusts and banks are reluctant to tie up their capital in schemes that will pay off many years later, especially when their effect is expressed not so much in dividends as in a general heightening of economic standards.

True, reference is sometimes made to the Tennessee Valley Authority in the United States. It has been advertised as the ideal of economic democracy', and even as a 'socialist island in the capitalist world', but neither of those descriptions is valid.

The TVA received large government funds for the construction of a series of hydro-technical projects, and thrived at a time when the American monopolies urgently needed large quantities of cheap electric power to expand production of explosives and other war goods. When that factor ceased to operate, the TVA lost its former significance.

Several Asian countries, notably India, have chosen a different path, namely, planned integrated development of available hydro-power resources for the benefit of the nation. The central and state governments are erecting a number of combined hydro-engineering works, including such major undertakings as the Bhakra-Nangal system, the Damodar-Valley development, and the Hirakud project. The same pattern is to be followed in Burma, Indonesia and Egypt.

Egypt's outstanding project is, of course, the famous Aswan dam. When completed, it will produce up to 10,000 million kw per year, increase the national arable land by one third, prevent devastating floods and sharply raise revenue from agriculture.

Similar projects could be launched in other parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America. But they are well-nigh impossible in a private enterprise economy. It is characteristic that no western firm has evinced any interest in largescale hydro-power development in India or Egypt. Local private capital has neither the desire nor the means to undertake construction which will pay back only after a period of many years.

The western powers display interest only if there is some chance of making these projects pay off politically. That has been their approach to the Aswan plan. Egypt was promised financial assistance, but on condition that it consented to foreign control of its finances and economy. The Egyptian government indignantly rejected these shackling terms, and

Washington and London lost all interest in the Aswan scheme and withdrew their offer of financial support. President Nasser exposed their policy when he told a public meeting in Alexandria on 26 July :

"The imperialists do not want to see us as an industrial nation capable of producing everything we require. I cannot recall any instance of American aid designed to further industrialisation. There have been no signs of that; American aid has other objects."

This episode of the Aswan dam is striking evidence that any underdeveloped country which hopes to receive disinterested western assistance in solving its vital economic problems is working under a delusion.

Atomic energy, primarily for generating electric power, is another very important factor in the development of economically backward areas. Most underdeveloped countries lack sizable or conveniently located deposits of coal and other fuels, but many have deposits of atomic raw materials. India, for instance, has huge reserves of thorium in monazite sands in the coastal areas of Travancore-Cochin and other states. Prime Minister Nehru has said his country must make a leap from the age of dung fuel to the age of atomic energy. Indian scientists are already working on an extensive programme of research and experimentation in preparation for that leap.

However, it cannot be made on the basis of private enterprise, as the experience of the United States clearly demonstrates. For ten years now American corporate interests have been holding up large scale construction of atomic power plants, preferring to concentrate on production of atomic weapons. Resistance by the electric concerns, anxious to retain their profits, has played a big part. The underdeveloped countries, on the other hand, are endeavouring to employ atomic energy as a basic factor in developing modern techniques and raising national living standards. Obviously, the job is far too big for local private capital, and atomic energy is bound to develop as a state-owned industry.

Much the same applies to mineral resources. Most underdeveloped countries, as mentioned above, possess rich and varied deposits. Prospecting, however, is only just being started and has to be developed on a much larger scale before actual mining operations can begin. Here too local private capital cannot contribute much, and foreign capital will step in only if there is a clear prospect of quick and huge profits. It readily develops deposits that do not require much investment. One example is Middle East oil, where big profits are being made on remarkably small outlays. That explains the monopoly scramble for control of the Middle East fields.

Capitalist concerns that undertake prospecting in underdeveloped countries (for handsome remuneration) not infrequently conceal or falsify their own findings. Several years ago an American oil company was given a concession to prospect for oil in West Bengal, one of the potentially richest parts of India. It was given especially favourable terms, and its activities were highly publicised, but so far the practical results have been nil. India has decided to entrust prospecting in other parts of the country to a government organisation employing foreign experts.

The foreign monopolies are still less interested in the industrialisation of underdeveloped countries, particularly in their heavy-industry development. More, their policy is deliberately to prevent industrialisation. Witness the conditions laid down in a report submitted to the U.S. Congress in June 1955 by the Hoover commission : "In the 'Asian-African arc', with the possible exception of Japan, no large manufacturing projects be undertaken and no large industrial plants constructed, except for production of strategic materials; otherwise all industrial aid be confined to small industries." That should kill all hope of foreign monopoly capital assisting the industrialisation of economically backward countries.

The national bourgeoisie, with few exceptions, possesses neither the means nor the technical facilities for building up heavy industry.

The conclusion to be drawn from all these facts is that in

underdeveloped countries heavy industry, especially iron and steel, power, engineering and chemicals, can develop only as part of the state sector. That view is fully confirmed by the record of the past few years.

The previous article noted that in India, power and heavy-industry development was financed by the state. In Burma, the key industries and mines are state property. In Indonesia, all the major projects of the five-year plan (1956-60) will be built by the central government, with local governments and private interests concentrating on smaller undertakings. The same system is being followed in Ceylon, Egypt and elsewhere. Nor is this being done out of ideological considerations. It follows logically from the experience of post-war years, which shows that underdeveloped nations cannot, under prevailing conditions, build heavy industry by customary capitalist methods.

The same applies to agriculture. All the underdeveloped countries are predominantly agrarian, with the vast majority of the population living in rural areas. Farming techniques are backward, harvest yields low, and animal productivity lower still.

Capitalist penetration in agriculture leads to mass impoverishment of the tillers, deprives them of their land, tends to develop a one-crop-farm structure which makes the country entirely dependent on imports for its food supply. The big plantations are usually foreign-controlled (tea in India and Ceylon, rubber in Malaya, Indonesia, etc.) and are a source of rich profits for a small group of capitalists. For the peasant population they mean brutal exploitation and appropriation of the best land; for the nation as a whole they spell reduction of food-crop areas (as in Ceylon and several Latin-American countries).

As often as not, modern capitalism retains and supports pre-capitalist, feudal survivals and hinders consistent agrarian reform. Yet the experience of China convincingly demonstrates that a rapid rise in agricultural production is possible only through far reaching land reform and the development

of consumers', marketing, credit, producers' and other co-operatives.

Based on the activity of the masses and systematically assisted by the state, the co-operative movement can liberate the small peasant (and the handicraftsman and artisan) from landlord and usurer oppression, enable him to employ more efficient farming methods and increase productivity. Under certain conditions, co-operatives in underdeveloped countries can become the nuclei of a new economic type, the rudiments of a new, non-capitalist system. Premier Nehru has repeatedly pointed to the vast prospects for co-operative development, and President Nasser has appealed for an end to feudalism and monopoly rule, and the creation of a "co-operative socialist society" in Egypt.

What must be particularly emphasised is that the all-round and stable advance of agriculture in economically backward countries is possible only on the basis of industrialisation, only when industry is in a position to provide the requisite number of machines and implements, mineral fertilisers, insecticides, irrigation equipment, etc. Industrialisation and agricultural development are inseparably connected.

The people, the workers, are the chief production factor in any country. What would capitalism bring the working folk of underdeveloped countries? Only greater unemployment—which even today is a difficult social problem—and greater exploitation to multiply the profits of native and especially foreign monopolists. Moreover statistics show that foreign concerns export the larger part of their profits.

The economic plans now being evolved in a number of under-developed countries can be carried out only with the active participation of their workers and peasants, their young technical intelligentsia, scientists, students, etc. But this is only possible if the labour effort of the masses goes to promote the welfare of the people, not to swell the profits of foreign capitalists and the domestic monopolies tied with them. That is why the capitalist path meets with so little support in these new independent countries. On the other

hand, there is a constant search for new forms of social and economic advancement. The capitalist path, the negative features of which are so obvious, has no appeal for the masses and for progressive-minded political leaders.

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